

THE PROSOPOGRAPHY OF  
THE LATER ROMAN  
EMPIRE

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J. R. MARTINDALE

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VOLUME III  
A.D. 527–641

Volume IIIB  
(Káládji – Zudius)

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Kālādji

wealthy citizen (in Egypt) 640/641

A wealthy citizen, who took his followers and joined the Arabs in their conquest of Egypt; after his wife and mother were seized in Alexandria, he yielded to the promptings of Theodorus 166, sent him a large sum of money, and returned with his men to the Romans; Joh. Nik. 114.6-7 (p. 561 Zotenberg), cf. index 113 (114).

Khālīd ibn Sa'īd

Arab leader E/M VII

A member of the Umayyad clan of Quraysh, he was an early associate of the Prophet; sent in 634 (year thirteen of the Hegira) by Abū Bakr to the Byzantine frontier, to establish control over Arab tribes in the area, he was based at Taymā from where he had encounters with Byzantine forces and was defeated; dismissed by Abū Bakr and replaced by Yazīd, he was supposedly pardoned by Umar and sent to serve in Syria under Shuraḥbīl; he was killed in the battle of Marj aṣ-Ṣuffar (perhaps early 635); cf. *Enc. of Islam*<sup>2</sup> iv, pp. 927-8 (H. Loucel) and see Balādhurī, p. 107 (= Hitti, p. 165), p. 118 (= Hitti, pp. 182-3) (his death). See also Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 113-14, 117-18 and (on the date of Marj aṣ-Ṣuffar) 130-1.

Khālīd ibn al-Walīd

Arab leader E/M VII

In Arabic tradition he was nicknamed Sayf Allāh (Sword of Allah), cf. Theoph. AM 6123, Cedr. 1 751 (Ὁ Χάλεδος (Χάλεβος; Cedr.) ὄν λέγουσιν μάχαιραν τοῦ Θεοῦ).

A member of the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh, he was originally an opponent of Mohammed but was converted to Islam in 627 (year six of the Hegira) or 629 (year eight of the Hegira); Balādhurī, p. 77 = Hitti, p. 118, and see *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> 2 ii, pp. 878-9 (K. V. Zetterstein), and *Enc. of Islam*<sup>2</sup> iv, 928-9 (P. Crone). In Sept. 629 he was the only one of the four Arab commanders defeated by Theodorus 162 at Mu'ta to survive; Theoph. AM 6123 (ὁ εἷς ἀμνηρᾶς), Cedr. 1 751 (in fact he took command after three generals had already been killed and saved the remaining Arab forces). Shortly afterwards he was with Mohammed's army which took Mecca; Balādhurī, pp. 38-9 = Hitti, pp. 64-5 (for the date, Ramadan of year eight = early 630, see p. 40 = Hitti, p. 66).

He was one of Abū Bakr's leading commanders in the *ridda* wars of 632/633 which established the rule of Medina in Arabia; Balādhurī, pp. 84, 88-90, 95-8 = Hitti, pp. 128-9, 134-7, 145-9. He was then sent by Abū Bakr to Iraq where he began the Arab conquest by subduing the

tribes west of the Euphrates; Balādhurī, pp. 84, 90, 241-50, 340-1 = Hitti, pp. 128-9, 137, 387-400, 569-70. The date was probably spring/summer 633 to c. April 634; see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 177-8.

He was then ordered by Abū Bakr to go to Syria to reinforce Arab armies there against the Romans; Balādhurī, p. 109 = Hitti, p. 167. He left in c. April 634; Balādhurī, p. 110 = Hitti, p. 169 (Rabi II of year thirteen), p. 250 = Hitti, p. 400 (Rabi I or Rabi II of year thirteen). His crossing of the desert to Syria, probably via Palmyra to Damascus, acquired legendary status; see Donner, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-27.

On reaching Damascus he joined forces with Abū 'Ubaydah and commanded the Arab forces which captured Bostra and subdued the Hauran; he was in command at the Arab victory of Ajnādayn (perhaps July 30, 634), and may have been initially supreme Arab commander, but this position was conferred on Abū 'Ubaydah by the new caliph Umar; subsequently Khālīd was active in Syria under Abū 'Ubaydah, taking part in the siege of Damascus and the battle of the Yarmuk (636), in which he was the architect of the Arab victory, and in various operations to extend the Arab conquest of Syria; Balādhurī, pp. 109-16, 120-3, 126, 130, 144, 177-8, 188 = Hitti, pp. 169-78, 186-9, 193, 200, 223, 277-8, 293-4, Anon. Guidi, p. 37 = p. 31, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093, Agapius, pp. 469ff., p. 474. Cf. Donner, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-32, 135-42, 149-51, for analysis of conflicting traditions in Arabic and other sources concerning the conquest of Syria.

Khālīd died at Ḥimṣ (Emesa) in 642; Balādhurī, p. 173 = Hitti, p. 270.

Atat Khorkhoruni

Theodos(ius) Khorkhoruni

Vahan Khorkhoruni

Kīsil ?dux of Tripolitana 609

In 609 'the great prefect of the district of Tripolis ('le gouverneur de la Tripolitaine'; Zotenberg), named Kīsil, went to Nicetas 7 with large supplies ('des renforts considérables' = reinforcements; Zotenberg) in order to help him against Bonosus'; Joh. Nik. 109.24 (p. 551 Zotenberg). Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 8. He was probably the *dux* of Tripolitana and a supporter of the revolt of Heraclius against Phocas. His name is possibly Cyrillus; see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 138.

Kotit Armenian noble L VI

Cf. Justi, p. 166, on the name.

Described as 'lord of the Amatuni'; Sebeos vi, pp. 31-2, xi, p. 39.

An Armenian noble, he took part in the revolt of Atat Khorkhoruni, Samuel Vahewuni and others against Rome and Persia, probably in 595 (see below); when the rebellion collapsed he was among those who submitted to Persia; Sebeos vi, pp. 31-2. In 595 he was one of the pro-Persian Armenians summoned to the Persian court and honoured by Chosroes; Sebeos xi, pp. 39-40, and see Mamak Mamikonian for the date. He was subsequently ambushed on the orders of Chosroes and murdered; Sebeos xiii, p. 41.

Koubratos (Κούβρατος) patricius; Bulgar ruler M VII

On the name, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*<sup>2</sup> ii, pp. 161-2.

He was a nephew of Organas and lord of the Ounogoundouri; Nic. *Brev.* 24 (ὁ τῶν Οὐνογουνδούρων κύριος), cf. Joh. Nik. 120. 47 ('chief of the Huns') (p. 580 Zotenberg). His people were Bulgars; see Moravcsik, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 218-19.

According to John of Nikiu he was baptised in childhood in Constantinople and grew up in the imperial palace; Joh. Nik. 120. 47 (p. 580). The date of his baptism may have been 619; cf. Nic. *Brev.* 12 (possibly referring to the same occasion).

He rebelled against his overlord, the khan of the Avars, and expelled the Avars from his homeland; he sent an embassy to Heraclius and concluded a peace treaty with the Romans which he observed until his death; from Heraclius he received gifts and the dignity of *patricius* (τῆ τοῦ πατρικίου ἀξία ἐτίμησεν); Nic. *Brev.* 24, cf. Theoph. AM 6171. The date of the revolt was in the mid 630s, while Heraclius was still in the east; cf. Nic. *Brev.* 24.

He was allegedly involved in a plot to help Martina's son Heraclius against the emperor Constantinus in 641; Joh. Nik. 120. 47 (p. 580).

Cf. also Bury, *LRE*<sup>1</sup> ii, pp. 332-3.

Kūdis 1 ?Egyptian supporter of Heraclius 609

After the defeat of Bonākīs, Bonosus 2 executed 'Leontius the general and Kūdis'; Joh. Nik. 107.38 (pp. 545-6 Zotenberg). The name is perhaps Goudoīs (Zotenberg), possibly = Guduis, Guduin; cf. Guduin.

Kūdis (? = Guduin) 2 victim of Phocas E VII

According to John of Nikiu he was one of those accused with Alexander 18 (here confused with Germanus 11) of plotting to overthrow Phocas; sent to Alexandria and later executed by Iustinas; Joh. Nik. 103.11 (p. 539 Zotenberg) ('ainsi que Goudoīs et d'autres eunuques'; Zotenberg). Perhaps a *cubicularius*.

**LAMASON** comes (in Egypt) VI

Ὁ κόμης Λαμάσων; associated with the *comes* Anonymus 46; *P. Oxy.* 1868 (sixth century).

His heirs were subsequently recorded in a list of payments of barley made by various people; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 35 (δ(ιὰ) κλ(ηρονόμων) Λαμάσωνος κόμ(ε)τος). Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Possibly identical with Lamason mentioned in reference to accounts from estates probably owned by the Apion family; *P. Oxy.* 1912, lines 50, 62.

**Lampadius** consul ordinarius 530

CONSVL (West) prior a. 530 with Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes: *Fasti*, Rossi I 1023-37, *CIL* v 3896-7, 5411, 5428, 6742b, IX 1384, X 4497, XII 935, 937, 938, 2074, *Stud. Pal.* XX 139, 140, *SB* I 4663, *P. Cairo Masp.* 167104, 67105, III 67301, *BGU* II 369, *Lib. Pont.* 56, *Joh. Mal.* 452, *ACOcc.* IV, II, p. 98. In the papyri his name follows that of his colleague. See also Baghall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 594-5.

The surviving portion of a consular diptych, now in Brixia, has the name: [L]ampadiorum; *CIL* v 8120, 5 = XIII 3, p. 753. Its date is uncertain; it may belong to the consulship of 530 but could refer to an unrecorded suffect consulship among earlier Lampadii (perhaps one of the Lampadii 1 to 7 in *PLRE* II).

**LANDARIT** clarissimus puer (in Italy) 557

C(larissimus) p(uer); son of Gunduhulus and Gundihild, brother of Lendarit; in 557 a special guardian was appointed by the *ordo* of Reate to protect their inheritance there after their father's death while under threat of court action; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, line 66.

**Landegiselus** Frankish notable E/M VII

Brother of Nantechildis (wife of Dagobert I); he was buried on the king's orders in the church of St Denis; *Gesta Dagoberti* 26.

**Landericus (Landri)** maior domus (of Chilperic and Chlothar II) 584-604

He was apparently already *maior domus* before the death of Chilperic (in 584) and remained in office under Chlotharius II; he was rumoured

to be queen Fredegundis' lover; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 35 (tunc erat maiorum domus palatii). Still *maior domus* under Chlotharius in 604; *Fredegar.* IV 25, cf. *Vita Gaugerici* 9 (virum inlustrem Landericum tunc tempore maiorem domus praefati principis, i.e. Chlotharius; an undated anecdote).

In 593 he was one of the leaders of the army of Chlotharius and Fredegundis which defeated Gundovald I and Wintrio near Soissons and then harried Champagne; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36.

In 604 he and Chlotharius' son Meroveus with the Neustrian army marched against Bertoald I, forcing him to retreat to Orléans and besieging him there, and seized lands of Theoderic between the Seine and the Loire; Landericus declined a challenge to single combat by Bertoald; *Fredegar.* IV 25. Subsequently in the same year he and Meroveus met Theoderic's army and Bertoald near Étampes and were heavily defeated, Landericus escaping by flight after again declining a challenge from Bertoald; *Fredegar.* IV 26.

**Lanthacarius** Frankish dux 548

Killed in battle against the Romans in 548; *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 548 (eo anno Lanthacarius dux Francorum in bello Romano transfossus obiit). The circumstances are obscure but the event perhaps occurred early in Theodebald's reign and possibly in or near Venetia; see Stein, *Bas. Emp.* II 530.

**Constantinus qui et Lardys**

Lascius (*CIL* VI 37277) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Labinia** wealthy lady (in Corsica) L VI

A *religiosa femina*, she founded a monastery in Corsica; *Greg. Ep.* I 50 (a. 591 June). Evidently a wealthy lady in Corsica, perhaps of aristocratic family.

**Launebodis** Frankish dux (of Toulouse) M VI

A Frank, of noble family; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* II 8, lines 24 (barbarica prole), 37 (cited below) and 39 (quamvis altum teneat de stirpe cacumen). Husband of Beretrudis; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* II 8, line 25. They had a daughter; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 35.

DUX of Toulouse: while *dux* at Toulouse he built, with his wife, the first church of St Saturninus there, an event celebrated in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* II 8 title (de Launebode qui aedificavit templum S. Saturnini), lines 21-2 (Launebodis enim post saecula longa,

ducatum dum gerit, instruxit culmina sancta loci) and 37 (dux meritis in gente sua qui pollet opimis).

Laurentius (*CIL* v 1592) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Laurentius (*AE* 1951, 176) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Laurentius (*CIL* VI 32007) E VI: *PLRE* II.

Laurentius 1 vir experientissimus (in Italy) 537/538

A tried and trusted public servant, sent by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to purchase wine, oil and wheat in Histria during the first indiction (Sept. 537/Aug. 538); *Cass. Var.* XII 22 (Laurentium virum experientissimum et magnis nobis in republica laboribus comprobatum), 23 (addressed 'Laurentio viro experientissimo'), 24 (vir experientissimus).

LAVRENTIVS 2 v. s(pectabilis) (at Ravenna) 553

V(ir) s(pectabilis) (rather than *sublimis* or *strenuus*); witness of a donation by Ranilo on April 4, 553, at Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, lines 65-7.

LAVRENTIVS 3 v. sp. M VI

V(ir) s(pectabilis); he died aged fifty-five and was buried at Lennum (near Lake Como) on 4 July, 571; *CIL* v 5230 = *ILCV* 249.

Laurentius 4 moneyer of the sacrae largitiones (at Ravenna) M VI

Monetarius; father of Paschalis 1; he died before June 3, 572; Marini, *P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, line 91 (cited under Paschalis). He was probably *v.d. palatinus sacrarum largitionum* and *monetarius auri* at Ravenna, like his son.

LAVRENTIVS 5 v.c. (in Italy) L VI

Vir clarissimus; sent to Leontius 11 in Sicily in late 598/early 599 to present the accounts of the former *numerarius* Bonifatius 4; *Greg. Ep.* IX 63 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.; to Azimarchus), 130 (a. 599 April; to Romanus *defensor Siciliae*). Both letters ask for help for Laurentius in his mission.

LAVRENTIVS 6 comes (in Spain) E VII

Comes; he lived in Toledo and possessed a good library; Braulio, *Ep.* 25 (Braulio asked the abbot Aemilianus to look for a book - sane in tempore apud Laurentium comitem dudum eum fuisse novi), 26 (Aemilianus replied that the library had been dispersed and the book

could not be found). For the date, c. 642, and circumstances, see Garcia Moreno, p. 59 with notes. In spite of his name he was probably a Goth; cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 214 with n. 6.

LAZARVS 1 comes Orientis 542

In office a. 542 May 1; *Just. Nov.* 157 (addressed Λαζάρω κόμητι τῆς ἑῶ; the law concerns Osrhoene and Mesopotamia).

Lazarus 2 commander of Roman troops (in Italy) ?549

He was in command of some Roman troops in Venetia ('Ρωμαίοις τισίν... ὧν Λάζαρος ἠγεῖτο) when Ildiges (Ildigisal) met and routed them, killing many; *Proc. BG* III 35.22. For the date, perhaps summer/autumn 549, cf. Ildigisal.

Lazarus 3 curator (domus divinae, ?Augustae) L VI/E VII

Recorded in Syria as *curator* of estates (τῶ(ν) ὑπὸ Λάζαρον τὸν ἐνδοξώτατον κουράτορα) which were part of the *domus divina* (τῶ θεῖῳ οἴκῳ) belonging to a recently dead empress; *IGLS* IV 1905 el-Mešrefe, in Syria.

LENDARIT clarissimus puer (in Italy) 557

C(larissimus) p(uer), in Italy 557; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, line 66. See further Landarit.

Leo (*CIL* xv, p. 891) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Leo (*CIL* III 14368.10) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Leo (*JOeAI* 23 (1926), *Beibl.* p. 192, n. 148) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

LEO 1 referendarius ?c. 527-c. 550

Native of Cilicia; *Proc. Anecd.* 14.16. Father-in-law of Malthanes (Marthanes 1); *Proc. Anecd.* 29.28. He was allegedly prevented from marrying the bride of his choice through the disapproval of the empress Theodora; *Proc. Anecd.* 17.31-2 (the name in the MSS however is given as Leontius, not Leo). This incident presumably occurred early in the reign, if he had a daughter old enough to marry Marthanes before 550.

REFERENDARIUS ?c. 527-c. 550: *Proc. Anecd.* 17.32 (ὅσπερ ῥεφερενδάριος ἦν τὴν τιμὴν), 29.28 (ὅσπερ εἶχεν... τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου ῥεφερενδάριου τιμὴν). He seems to have been already influential early in Justinian's reign and probably still was in the late 540s (see below and cf. Marthanes 1), and may have served continuously as *referendarius*.

He is described by Procopius as avaricious and persuasive and said to



**Leon 11** financial official (Egypt) L VI  
 Styled 'the logothete', he conspired with 'a prefect ('un magistrat'; Zotenberg) who knew astrology' to ruin Aristomachus 2; Joh. Nik. 95.18 (p. 525 Zotenberg).

**LEO 12** referendarius VI  
 Λέοντος ρεφερενδα[ρ] (ίου); Zacos 2895 (seal; obv.: ΛΕΟ/ΝΤΟC; rev.: ΡΕΦ/ΕΡΕΝ/ΔΑ[Ρ]).  
 Possibly identical with Leo 1.

**Leo 13** imperialis chartularius VI/VII  
 Λέοντος δεσπ(οτικοῦ) χαρτουλ(αρίου); Zacos 906 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2031 (seal; obv.: ΛΕΟ/ΝΤΟ/С; rev.: ΔΕCΠ/2ΧΑΡ/Τ8Λ/).

**Leo 14** (honorary) consul M VI/M VII  
 Λέοντος ὑπάτου; Zacos 409 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.110 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (211) of Λέοντος; rev.: cruciform monogram (345) of ὑπάτου).

**Leon 15** protoascretis ?VI/VII  
 A late source records building activity by this man at Constantinople; *Patr. Const.* III 167 (τὰ δὲ Μαλελίας ἀνήγειρεν Λέων πρωτοασσηκρήτης, οὕτω τὸ ἐπὶ κλην κεκλημένος). For the title πρωτοασσηκρήτης, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 97–8, and Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 310 with n. 128. The title is not certainly attested before the eighth century. Cf. Plutarchus.

**Leo 16** PVC ?VI/VII  
 Named on a glass weight (apparently found in Syracuse); Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 322, no. 6 = *CIG* IV 9030 = Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue C*, no. 10a (+ ἐπὶ Λέωντος ἐπάρχου).

**Leo 17** PPO (?Illyrici) c. 620/630  
 An ἐπαρχος, mentioned in a marginal note in connection with the rebuilding of the church of St Demetrius at Thessalonica following a fire that occurred soon after the death of bishop John; *Mir. Dem.* II 3, p. 197, note on line 6, cf. p. 192, n. 5. The date was c. 620/630. A mosaic inscription (now destroyed) in the north aisle of the church named a

Leo, perhaps the same man, and may have been the source of the note, although it does not call him ἐπαρχος; see Spieser, *Travaux et Mémoires* 5 (1973), p. 155, no. 6 (+ ἐπὶ χρόνων Λέοντος ἡβώντα βλέπεις καυθέντα τὸ πρὶν τὸν ναὸν Δημητρίου).

**LEO 18** archon of Decapolis VII  
 [Λ]έων ἄρχ(ων) τ(ῆ)ς Δεκαπόλεως (or ?Λέων ἄρχοντος Δεκαπόλεως); Zacos 1173 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: [Λ]ΕΩΝ/ΑΡΧΟΝΤ./CΔΕΚΑΠ/ΟΛΕΟΣ).

**Leo 19** imperialis candidatus VII  
 Λέοντη (sic) βασιλικῶ) κανδηδάτω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3421 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +/ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΗ Β' ΚΑΝ/ΔΗΔΑ/ΤΩ).

**Leo 20** honorary consul VII  
 Λέοντι ὑπάτω; Zacos 1535 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΛΕ/ΟΝΤΙΒ/ΠΑΤΩ).

**Leo 21** dioecetes VII  
 Λέοντος διοικητῆ (sic); Zacos 1534 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.524 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΛΕ/ΟΝΤΟC/ΔΙΟΙΚ/ΙΤΗ).

**Leo 22** MVM VII  
 Λέοντι στ[ρ]ατηλάτι; Dumbarton Oaks seal 77.34.85 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει with the legend τῶ δού[λ]ῳ σου; rev.: +ΛΕΟ/ΝΤΙCΤ/.ΑΤΗΛ/ΑΤΙ+).

**Leo 23** patricius VII  
 Λέοντος πατρικίου; Zacos 908 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘ/Η; rev.: +ΛΕΟ/ΝΤΟCΠ/ΑΤΡΙΚΙ/ΟV).

**Leocadia** grandmother of Gregory of Tours E/M VI  
 Of senatorial family, which claimed descent from Vettius Epagathus (martyred at Lyon in 177, cf. *Eus. HE* V 1), she was the wife of Georgius 1 and mother of Gallus 2 (bishop of Clermont); she was sister of the priest Impetratus; *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* 6.1, 3. She was the mother also of Florentius 2 and grandmother of Gregory of Tours; see stemma 12. Her ancestors included the third-century Gallic senator Leocadius who was converted to Christianity and whose house at Bourges was used as a church; cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* I 31. Cf. Stroheker, no. 214.



**Leocadius** father of Leudastes M VI

Father of Leudastes; he was a slave on one of the vineyards owned by the treasury (*fiscalis vinitoris servus*); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48.

**Leonardus** domesticus (of Chilperic) 584

In late 584 Leonardus 'ex domestico' returned to Paris from Toulouse to inform Fredegundis (styled 'domina mea') about the humiliation of Rigunthis and the theft of her treasure; Fredegundis had him stripped of his uniform (*nudatumque vestimentis et balteo quod ex munere Chilperici regis habebat*) and expelled from her presence; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 15. He was apparently a *domesticus* of Chilperic and had accompanied the marriage train of Rigunthis from Paris to Toulouse.

**Leonianus** military commander (in Illyricum) 552

In 552 Leonianus was one of the commanders of a Roman army assembled in Illyricum to oppose Goar and Ildigisal; he and his colleagues, who included Aratius, Arimuth and Rhecithangus, were surprised by the enemy while drinking at a river and killed, leaving the army leaderless; Proc. *BG* iv 27.13-18.

**Leonides** advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-533)

Advocate (*patronus causarum*) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* i 17.2.9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project). See Leontius 1. Leonides is named sixth of the advocates.

**Leontia** (*CIL* v 1678+p. 1026) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Leontia** Augusta 602(-610)

Wife of the emperor Phocas; mother of Domentzia; she was crowned Augusta by Phocas, probably on Nov. 25, 602; Theoph. Sim. viii 10.9 (two days after Phocas was crowned), Theoph. AM 6094 (on the fifth day after Phocas was crowned), Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1, Joh. Ant. fr. 218d, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 40, Cedr. i 706, 708 (Λεοντώ). Congratulated on her accession by pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 42 (a 603 July).

Her father was Sergius 41; *V. Theod. Syc.* 120.

**Antonia Leontis** (*ILCV* 160) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Leontius** (Proc. *Anecd.* 17.32): see Leo 1 (referendarius).

**Leontius** (Wadd. iii 2760a) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Leontius**: professor of law; PPO 510; honorary consul; patricius; *PLRE* II.

**Leontius**: MVM, honorary consul, honorary (?) PPO, patricius; law-commissioner in 528-529; *PLRE* II.

Fl. Paulus Leontius Marinus Petronius Hesachius (*SB* 5357) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Leontius 1** advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-533)

Advocate (*patronus causarum*) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* i 17.2.9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project; Leontius was one of the 'viri prudentissimi qui patroni quidem sunt causarum apud maximam sedem praefecturae, quae orientalibus praetoriis praesidet'). The Commission had been formed by Tribonianus 1 in 530; *CJ* i 17.1 (Tribonianus was ordered to select for the work 'quos probaveris tam ex facundissimis antecessoribus quam ex viris disertissimis togatis fori amplissimae sedis'). The advocates of the PPO on this commission were (in the order given in *CJ* i 17.2.9, presumably in descending order of seniority) Stephanus 5, Menas 2, Prosdocius, Eutolmius 1, Timotheus 1, Leonides, Leontius, Plato 2, Iacobus 2, Constantinus 2 and Ioannes 9.

Possibly identical with Leontius 5.

**Leontius 2** ?MVM vacans 539-540

Grandson of Pharesmanes (= *PLRE* II, Pharesmanes 3), son of Zaunas (in *PLRE* II), brother of Rufinus 2; Proc. *BV* II 19.1, 20.19. He was therefore of Lazic origin.

?MVM VACANS a. 539-540: one of the ἀρχοντες sent to Africa under Solomon 1 in 539 (the others included his brother Rufinus and Ioannes 27); Proc. *BV* II 19.1 (= Theoph. AM 6026, p. 205 ed. de Boor). Procopius (II 19.2) implies that they replaced Martinus 2 and Valerianus 1, both of whom were *magistri militum*; perhaps therefore they had similar rank.

In 540 the two brothers fought with distinction in the battle of Toumar on Mount Aurasium when the Moors under Iaudas were defeated (cf. Solomon 1, p. 1174); Proc. *BP* II 20.19 (= Theoph. AM 6026, p. 207 ed. de Boor).

Leontius 3 bishop of Bordeaux E/M VI

His epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* iv 9 (Epitaphium Leonti episcopi anterioris civitatis Burdegalensis; cf. Leontius 4).

Of noble family (line 11 nulli de nobilitate secundus), he gave all his property to the church (lines 17-18 ecclesiae totum concessit in ordine censum et tribuit Christo quod fuit ante suum), and died aged fifty-seven (line 33), before 549 (cf. Leontius 4). He is attested as bishop of Bordeaux at the council of Orleans in 541; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 142.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 218.

Leontius 4 bishop of Bordeaux M VI

A native of Aquitania; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* i 15, lines 1-4, cf. iv 19 (Gaul). Possibly from Bordeaux; *Carm.* i 15, lines 67-8 (ornasti patriam cui dona perennia praestas, tu quoque dicendus Burdegalense decus), cf. iv 10, line 11 (patriae caput). He came from a senatorial family; *Carm.* i 15, lines 15-18 (nobilitate potens praecellis, papa Leonti, clarus ab antiquis, si numerentur avi: nam genus et proavi vel quicquid in ordine dicam, per proceres celsos currit origo vetus), iv 10, lines 7-8 (nobilitas altum ducens ab origine nomen, quale genus Romae forte senatus habet). He maintained his ancestral home in good repair, and is described as surpassing his ancestors in honour; *Carm.* i 15, lines 19-30. He was apparently a descendant, possibly son, of a former bishop of Bordeaux, Amelius; *Carm.* i 11, lines 5-9. Husband of Placidina; *Carm.* i 15, lines 93-6, cf. i 6, lines 21-2, 12, lines 13-14, 14, lines 1-4, iv 10, lines 25-6.

When a young man he served under a king in Spain (probably the invasion of Spain by Childebert I (*PLRE* II, p. 284) in 531); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* i 15, lines 7-10 (qui, cum se primo vestivit flore iuventus, parvus eras annis et gravitate senex: versus ad Hispanas acies cum rege sereno, militiae crevit palma secunda tuae) (the allusion to one king seems to exclude the invasion by Childebert and Chlotharius in 541).

Bishop of Bordeaux: he became bishop after 541 (see Leontius 3) and before 549, when he was represented at the council of Orléans; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 161. He was still alive in the reign of king Charibert (561/567); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26. He is attested at the second council of Paris in 552 and a later one before 573; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 168, 209. He was active as a builder and restorer of villas and churches, in which work his wife also took part; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* i 6, lines 8-13, 18-20. Venantius wrote a poem in his praise, *Carm.* i 15, cf. also i 14, 16, and an epitaph on his death, *Carm.* iv 10. He died aged fifty-four; *Carm.* iv 10, lines 23-4. Cf. Stroheker, no. 219.

Leontius 5 (vir illustris); envoy to the Franks 551/552

Son-in-law of Athanasius 1; Proc. *BG* III 32.34, IV 24.11.

A close friend of Marcellus 3 (τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τις), he was chosen by him to eavesdrop on the conspirator Chanaranges on account of his upright character and truthfulness (ἄνδρα λόγου τε τοῦ δικαίου μεταποιούμενον καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενον μάλιστα); Proc. *BG* III 32.33-4. The date was early in 549; cf. Belisarius, p. 216. From a hiding-place in the house of Germanus (*PLRE* II, Germanus 4), Leontius overheard the details of the conspiracy, which he then reported to Marcellus; Proc. *BG* III 32.35-40. Subsequently his testimony and that of Marcellus cleared Germanus and his son Iustinus 4 of complicity in the conspiracy; Proc. *BG* III 32.44.

By 551 (see below), if not earlier, he was a member of the senate (ἀνήρ ἐκ βουλῆς); Proc. *BG* IV 24.11. He was therefore a *vir illustris*; cf. *Areobindus* 2.

In 551 he was sent by Justinian as envoy to Theodebald in Gaul, seeking an alliance against Totila and asking the Franks to withdraw from those parts of Italy previously occupied by Theodebert; Proc. *BG* IV 24.11, cf. 12-29 (speeches attributed to Leontius and Theodebald) (cited in part in Suid. A 1563). Afterwards he returned to Constantinople accompanied by Leudardus and other envoys of Theodebald; Proc. *BG* IV 24.30. For the time of his return, not before late 551 and not later than early 552, see Schwartz, *Vigiliusbriefe*, 4, passim, with p. 28 and n. 2 (see *Vigilius, Ep.*) and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 651, note.

Possibly identical with Leontius 1, but the testimony of Procopius, *BG* III 32.34 (cited above), is not conclusive; Procopius there alludes to Leontius' regard for justice and truth (cf. similar words concerning Marcellus at *BG* III 32.23), not to his legal knowledge. Therefore the identification generally assumed (cf. e.g. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 591, and *P-W* XII, 2052 (Ensslin)) is not certain.

Leontius 6 scholasticus; poet M VI

Author of numerous poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias and preserved in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* v 295, VII 149-50, 571, 573, 575, 579, IX 614, 618, 624, 630, 650, XVI 32, 33, 37, 245, 272, 283-8, 357. Most headings call him Λεοντίου σχολαστικοῦ, two (IX 614, 681) Λεοντίου σχολαστικοῦ τοῦ Μινωταύρου. The name Μινωταύρος was perhaps a nickname but could be that of his father. Three of his poems honour individuals who held high office in the middle and later years of Justinian; XVI 32 (Gabrielius 1), 33 (Callinicus 2), 37 (Petrus 9

## LEONTIUS 6

**Barsymes**. Cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), 14-17 and R. C. McCail, *JHS* 89 (1969), 91-2, and see also Alan Cameron, *Porphyrus the Charioteer*, 114-16, 124-5.

**Leontius 7** son of Dabragezas 556

Son of Dabragezas (and therefore one of the Antae), in late 556 he accompanied the attack led by the soldier Illus against the Misimiani in the fortress of Tzachar; *Agath.* iv 18.1.3.

**Leontius 8** tractator (in Syria) ?M VI

Leontius and Sergius 8 were τρακτηυταί together in Syria; they built a fortified park (ὁ περιουσιακῶν); *IGLS* II 316 Rasm el-Hagal, south-east of the Jebel Sbeit, in Chalcidice. The inscription is possibly contemporary with *IGLS* II 317, which is dated a. 563/4.

**Leontius 9** doctor (at Ravenna) 572

Father of Eugenius 3; described as 'medicus ab schola greca'; Marini, *P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, line 92 (document dated a. 572 June 3).

**LEONTIUS 10** v.c. (in Italy) 592

Vir clarissimus; sent to Nepe by pope Gregory in Jan. 592 to govern the city; *Greg. Ep.* II 14 (addressed to the clergy, council and people of Nepe and ordering them to obey Leontius - Leontio viro clarissimo, praesentium portitori, curam sollicitudinemque civitatis iniunximus, ut in cunctis invigilans, quae ad utilitatem vestram vel rei publicae pertinere cognoscit ipse disponat). The situation was an emergency due to Lombard threats.

**Leontius 11**

vir gloriosus; honorary consul; imperial commissioner in Sicily 598-600

Addressee of *Greg. Ep.* VIII 33, IX 34, 55, XI 4.

A close friend of bishop Domitianus of Melitene (cousin of the emperor Maurice); *Greg. Ep.* IX 4.

EX CONSULE: *Greg. Ep.* VIII 33, IX 32, 34, 55 (exconsuli Siciliae), 57 (all a. 598), IX 182 (a. 599), XI 4 (a. 600). Addressed as 'gloria vestra', *Ep.* VIII 33, IX 34, 55, XI 4; and styled 'gloriosus' or 'gloriosissimus', VIII 34, IX 4, 32, 46, 56, 57, 63, 106, 130, 182, XI 4.

Sent to Sicily in 598 by Maurice on a special commission; *Greg. Ep.* IX 4 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.); to Domitianus; isdem autem gloriosus vir in Sicilia se retinuit et ad Romanam urbem necdum venit. In his tamen quae ei pro publica utilitate serenissimorum dominorum iussione

## LEONTIUS 13

mandata sunt, in quantum ratio fuit, minime suffragari distulimus). His mission was to examine the accounts of various former office-holders for evidence of fraud and misconduct (cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 152-3); between 598 and 600 Gregory wrote several letters to Leontius and others on behalf of persons involved; *Greg. Ep.* IX 34 (a. 598 Oct.; to Leontius, for Apollonius), IX 55-7 (a. 598 Nov.; letters to Leontius, Amandinus and the bishops of Syracuse and Tauromenium, for Gregorius 6), IX 63 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.) and 130 (a. 599 April; to Azimarchus and to the bishop of Syracuse and the defensor of Syracuse, for Laurentius 5, due to present the accounts of Bonifatius 4), and IX 182 (a. 599 July; to the bishop of Syracuse, for Criscentius 2). He also investigated Libertinus, whom he flogged and imprisoned, incurring Gregory's reproaches; *Greg. Ep.* XI 4 (a. 600 Sept.; to Leontius). His instructions were to investigate accounts back to the ninth and tenth indictions (i.e. back to Sept. 590); *Greg. Ep.* IX 130. Among his assistants on his mission were Azimarchus, Amandinus, Marcus 6 and Timarchus. He was authorised by Gregory, with bishop John of Syracuse, to deal with the affairs of bishop Decius of Lilybaeum and with matters concerning the property of the former bishop Theodorus (probably former bishop of Lilybaeum); *Greg. Ep.* VIII 34 (a. 598 Aug.), IX 4 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.). He complained to Gregory about bishop Leo of Catania; *Greg. Ep.* IX 32 (a. 598 Oct.). He tried to restrict certain privileges enjoyed by citizens of Naples and Gregory asked the defensor of Syracuse, Romanus, to urge him to respect liberties and privileges; *Greg. Ep.* IX 46 (a. 598 Oct./Nov.). He was also involved with the payment of salaries (annona) to officials at Rome; *Greg. Ep.* IX 106 (a. 599 Feb.; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 152, n. 17, against Richards, *Consul of God*, p. 88). On his appointment in 598 he sent to Gregory a gift of oil of the Holy Cross; *Greg. Ep.* VIII 33.

**Leontius 12**

illustrius M/L VI

Λεοντίου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 414A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (208) of Λεοντίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (152) of ἰλλουστρίου).

**Leontius 13**

scholasticus L VI

A native of Constantinople and an advocate, he attended the lectures of Theodorus 63 (probably at Alexandria) on heresies and later published them from his notes; Theodorus, *De Sectis*, title (in PG 86. 1. 1193) (Λεοντίου σχολαστικοῦ Βυζαντίου σχόλια ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου). The work alludes to the patriarch of Alexandria Eulogius (581-607). He was not identical with the theologian Leontius of Byzantium; cf. S. J. Rees, *JTS* 40 (1939), pp. 346-60.



Leontius 14 ?doctor (in Egypt) VI  
...]ς Λεοντίω ἰατρο [...; *Stud. Pal.* III 340 provenance unknown.

Leontius 15 chartularius VI  
Λεοντίου χαρ(τουλαρίου); Zacos 413 (seal; obv.: square monogram (207) of Λεοντίου; rev.: monogram (355) of XAP).

Leontius 16 domesticus VI  
Λεοντίου δομestίκου; Zacos 414 (seal; obv.: square monogram (206) of Λεοντίου; rev.: +ΔΟ/ΜΕCΤΙ/ΚΟV).

Leontius 17 magister militum Byzac(ena) VI  
Leontii (sic) magistro mil(itum) Byzac(ena); Zacos 2898a and b (two seals; obv.: (a) ΔΕΥS/ΑΙVΤΑ/ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΙ (b is similar); rev.: (a) ΜΑΙS/ΤΡΟΜΙL<sup>S</sup>/ΩΥΞΔC, (b) [Μ]Α[Ι]S/[Τ]ΡΟΜΙL<sup>S</sup>./ΥΞΑΦ). Similar seals are recorded by Zacos in Mordtmann, *BZ* 15 (1906), p. 614, and cf. Likhachev, *Nekotorie*, p. 523, Laurent, *Echos d'Orient* 38 (1939), p. 358.

LEONTIVS 18 comes (Egypt) VI/VII  
A comes and fruit grower who forwarded taxes due from the monastery of St Victor (somewhere in Egypt); *Stud. Pal.* III 604 provenance unknown, dated Mesore 9, indiction 13 (ὕπερ διαγ[ρα]φ(ῆς) Ἁγίου Βίκτ(ορος) δ(ιὰ) κόμ(ετος) Λεωντί(ου) πομαρ(ι)τ(ου)).

Leontius 19 (?)arcarius VI/VII  
Λεοντίου (?)ἀρκαρίου; Zacos 412 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2198 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (210) of Λεοντίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (34) of ἀρκαρίου, or possibly of the name Κυριακοῦ).

Leontius 20 illustrius M VI/M VII  
Λεοντίου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 415 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (209) of Λεοντίου; rev.: ΙΛΛΔ/CTRIΔ).

Leontius 21 cubicularius, chartularius et sacellarius VI/VII  
Λεοντίου κουβικουλαρίου, χαρτουλαρίου (καί) σακελλαρίου; Zacos 911 (three specimens), Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2039 (seals; obv.: ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΟVΚΔ/ΒΙΚΔΛΛΑ/ΠΙΟV; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΟVΛΛΑ/ΠΙΟV/CA/ΚΕΛΛΑ/ΠΙΟV) (dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides).

Leontius 22 a secretis VI/VII  
Λεοντίω ἀσηκρητίς; Zacos 1541 (? = Dumbarton Oaks seal

58.106.3686, cf. Laurent, *Corpus* II 29) (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΛΕ/ΟΝΤΙΩ/ΑΧΗΚΡΗ/ΤΙC) (dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides).

Leontius 23 scholarius and archiater VI/VII  
Λεοντίου σχολαρί(ου) (καί) ἀρχιάτρ(ου); Zacos 2809 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (208) of Λεοντίου; rev.: CΧΟΛΛΑ/P,ΖΑΡΧ/ΙΑΤΡ,).

Leontius 24 chartularius VI/VII  
Λεοντίου χαρτουλαρίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 2752 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (210) of Λεοντίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (364) of χαρτουλαρίου).

Leontius (?) 25 praefectus VI/VII  
(?)Λεοντίου ἐπάρχου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4057 (seal; obv.: an indistinct cruciform monogram (possibly 210), apparently with the letters A (or Λ), N (or Κ), E, T and OY, read as Λεοντίου by Zacos (in a note on the envelope containing the seal; information from John Nesbitt); rev.: cruciform monogram (79) of ἐπάρχου).

Fl. Leontius 26 praepositus (at Syene) VI/VII  
Πραιπόσιτος, at Syene; named on an inscription recording the repair of walls; *SEG* VIII 782 = *SB* 7800 Syene (sixth/seventh century). He perhaps commanded the troops stationed at Syene. Cf. also Fl. Onophrius.

Leontius 27 PVC 603  
CVRATOR (DOMVS DIVINAE) RERVV ANTIIOCHI, before 603, and PVC in 603, when part of the Mese was burnt during riots at Constantinople; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603 (ὄντος ἐπάρχου πόλεως Λεοντίου τοῦ ἀπὸ κουρατόρων τῶν Ἀντιόχου). His name suggests that he may have been related to Leontia, the wife of Phocas.

LEONTIVS 28  
dux Libyae 609  
In 609 he was military governor of the province including Mareotis, appointed by Phocas but sympathetic to the revolt of Heraclius, to whose army under Nicetas 7 he sent reinforcements; *Joh. Nik.* 107.4 (p. 541 Zotenberg; 'préfet de Phocas à Maréotis'), 107.12-13 (p. 542 Zotenberg; 'du général Léonce, préfet de Maréotis, qui était d'accord avec eux'). He was killed in the battle in which Bonākīs was defeated; *Joh. Nik.* 107.38 (pp. 545-6 Zotenberg; 'le général Léonce'). Unless he

was a *tribunus* with troops in Mareotis itself, he was probably the *dux Libyae*, to whose jurisdiction Mareotis had been transferred by Justinian; cf. Just. Ed. 13, 17–21, but see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 74, n. 3.

**Leontius 29** sacellarius (of Phocas) 610

He came from Syria; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610.

A highly placed eunuch at the court of Phocas (εὐνούχῳ καὶ μεγιστάνῳ αὐτοῦ); in 604, after the death of Germanus 13, Leontius was sent to the Persian frontier with troops from Europe to besiege Narses 10 in Edessa; however Narses escaped and Leontius was shortly afterwards defeated at Arzamon by the Persians (in 605); he was replaced by Domnitiolus 2 and taken back to Constantinople in chains; Theoph. AM 6096, Cedr. 1 710 (where he is wrongly confused with Narses).

SACELLARIUS a. 610: ὁ σακελλάριος αὐτοῦ (of Phocas), Joh. Ant. fr. 218f; ὁ ἀπὸ σακελλαρίων, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610; τὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίαν, Nic. *Brev.* 5. He is styled 'the chamberlain' (perhaps *cubicularius*), and in 610, when the overthrow of Phocas was imminent, is said to have helped Phocas to throw the contents of the imperial treasury into the sea; Joh. Nik. 110.4 (p. 552 Zotenberg). After the overthrow of Phocas Leontius was among his chief supporters executed on the orders of Heraclius; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, Nic. *Brev.* 5, Joh. Nik. 110.5.7 (pp. 552–3 Zotenberg).

**Leontius 30** army commander (under Bonosus) 610

A military commander in the army of Bonosus 2, killed in the defeat of Bonosus by Nicetas 7 near Alexandria in 610; Joh. Nik. 108.12 (p. 548 Zotenberg) ('the general Leontius').

**Leontius 31** honorary consul, patricius and PVC 615/616

Envoy of Heraclius to Chosroes in 615/616; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 615 (citing Heraclius' letter to Chosroes which mentions Λεόντιον τὸν ἐνδοξότατον ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, πατρικίων καὶ ἑπαρχῶν πόλεως), Nic. *Brev.* 11–12, 20. See further Olympius 6.

**Leontius 32** comes opsarii (or ?opsicii) et spatharius 615 or 626

Κόμης τοῦ ὄψαριου καὶ σπαθάριος; one of the notables who tried to pacify the crowds in Hagia Sophia during a bread shortage on May 15, 626; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626. Cf. Alexander 21. He was perhaps an official concerned with the fish market. The title is otherwise unrecorded (though cf. Sisinnius 4) and it may be a mistake for κόμης τοῦ ὄψικίου; see Diehl, *BZ* 9 (1900), p. 677. The correct date of this incident was perhaps 615; two passages, this one and one under 615 referring to a hymn of triumph

by the patriarch Sergius, may have been accidentally transposed; see K. Ericsson, *JÖBG* 17 (1968), 17–28 and cf. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 442–3, n. 354.

**Leontius 33** military officer (Egypt) 640

In c. May 640, after the Arabs killed Ioannes 246, Leontius was sent from Babylon by Theodosius 41 and Anastasius 36 to Abūīṭ to assess the situation; he found Theodorus 166 there, left half his troops with him and returned to Babylon to report; described as fat and slothful and without military skills; Joh. Nik. 111.13–14 (p. 555 Zotenberg; 'le général Léonce').

**Leontius 34** honorary consul VII

Λεοντίῳ ὑπάτῳ; Zacos 912 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘ/ΕΙ+; rev.: +ΛΕΟ/ΝΤΙΩ/ΝΠΑΤ/Ω+), 913 (another seal, presumably of the same man; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ; rev.: +ΛΕ/ΟΝΤΙΩ/ΝΠΑΤ/Ω+).

**Leontius 35** honorary consul and imperialis tabularius VII

Λεοντίῳ ὑπάτῳ καὶ βασιλικῷ ταβουλαρίῳ; Zacos 914 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2042 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/[Β]ΟΗΘΙΑΕ/ΟΝΤΙΩ; rev.: +ΝΠ/ΑΤΩΚ[Β]/ΑΙΛΙΚ[Ω]/ΤΑΒΔΛΑ/ΡΙΩ).

**Leontius 36** candidatus et imperialis spatharius VII

Λεοντίου κανδιδάτου καὶ βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 910 = Dumbarton Oaks seals 55.1.2037 and 55.1.2038 (two specimens of the same seal; obv.: ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΟΝΚΑ/ΝΔΙΔ[ΑΤ]/ΟΝ+; rev.: ΒΑC/ΙΛΙΚΟΝC/ΠΑΘΑΡ/ΙΟΝ+).

**Leontius 37** candidatus et imperialis spatharius VII

Λεοντίου κανδιδάτου καὶ βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 2896 (seal; obv.: +ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΟΝΚΑ/ΝΔΙΔΑ/Τ[Ο]Ν; rev.: ΚΑ[Ι]/ΒΑCΙΛΕΙ/ΚΟΝCΠΑ/ΘΑΡΙΔ).

**Leontius 38** notarius VII

Λεοντίῳ νοταρίῳ; Zacos 915 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ+; rev.: +ΛΕ/ΟΝΤΙΩ/ΝΟΤΑΡ/ΙΩ+).

**Leontius 39** illustrius and tractator Insularum VII

Λεοντίου ἰλλουστρίου. Λεοντίου τρακτευτοῦ Νήσων; Zacos 914A (seal; obv.: ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΟΝΙ/ΜΟΝC/ΤΡΙΟΝ; rev.: ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΔΤΡ/-ΑΚΤΕΝ/ΤΘΝΗC/ΩΝ). Probably one individual and perhaps, to judge by the similarities of the seals, identical with Leontius 40, possibly at an earlier stage of his career, before becoming ἀπὸ ἑπάρχων.

**Leontius** 40 ex praefectis and tractator Insularum VII

Λεοντίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων. Λεοντίου τρακτευτοῦ Νήσων; Zacos 909a a and b (two seals; obv.: (a) ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΔΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ (b is similar); rev.: (a) ΛΕΟΝ/ΤΙΔΤΡ/ΑΚΝΗC/ΩΝ+, (b) ΛΕΟΝ/[Τ]ΙΔΤΡΑ/[Κ]-ΝΗC/[Ω]Ν+). The seal presumably belonged to one individual, who was honorary praefect and a financial official responsible for the province of Insulae. Cf. Leontius 39.

**Leontius** 41 ex praefectis VII

Λεοντίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1540 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5552 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΛΕΟΝΤΙ/ΩΑΠΟΕ/ΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ+).

Leonto (Cedr. 1 706, 708): see Leontia.

**Leovigildus** king of the Visigoths 568–586

Livvigildus, Leovigildus, Levvigildus; Coins (Miles, pp. 175–98). Leovegildus; Joh. Bicl., Isid. Leuvechildis; Greg. Tur. Leuvigeldus; Greg. *Dial.*

Brother of Liuva; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38. Father of Ermenegildus and Reccaredus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49, 51, 52, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, v 38, vi 29, 30, 33, 43, viii 28, 38, 46, ix 1, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31. They were his sons by his first wife who died before he became king; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, ix 1 and cf. Görres, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* xii (1872), pp. 597–9. After he became king he married Goisuintha, the widow of Athanagildus 1; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, v 38.

KING of the Visigoths a. 568 Aug. 2/mid November–586 April 13/May 8: he was made joint ruler of the Visigoths by his brother Liuva during the second year of the latter's reign and was given Spain itself to rule, his brother retaining Septimania; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48, *Lat. reg. Visig.* 26–7. On his brother's death (in 571 Dec./572 March) he became sole ruler of the whole kingdom; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, ix 24. He reigned for eighteen years; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 26, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 31. For his dates, see Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxvii (1902), pp. 415, 417, 421.

He succeeded in restoring the Visigothic kingdom, which had been fragmented by rebellions, to its full former extent; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569. In 570 and 571 he attacked the imperial forces in Spain; he ravaged the districts of Bastetania (Baza) and Malacitana (Malaga) in 570, defeated the 'milites' (i.e. the imperial troops) and restored the area to the

kingdom, while in the following year he entered Asidona, defeated the 'milites' there and brought the city back under Gothic rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570, s.a. 571, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. For the next six years he was involved in the suppression of rebellion and the restoration of order in various parts of the kingdom. In 572 he suppressed a long-standing rebellion in Cordoba and also brought back under Gothic control many cities and forts, allegedly killing many peasants in the process (interfecta rusticorum multitudine; presumably a peasant revolt); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572. In 573 he invaded Sabaria, laid waste the lands of the Sappi (location unknown, possibly near the Douro, cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 61) and brought the province under his rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. In 574 he entered Cantabria and wiped out those persons responsible for plundering the province (provinciae pervasores; their identity is unknown); he captured Amaia and brought the province under his rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 574. In 575 he brought under his control the Montes Aregenses (in Gallaecia), in the process capturing Aspidius; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 575, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. In 576 he harassed the borders of the Suevic kingdom before granting king Miro a short truce at Miro's request; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576. In 577 he attacked Orospeđa (the eastern portion of the Sierra Morena), seized the cities and forts and added them to his kingdom; shortly afterwards there was a peasant revolt but this was suppressed and the whole of Orospeđa came under Gothic rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 577, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. By 578 all rebels and raiders had been destroyed (extinctis undique tyrannis et pervasoribus Hispaniae superatis) and the kingdom was at peace; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578.

He was responsible for the execution or exile of many rich and noble Visigoths, whose wealth he confiscated for the royal treasury; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 51, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38. He revised the laws of the Visigoths and emended the Code of Euric, adding new laws and removing obsolete ones; he was allegedly the first king of the Visigoths to wear special royal robes and to take his seat upon a throne; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 51. His legal code has not survived intact but many enactments from it were included in the Code of Reccesuinth; cf. Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxiii (1898), 426–33, 484–92. In 578 he founded a new city in Celtiberia and gave it the name Recopolis after his son Reccared; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 51.

In 573 Leovigild associated his two sons with him in the kingship; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38. In 579 he married Ermenegildus to the Frankish princess Ingundis 2 and gave him part of the kingdom to rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38. Later in the same year Ermenegild rebelled against him (cf. Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49) but apparently Leovigild took no military action against his son until

582, when he gathered an army, marched against him and captured Emerita; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 582, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 18 (Emerita), vi 43. He destroyed Ermenegild's best troops at Osset (near Seville); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43. Probably in early 583 he laid siege to his son in Seville and defeated an army of the Sueves under Miro, Ermenegild's ally; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43. At about this time he perhaps captured Italica; see the coin legend 'cum De(o) o(btinuit) Etalica', Miles, 111, 193, and cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 71-2. He restored the walls of Italica and so increased the threat to Seville; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584. He took Seville, possibly in summer 583, though Ermenegild escaped to the imperial forces in Spain, and he regained many of the cities and forts which his son had seized; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584. By means of bribery he persuaded the imperial commander (Anonymus 90) to withdraw his support from Ermenegild and shortly afterwards (in c. Feb. 584, cf. Thompson, pp. 72-3 with n. 7) he captured his son in Cordoba; he carried him off to Toledo, where he deposed him and sent him into exile in Valencia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, vi 43, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. Subsequently he had him executed; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31.

In 581 Leovigild made war on the Basques, seizing part of their land and founding the city of Victoriacum; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 581, cf. Thompson, p. 70. Following the defeat of Miro and the Suevic army in 583, he exacted an oath of loyalty from the Suevic king; subsequently he exacted similar oaths from Miro's successor, Eboricus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43. Then in 585, after the usurpation of Audeca, Leovigild overran the Suevic kingdom, deposed Audeca and incorporated Gallaecia into the Visigothic kingdom; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49, *Hist. Sueb.* 92. An attempt at rebellion by Malaricus was soon crushed by Leovigild's commanders; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585.

In 580, a year after the marriage of Ermenegild and Ingundis, Leovigild sent an envoy (Agila) to the Frankish king Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 43. The purpose of the embassy is not recorded but it was perhaps to open negotiations concerning the marriage of Reccared to Chilperic's daughter, Rignunthis. In 582 and 583 envoys of Chilperic (Ansoaldus 1 and Domegiselus) visited Spain to discuss details of Rignunthis' dowry; further envoys were sent by Leovigild after the visit of Ansoald first to Chilperic and then to Childebert, although their business is not recorded; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 18. Arrangements for the marriage were apparently made in early 584 but had to be postponed following the sudden death of a son of Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 34. Then on Sept. 1, 584, a large embassy of Visigoths visited Chilperic and began the return journey to Spain escorting Rignunthis; Greg. Tur. *HF*

vi 45. They had arrived in Toulouse when news came of the murder of Chilperic (late 584) and in the ensuing turmoil the expedition advanced no further; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 9. The marriage between Reccared and Rignunthis did not take place.

In spring 584, after the capture of Ermenegild and the flight of Ingundis for refuge to the imperial troops in Spain, Leovigild sent an envoy (Oppila) to Chilperic asking him to prevent Childebert, Ingundis' brother, from taking military action against the Visigoths to avenge his sister; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 40. In 585, after the execution of Ermenegild and the death of Ingundis, the Frankish king Guntram sent an army to attack Septimania; subsequently a letter fell into his hands, supposedly written by Leovigild to Fredegundis, widow of Chilperic, asking her to all costs to stop the army from marching on Spain and urging her to assassinate Childebert and Brunichildis and to buy peace with Guntram at any price; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28. Guntram's army raided Septimania and Leovigild sent Reccared to counter-attack with an assault on Toulouse and Arles; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 30, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585. Also in this year Leovigild ordered that ships found sailing from Gaul to Gallaecia be looted; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 35. In 585 and 586 he several times sent envoys to Guntram seeking to make peace but without success; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 35, 38, 45.

Leovigild was an Arian; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 46, ix 24, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49. He is accused of persecuting Catholics; he allegedly exiled bishops, confiscated church revenues and cancelled privileges and by a combination of bribery and fear induced Catholics to become Arians; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 50, cf. *Vit. Patr. Emer.* v 4-6. For his policy towards Catholics, marked by toleration down to the revolt of Ermenegild, cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-87. According to Isidore of Seville, he had Catholic converts rebaptised, until an Arian council in 580 decided that this was not necessary; cf. Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 50 and *Conc. Tol.* iii, 16. He convened the council of Arian bishops at Toledo in 580 following the conversion of Ermenegild to Catholicism and his revolt; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579. Gregory of Tours reports a rumour that Leovigild himself became a Catholic on his death-bed; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 46.

He died at Toledo in 586, between April 13 and May 8 (Zeumer, *op. cit.*, p. 415), after a short illness, and was succeeded by his son Reccared; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 586, Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 46, ix 1, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 51-2.

## Letodorus

vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI

Husband of Maria 9 (τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) Λητοδώρου); *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 30.

Leuba mother-in-law of Bladastes L VI

Mother-in-law (socrus) of Bladastes; in 585 she and bishop Amelius of Bigorre helped the exchange of messages between Leovigild and Fredegundis, and Leovigild asked for them to be rewarded if his plans succeeded (tunc Amelio episcopo et Leubae matronae bona tribuite, per quos missis nostris ad vos accedendi aditus reseratur); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 28.

Leucadius (*AE* 1938, 30) IV/VI: *PLRE* I (and cf. Nonnita, *PLRE* II).

Leudardus Frankish envoy 551/552

A Frank, sent with three colleagues by king Theodebald on an embassy to Justinian in response to the embassy of Leontius 5; Proc. *BG* iv 24.30. For the date, late 551/early 552, see Leontius. He and his colleagues were probably the addressees of the Letter from the Milanese Clergy on the religious situation; *Ep. Aevi Mer. Coll.* 4 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, pp. 438ff.) (= *Sitz. Akad. Bayer.* 1940, p. 20).

Leudastes comes civitatis Turonum ?-567/568, (II) 576-580

Born on the island of Cracina (or Gracina; unidentified, cf. Dalton II, p. 549) off the coast of Poitou; son of Leocadius, a slave working in a state vineyard; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48. His wife and father-in-law are mentioned and also his son, who died in 580; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 49, vi 32.

Sent to serve in the royal kitchens, he was employed in the bakery because of weak eyes and absconded several times, having one ear slit in punishment; finally he escaped and took service under Marcovefa, Charibert's queen, who put him in charge of the finest horses in her stables (equorum meliorum deputat esse custodem); he then sought and obtained the post of *comes stabulorum* (obsessus vanitate ac superbiae deditus, comitatum ambit stabulorum) and displayed much energy in furthering the queen's interests, meanwhile enriching himself and living in style; at her death he was rich enough to remain in office by bribing the king; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48.

COMES CIVITATIS TVRONVM a. (?) -567/568: he then became *comes* of Tours under Charibert (comes Turonis destinatur), behaving with arrogance and greed, living a life of debauchery, fomenting discord and growing very rich; when Charibert died Leudastes supported Chilperic, but Tours then fell to Sigibert, whose men seized all his ill-gotten gains; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48.

In 574 Theodebert seized Tours for Chilperic and advised Gregory that Leudastes ought to become *comes* again (ut scilicet comitatu quem prius habuerat potiretur); Leudastes began to fawn on Gregory, but Tours was retaken by Sigibert and he went into hiding in Brittany for the two years (574-575) when Sigibert was in control; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48.

COMES CIVITATIS TVRONVM (II) a. 576-580: he regained his post when Chilperic recovered Tours after the death of Sigibert (in 576); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48 (succedente iterum Chilperico in regnum, iste in comitatum accedit). In office in 577; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14 (tunc comes). Dismissed in 580 and succeeded by Eunomius (see below). The miraculous event related by Gregory of Tours, *Mir. S. Mart.* II 58, which occurred when Leudastes was *comes* (Leodastis qui tum Turonicum gerebat comitatum) could have occurred in either his first or second time in office.

On regaining office in 576 he resumed his infamous conduct, going around fully armed even in church and administering justice with much violence and cruelty; there was hostility between him and Merovech during the latter's stay in Tours (in 576-577) and Merovech seized his possessions; he tried to trap Merovech in 577, hoping to gain the goodwill of queen Fredegundis, and killed some of Merovech's followers; after the departure of Merovech in 577 Leudastes accused Gregory of inducing Merovech to seize his property but later changed his tone and again became humble and submissive; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14, 48. He is said to have stolen much church property and done great harm to the church and people of Tours and for this he was dismissed by Chilperic in (early) 580 and replaced by Eunomius; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 47, 49 (before Easter).

In early 580 he went to Chilperic and accused Gregory of Tours of planning to surrender Tours to Childebert and of slandering Fredegundis by alleging her adultery with bishop Bertram of Bordeaux; for this he was beaten and imprisoned, but then released after naming a subdeacon at Tours, Riculfus, as his informant and returned to Tours at Easter to arrest persons supposedly with information; the case was heard by an episcopal council in autumn 580 and Gregory was acquitted, while Leudastes, excommunicated by the bishops and outlawed by the king, first took refuge in a church in Paris and then secretly returned to Tours and transferred his most valuable possessions to Bourges; he again fled when the king's men came after him, though his wife was taken near Tournai and exiled; sometime later the people and the *iudex* at Bourges attacked him and took his property away; he collected supporters from Tours, returned to Bourges and recovered some of it and then went back



to Tours, but *Berulfus dux* pursued him and he abandoned everything and took refuge in St Hilary's at Poitiers; from there he emerged from time to time to rob houses, and he also assaulted women within the very precincts of the church, so that Fredegundis had him expelled from it; he now returned to Bourges and went into hiding with friends; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 49, cf. 47.

In 583 he reappeared in the vicinity of Tours bearing orders from the king that his wife could join him and he could live in Tours, and also a letter signed by several bishops ending his excommunication; Gregory however deferred receiving him as there was no letter of confirmation from Fredegundis and he warned Leudastes of possible danger from the queen but was ignored; Leudastes then went to see the king and accompanied him from Melun to Paris, but his attempts to secure the queen's forgiveness failed and he was driven from church before mass was celebrated; soon afterwards he was overtaken by the queen's men and tortured to death; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 32.

Leudebertus Frankish dux (under Dagobert) 635

A Frank, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* on the expedition under Chadoinid which subdued the Wascones; Fredegar. iv 78.

Leudefridus I dux of the Alamanni 587/588

Alamannorum dux; in 587/588 he angered king Childebert, escaped into hiding, and was replaced by Vncilenus I; Fredegar. iv 8 (dated in year 28 of Guntram).

Leudefredus 2 dux (of Childebert) 590

One of the *duces* sent by Childebert to Italy in 590 with Henus to help the Romans against the Lombards; he, Olfigandus and Raudingus were sent by Henus to the exarch Romanus 7; *Ep. Austras.* 40 (*MGH, Epp.*, III, p. 146) (styled 'vir magnificus dux' by Romanus). Cf. Henus.

Presumably a Frank, and so not identical with the Alaman Leudefred I.

Leudegiselus patricius (in Burgundy) 585

COMES STABVLI of Guntram a. 584 late/585 early: in late 584 or early 585 he and (Calumniosus *qui et*) Aegyla commanded the army sent by Guntram against the pretender Gundovald; Fredegar. iv 2 (Gunthramnus Leudisclum comestabuli et Aeghylanem patricium cum exercitu contra ipsum direxit). For the progress of the army, to Poitiers

and then south following Gundovald to Comminges, see Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 24-6, 28, 34-5. He commanded Guntram's army at the siege of Comminges in 585 and after its capture took the rebel leaders Mummolus 2, Sagittarius, Chariulf and Waddo 2 prisoner; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 37, 39. He returned to Guntram with the treasures captured after the siege; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 40 (styled 'dux').

At the Council of Mâcon (Oct. 585) there was a brawl between his followers and those of bishop Priscus of Lyon (the cause is not recorded); Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 20 (styled 'dux').

PATRICIVS a. 585: appointed *patricius* in Provence by Guntram; Fredegar. iv 5 (anno xxvii eiusdem regno Leudisclus a Gunthramno patricius partibus Provinciae ordinatur; the date is wrongly given as 587). The date was late in 585, when, after the invasion of Reccared, Leudegisel was appointed *dux* in place of Aegyla (Calumniosus) and given command of the district around Arles; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 30 (rex, Leudegiselum in locum Calumniosi cognomento Aegylanis ducem deligens, omnem ei Provinciam Arelatensem commisit).

He told Venantius Fortunatus how he used documents signed by bishop Germanus of Paris to cure members of his household who fell ill; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Germ.* XLVIII 135.

Leuderis Gothic commander (at Rome) 536

An elderly man with a reputation for wisdom, left in Rome by Vitigis with a garrison of four thousand men to hold it against Belisarius in late 536; Proc. *BG* I 11.26 (αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα ἐπιστήσας Λεύδεριν). When the city surrendered to Belisarius and the Gothic soldiers withdrew, Leuderis remained behind (moved by a sense of shame, according to Procopius); Proc. *BG* I 14.13. Belisarius sent him to the emperor with the keys of the city; Proc. *BG* I 14.15 (τὸν Γότθων ἄρχοντα), 24.1.

Leutharis I Alaman; commander of Franks (in Italy) 553-554

Λεύθαρις; Agath. Leutharius; Paul. Diac. Brother of Butilinus; an Alaman, influential among the Franks and a leader of his people, in 553 he and his brother invaded Italy with an army of Franks and Alamanni, occupying Parma and then in spring 554 moving down through Italy plundering as they went; Agath. I 6.2, 7.8-9, 11.2, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2, and see further Butilinus.

Leutharis is styled ὁ στρατηγός, Agath. II 3.6; ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ἡγεμόνων, Agath. II 2.1; Francorum dux, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2.

In Samnium they divided their forces and Leutharis invaded Apulia and Calabria as far as Hydruntum, causing havoc and destruction and seizing great amounts of booty; Agath. II 1.4-11. In the summer he



by bishop Venantius of Luna). For the date, cf. Greg. *Dial.*, ed. Moricca, pp. viii-ix. Liberius was of noble, presumably senatorial, family (nobilissimus) and perhaps of high rank (magnificus). Possibly he was a descendant of Liberius *patricius* (= *PLRE* II, Liberius 3).

**Libertinus** vir gloriosus, praetor Siciliae 593-595

PRÆTOR SICILIAE a. 593 May-595 April 20: his predecessor Iustinus 8 is 1st attested on July 5, 592; in office a. 593 May, Greg. *Ep.* III 37 (addressed 'Libertino praetori Siciliae'; he is asked to investigate allegations that a Jew, Nasas, owned Christian slaves, which was illegal; ab ipso amministrationis exordio Deus vos in causae suae voluit vindicta praedere); a. 595 April 20, *Ep.* V 32 (virum autem gloriosum domnum Libertinum praetorem; involved in punishing wrongdoers in Sicily). Identical with the unnamed 'vir gloriosus praetor Siciliae' whom Gregory asked to help bishop Euty chius of Tyndaris in his efforts to suppress paganism; Greg. *Ep.* III 59 (a. 593 Aug.; to Euty chius).

Addressed as 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* III 37, IX 28; and as 'magnifice fili', *Ep.* X 12. Styled 'vir gloriosus', *Ep.* III 59, V 32, IX 5; and 'magnificus', *Ep.* VII 19, XI 4.

He had left office by May 597, but was still in Sicily; Gregory had received from Ravenna documents containing allegations against him; Greg. *Ep.* VII 19 (to Cyprianus rector patrimonii in Sicily), cf. *Ep.* IX 28 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Libertino ex praefecto'; if correct, this title would suggest that he was honorary PPO, but it is probably a mistake for *ex praetore*), *Ep.* X 12 (a. 600 June; addressed 'Libertino ex praetori'). In 598 Gregory wrote to him in Sicily commending the *defensor* of Syacuse, Romanus; *Ep.* IX 28.

He was accused of embezzling public funds in order to repay the large sums which he had promised in order to obtain office and was convicted; he was ruined, flogged and imprisoned; Greg. *Ep.* IX 5 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; to Amandinus; de persona autem gloriosi Libertini quaedam ad nos ante pervenerant - hortati sumus, ut cum eo caritatem et gratiam haeretis), X 12 (a. 600 June; in difficulties; Gregory orders clothing to be provided for his servants), XI 4 (a. 600 Sept.; to Leontius I I; Gregory had received a dossier on the case from Leontius and accepted that Libertinus was guilty but complained that flogging and imprisonment were excessive punishment; he also noted that Libertinus' administration had been popular; cautionis exemplar Libertini viri magnifici ad me stultit gloria vestra transmittere, quatenus mihi ostenderet, cum qua obligatione vel mente ad praeturae dignitatem isdem Libertinus accesserit... et quia de eodem Libertino tota simul provincia gratias referebat, indicavi).

Licerius referendarius (of Guntram); bishop of Arles 586-588

Licerius regis Guntchramni referendarius; successor of Sapaudus as bishop of Arles in 586; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 39. He died in 588 and was succeeded by Virgil, abbot from Autun; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 23.

**LICINIANVS** comes (in Egypt) and dioecetes 567/568

A complaint by Aphrodito to the *dux Thebaidis* Athanasius 3 in 567/568 alludes to Licinianus' secretary ('Αφοῦς ὁ νοτάριος Λικινιανοῦ) τοῦ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμ(ιτος) καὶ διοικητο(ῦ) [ύμ]ῶν); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002 II 15 perhaps from Antinoe. For the date, see Athanasius 3. There was no post of *dioecetes* under the *dux Thebaidis*; Licinianus therefore seems to have combined the dignity of *comes* with the private post of manager, presumably of estates owned by Athanasius in the vicinity of Aphrodito (assuming the restoration [ύμ]ῶν to be correct). Cf. Papirius I.

**LICINIVS** praefectus Augustalis L V/E VI

Αὐγουστάλιος Ἀλεξανδρείας; he reported to the emperor (wrongly called Justinian, see below) that Andas, king of Ethiopia, wished to adopt Christianity; Joh. Mal. 434. These events, narrated by Malalas in Justinian's reign, took place under Zeno or Anastasius; see Bury, *LRE*<sup>2</sup> II, pp. 322ff. with 322, n. 6, Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 103-5 with 104, n. 1.

Lillis supporter of Phocas; envoy to Persia 603

Λίλλις; Joh. Ant. Λίλιος; Theoph. Sim., Nic. Call., cf. Theoph. (Βίλιος).

Probably envoy of Phocas and the army of Thrace in late 602, sent to Maurice at Constantinople with Alexander 18; Joh. Ant. fr. 218d (*FHG* V 36 = *Exc. de ins.*, fr. 108). He was the agent sent by Phocas to murder Maurice and his sons; he returned to Phocas at Hebdomon with their heads and announced the deed to the army; Theoph. Sim. VIII 12.8. Maurice was killed on Nov. 27; cf. *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602. Sent by Phocas in the fifth month of his reign (March/April 603) as envoy to Persia to announce Phocas' accession to Chosroes; greeted by Germanus 13 at Dara, he proceeded to Persia, where he was seized and imprisoned while Chosroes prepared for war; Theoph. Sim. VIII 15.2-7, Theoph. AM 6095, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 43.

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Liuva I king of the Visigoths 567-571/572

Brother of Leovigildus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48, Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 38.

KING of the Visigoths a. 567 Aug./Nov.–571 Dec./572 March: he succeeded Athanagild after an interregnum of five months; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 568, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, ix 24, *Lat. reg. Visig.* 23–5. He became king at Narbo in year 605 of the provincial era and the second year of Justin II; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48. He reigned for three years, according to Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48; for four years, four months, according to *Lat. reg. Visig.* 25. He probably died in 571 Dec./572 March. For his dates, see Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxvii (1902), pp. 417, 419–21.

In the second year of his reign he made Leovigild joint ruler, giving him Spain (Hispania Citerior) and retaining Septimania (Gallia) for himself; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 48. At his death (cf. above) the whole kingdom was reunited under his brother; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 49, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, ix 24.

Liuva II king of the Visigoths 601–603

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 155, s.n. Liwa.

Son of Reccared by a woman of humble origins (*ignobili quidem matre progenitus*), he became king on his father's death in 601 when he was still a youth (in *primo flore adolescentiae*); after two years he was deposed by a rebellion led by Witteric, mutilated and killed; he was then in his twentieth year; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 57. According to the *Laterculus regum Visigothorum* 29 he was king for one year, six months, twelve days; *MGH, AA* xiii, p. 466. He reigned from a. 601 Dec. 1/26 to a. 603 June 12/July 7; see Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxvii (1902), pp. 427–8.

Līwnākīs military commander (Egypt) E VII

'But the military commander they named Līwnākīs, by this name (sic), as he was a perverse and foolish man and "a dog's head"; Joh. Nik. 107. 27 (p. 544 Zotenberg). See Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 92, n. 1 'Līwnākīs est sans doute Κυνώπης: le kof initial, non barré, se confond avec un lam; entre k et f, il n'y a que la différence d'un point diacritique.'

Lobelos Croat chief E VII

A chief of the Croats (οἱ Χρωβάτοι), he had four brothers (Kloukas, Kosentzis, Mouchlo and Chrobatos) and two sisters (Touga and Bouga); in c. 626 they arrived in Dalmatia, found the Avars there and subdued them; Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 30.63–9, cf. 31. 10–20.

Lollius (*Not. Scav.* 1905, p. 118) IV/VI: PLRE II.

Longinus I

bodyguard of Belisarius 538

Native of Isauria; Proc. *BG* II 10.19.

In 531 Longinus and Stephanacius commanded the Isaurian troops, numbering at least two thousand, in the Roman army under Belisarius during the campaign against the Persians; Proc. *BP* I 18.7 (τοῖς μέντοι Ἰσαύροις Λογγίνος τε καὶ Στεφανάκιος ἐφειστήκεσαν). It is open to question whether they then commanded these forces in the battle of Callinicum (April 19, 531; see Belisarius, p. 185), in which, according to Procopius, most of the Isaurians were killed together with their leaders (σὺν τοῖς ἀρχουσι; they are not named) offering no resistance (see Dorotheus 3); cf. Proc. *BP* I 18.38–40. The account of the battle in Joh. Mal. 463–4, while attesting the death of Stephanacius (without however associating him with the Isaurians), names as commanders of the Isaurians in the battle itself Dorotheus and Mamas. It is possible therefore that Longinus and Stephanacius, the former certainly one of the bodyguards of Belisarius in 538 (see below), were both his bodyguards already in 531 and were summoned to fight at his side at Callinicum, leaving the command of the Isaurians in battle to the two men named by John Malalas, Dorotheus and Mamas, who both perhaps perished in the fighting.

In March 538 Longinus was one of the bodyguards (δορυφόροι) of Belisarius; he was with him in Rome when the Gothic siege ended (mid March 538) and fought in the attack on the Goths as they withdrew across the Tiber; he was killed in this fighting and his death was deeply lamented in the army, according to Procopius; Proc. *BG* II 10.19–20.

Longinus 2

PVC (?536)537–c. 542

Probably in 535 or 536 (after Just. *Nov.* 9, issued on April 14, 535) he was sent to Emesa by Justinian to examine claims that large sums of money were owed to the church there; he found the claims fraudulent, based on forged documents, and exposed the forger, Priscus; Proc. *Anecd.* 28.10–15.

PVC a. (?536)537–541/2: he subsequently became PVC; Proc. *Anecd.* 28.10 (τὴν τοῦ δήμου ἀρχὴν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑστερον ἔσχεν). In office a. 536 or 537, May 17, Just. *Nov.* 43 (ἐπάρχῳ πόλεως, dated 537) (= *Auth.* XLIV, dated 536); a. 537 Dec. 28, Just. *Nov.* 105 epil. (ἐγράφη τὸ ἰσότυπον Λογγίνῳ τῷ λογιωτάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως, dated 537) (= *Auth.* xxxiv, dated 536) (for the correct date, after *Nov.* 47 of Aug. 31, 537, see Schoell–Kroll, p. 507 note); a. 538 Jan. 18, Just. *Nov.* 64 (τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς εὐδαίμονος καὶ βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως) (= *Auth.* lxxv); a. 538 March

9, *Just. Nov.* 63 (ἐπάρχῳ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως) (= *Auth.* LXVI); a. 539 March 10, *Just. Nov.* 79 epil. (scripta exemplaria Longino gloriosissimo praefecto urbis); a. 541/542, *Joh. Mal.* 482 (καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Λογγίνος ἑπάρχος πόλεως προεβλήθη; dated between events of 541 and 542; he paved the courtyard of the Cisterna Basilica (Yerebatan Saray; cf. e.g. Bury, *LRE*<sup>2</sup> 1, p. 77) and constructed the colonnades there).

He is recorded in two poems by Arabius *scholasticus* (which were included in the *Cycle* of Agathias, cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 10–11); *Anth. Gr.* xvi 39 (see below), 314 (Εἰκόνα Λογγίνῳ χρυσεῖν πόλις εἶχεν ὀπάσσαι, εἰ μὴ πόντα Δίκη χρύσον ἀπεστρέφετο).

According to the lemma of *Anth. Gr.* xvi 39, the poem was inscribed on a statue to him in Constantinople (εἰς εἰκόνα Λογγίνου ὑπάρχου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ); the verses contain no references to his prefecture or to Constantinople, but describe him as a widely travelled and swift messenger of the emperor and a maker of peace (Νεῖλος, Περσίς, Ἴβηρ, Σόλυμοι, Δύσις, Ἀρμενίς, Ἰνδοὶ / καὶ Κόλχοι σκοπέλων ἐγγύθι Καυκασίων / καὶ πεδία ζείοντα πολυσπερέων Ἀγαρηνῶν / Λογγίνου ταχινῶν μάρτυρές εἰσι πόνων / ὡς δὲ ταχύς βασιλῆι διάκτορος ἦεν ὀδεύων, / καὶ ταχύς εἰρήνην ὥπασε κευθομένην). He apparently visited all the frontier peoples in the east, from the Caucasus to Ethiopia, including the centre of Asia Minor (the Σόλυμοι, i.e. the Pisidians, or perhaps the Isaurians) and the west (Italy, Gaul and/or Spain), and was presumably an envoy of Justinian employed on many embassies; for a parallel, see *PLRE* II, p. 988, Senarius (citing his epitaph). None of the occasions seems to be identifiable.

Procopius describes him as a large and vigorous man; *Proc. Anecd.* 28.10.

Possibly identical with Longinus 3.

**Longinus 3** ex praefectis; honorary consul; MVM 550

In 550 he promoted building works at Chalcis (Qennesrin) in Syria (προνοία [Λ]ογγίνου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) καὶ πανευφήμου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων (καὶ) ὑπάτων καὶ στρατηλάτου) together with Anastasius 10 and Isidorus 5; *IGLS* II 348, 349 = Prentice, *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III, p. 243, nos. 305, 306 Chalcis (dated to indiction 14 and year 862 of the Seleucid era).

He probably bore the titles of honorary PPO and honorary consul and held office as *magister militum* (either *per Orientem* or as a *vacans*), but could be identical with Longinus 2 and therefore a former PVC.

**Longinus 4** patricius M VI

A relation of his, who was a native of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was

cured by Symeon the Younger; *V. Sym. Iun.* 168 (Λογγίνου τοῦ γενομένου πατρικίου συγγένης).

**Longinus 5**

PPO (Italiae) 568–574/575

Sent to Italy in 568 by Justin II to replace Narses 1 (ut statim in Italiam Longinum praefectum mitteret, qui Narsetis locum obtineret); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 5. Praefectus, at Ravenna; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 95, 96, *CIL* XI 317 (cited below), *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 29, 30. He was PPO in Italy from 568 to at least 574/575. Probably in 568 or 569 he constructed defensive works against the Lombards at Caesarea near Ravenna; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 95 (in Cesarea iuxta Ravenna a Longino praefecto palocopiam (?; also palorum copia) in modum muri propter metum gentis extracta est). In 572, after the murder of Alboin (June 28), Longinus sent a ship which conveyed Rosimunda, Hilmechis and Albsuinda, together with the Lombard treasures, to Ravenna; there he is said to have suggested that Rosimunda murder Hilmechis and marry him; after the deaths of Rosimunda and Hilmechis he embarked Albsuinda and the treasures on board ship and had them conveyed to Constantinople to the emperor; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 29–30, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96 (Rosimunda arrived at Ravenna in August). In 574 or 575 his *cancellarius* Apollinaris died; *CIL* XI 317 (Apolenaris cancell(arius) pre(fecti) Longini).

**LONGINVS 6**

v.c., strator 593

Delivered a letter from the emperor to pope Gregory in 593; *Greg. Ep.* III 61 (a. 593 Aug.; 'Longino viro clarissimo stratore veniente'). The *stratores* were imperial grooms; cf. Jones, *LRE* III, p. 189, n. 37.

Luceianus

defensor (ecclesiae) E/M VI

Hic requiescit s(an)c(tae) m(emoriae) Luceianus defensor; he died aged about forty-eight in 542; *CIL* X 1352 Nola. Probably an ecclesiastical *defensor*, to judge by the epithet.

**LVCINVS 1**

v.c., cancellarius of Campania 534

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) in 534 to pay to a retiring *primicerius* (Anonymus 39) the money due to him; the money was to come from the third payment of the revenues of Campania

(ex canone provinciae Campaniae tertiae illationis); Cass. *Var.* xi 37 (addressed 'Lucino v.c., cancellario Campaniae').

Lucinus 2                      scriniarius of the cura militaris 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *scriniarius curae militaris* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 24 (title: de scriniario curae militaris) Lucinum scriniarium curae militaris esse praecipimus.

He was probably an *exceptor* moving up the ladder of promotion; cf. Jones, *LRE* II 588-9 with n. 61.

LVCIVS                      proconsul (in Constantinople) M VI

Supposedly brother of the eunuch Narses 1, husband of Anthusa and father of a daughter Arthelays; said to have helped his daughter to flee to Narses at Beneventum in Italy in order to save her from the advances of the emperor Justinian; his execution was ordered by Justinian and he took refuge in the house of the emperor's nephew Iustinus; *V. S. Arthelaidis Virginis* (= *ASS, Mart.* I, 263-4). The story uses good historical information but is itself a fiction.

Lucius Map...

Luminosa                      widow of Zemarchus L VI

Widow of Zemarchus 4 at Centumcellae (Civitavecchia); styled 'honesta femina'; on her husband's death the *comitiva* which he was exercising was transferred to her, by the *palatinus* Theodorus 40, to be exercised either by herself or her nominee until the end of the current indiction; Gregory wrote in 590 to bishop Dominicus of Centumcellae urging him to protect her from harassment; *Greg. Ep.* I 13 (a. 590 Dec.; 'quia cometivam illam, quam vir eius agendam susceperat, nunc Theodoro palatino concedente, ipsi est mulieri, ut peragere debeat, adtributum, vel quem ipsi placuerit, donec praesentis indictionis celebretur impletio, nullum eandem quousque expleat inquietare permittas'). The current indiction would have ended in August 591.

Lupus 1                      dux (in Gaul) M/L VI

A native of Gaul; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 7, line 61. Brother of Magnulfus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 10 title and line 20. Father of Romulfus 2; *Greg. Tur. HF* X 19. He also had a daughter who married Godegiselus 2; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 12.

Subject of three poems by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* VII 7 (de Lupo duce), 8 (ad eundem), 9 (Item ad Lupum ducem).

dux under Sigibert and Childebert II: under Sigibert, *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 46 (date unknown), Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 7 title, VII 9 title (date c. 575); under Childebert, in 581 he was *dux* of Champagne (*dux Campanensis*), *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 4. Perhaps he was *dux* of Champagne before Sigibert's death and then under Childebert until 581, i.e. 575-581. Still styled *dux* in 587, *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 11, 12, 14; and probably in 590, *HF* X 19. See further below.

When Venantius Fortunatus first came to Gaul, Lupus helped him; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 8, lines 49-50, VII 9. He served under Sigibert; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 7, line 28. Acclaimed for his ability both as a judge and as a general; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 7, lines 45-7, *Carm.* VII 8, lines 65-8. He won an important victory over the Saxons and the Danes; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 7, lines 49-58 (under Sigibert, and so before 575). He was an acquaintance of Gogo and his colleague in government; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 4, lines 27-30. On some unknown occasion he was sent to Marseilles by Sigibert; there he met Andarchius, took him back with him and commended him to the king's service; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 46. Highly praised by Venantius; *Carm.* VII 7, *passim*.

A supporter of queen Brunichildis, he suffered great harassment from Vrsio and Bertefredus and finally in 581 was forced by them to leave his post of *dux*, in spite of the queen's support; leaving his wife at Laon, he fled to the court of Guntram to await the coming of age of Childebert; in the meanwhile his property was plundered by Vrsio and Bertefred; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 4, cf. IX 14 (bishop Egidius of Reims was a leader of the opposition to him).

In 587 he and Dynamius 1 returned to Childebert's court; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 11. He now made his peace with bishop Egidius; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 14 (to the annoyance of Guntram).

Possibly alive in 590; cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* X 19 (Romulfus, filius Lupi ducis; he is not indicated as dead).

Since he is styled *dux* in 587 and perhaps in 590, he probably still bore the title, though whether he regained it in 587 or had retained it while with Guntram is not known.

Lupus 2                      patricius VII

Λούπῳ πατρικ[ι]ῶ; Fogg Art Museum seal 2809 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of κύριε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (212) of Λούπῳ with πα/τρ/ικ/ιῶ in the four quarters).

Luxorius: poet, L V/E VI: *PLRE* II.

**Lycastus** ex praefectis and comes VII  
 Λυκάστω ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν καὶ κόμητι; Zacos 916 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΗ/ΛΥΚΑΣ/ΤΩ; rev.: + ΑΠ[Ο]/ΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝΚΑΙ/ΚΟΜΗ/ΤΙ+).

**Macarius 1** pagarch (? of Antaeopolis) VI  
 Mentioned in a sixth-century document, possibly from Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67055 recto π 10 (Μακαρίου παγάρχου κ[αί...?]). Aphrodito was a village in the Antaeopolite nome; cf. also *P. Lond.* iv 1347 (παγαρχία Ἀνταίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, dated in 710).

**Macarius 2** v.c. (in Egypt); argentarius 612  
 A receipt acknowledges supplies given δ(ιὰ) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Μακ[α]ρ[ίου] τραπεζ(ίτου) to some boatmen at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 151 = *Stud. Pal.* III 284 dated a. 612 Sept./Oct. (years 289 and 258 at Oxyrhynchus, indiction 1, in the month of Phaophi).

**Macco** Frankish comes (of Poitiers) 589-590  
 COMES (CIVITATIS PICTAVENSIS) a. 589-590: in 589 he was instructed by Childebert II to check the violence at Poitiers resulting from the divisions in the nunnery of St Radegund; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 41 (comes). In 590 the troubles worsened and, in accordance with his orders, he sent his men in to restore order by force; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 15 (tunc temporis comes). At the investigation into the affair he was named by the abbess Leuovera as witness that she had honestly received a gift of money, against allegations by Chlotildis; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 16. Also in 590 he took action against the sons of Waddo 2 who were harassing the Poitiers region as brigands; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 21 (comes).

**Maccus** Moorish envoy 546  
 Envoy of Antalas to Ioannes 36 Troglita at Antonia Castra in Byzacena in late 546; *Coripp. Ioh.* i 463-7, esp. 466-7 tunc, cui Romanae fuerat facundia linguae, iussus Maccus ait. For the fate of the embassy, see Ioannes, p. 647.

**Macedonia** M VI  
 A young girl who died aged twelve, subject of verses by Paul the Silentiary recording the grief of her parents; *Anth. Gr.* vii 604. The Palatine *corrector* identifies her as the daughter of Paul himself, but the

verses do not support this. If not Paul's daughter, she may, to judge by her name, have been daughter of Paul's contemporary, the poet Macedonius 3.

Macedonius (*IGC* 27) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**MACEDONIUS 1** referendarius (East) before 529

A former *referendarius*, he was accused of paganism during the first persecution of pagans by Justinian in 529 (in indiction 8, therefore not before September 529) and his property was confiscated; *Theoph. AM* 6022 (Ὁ ἀπὸ ῥεφερενδარიῶν), cf. *Joh. Mal.* 449 (who says that he was killed, with others, but the account in *Malalas* is abbreviated and unreliable; cf. *Thomas* 3).

**Macedonius 2** v.ill., curator dominicae domus (?c. 528-531)

V. INL., CVRATOR DOMINICAE DOMVS a. 531 Nov. 27: joint addressee with *Florus 1* and *Petrus 1* of *CJ* vii 37.3, dated Nov. 27, 531 (Macedonio viro illustri curator et ipsi dominicae domus). The post was probably of recent creation (cf. *Stein, Bas-Emp.* II 423); *Florus* also held it but combined it with that of *CRP*, while *Petrus* was *curator* of the *divina domus* of the empress.

He is presumably identical with the κουράτωρ Macedonius entrusted early in Justinian's reign with settling the estate of *Eulalius* (cf. *PLRE* II, *Eulalius* and *Macedonius 7*); *Joh. Mal.* 439-40. If so, he will have perhaps been in this office since c. 528.

**Macedonius 3** poet; honorary consul M VI

Author of a number of poems in the Greek Anthology; in the headings he is styled ὑπάτος and ὑπατικός, both to be interpreted as designating the honorary consulship (he is not listed in the *Fasti* of *consules ordinarii*); *Anth. Gr.* v 223-5 (no title in *Pal.* but Μακηδονίου ὑπάτου at *Plan.* vii 34 = *Anth. Gr.* v 223), vi 30, 40, 69-70, 73, 83, 175-6, vii 566, ix 625, 645, 648-9, x 67, 70-1, xi 58-9, 61, 63, 366, 370, 374-5, 380, xvi 51 (all Μακηδονίου ὑπάτου), *Anth. Gr.* v 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 238, 240, 243, 245, 247, 271, vi 56 (all Μακηδονίου ὑπατικοῦ). He was a contemporary of *Agathias*, *Paul the Silentiary* (*Paulus* 21) and *Tribonianus 2*, and lived under Justinian; *Suid.* A 112 (styled ὑπάτος). It is possible that he was the Macedonius who presumably figured as chief interlocutor in the dialogue called Μακεδόνιος ἢ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας by *Tribonianus 2*; *Suid.* T 957. One of his poems, *Anth. Gr.* xi 380, was not written before c. 540; it echoes lines written by *Arabius* on the *PVC Longinus 2* (*Anth. Gr.* xvi 314).

Owner of a house at Cibyra (in Caria), about which he composed two poems, *Anth. Gr.* ix 648-9 (εἰς οἶκον ἐν Κιβύρα; the place name is given by Planudes and the *librarius* B Palatini); according to ix 649 the house was built by Macedonius himself from justly earned wealth.

Possibly identical with Macedonius 2 (cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 17) although the latter, already *vir illustris* in 531, may be rather too old to be considered a contemporary of Agathias, Paul and Tribonianus 2.

Macedonius 4                      ?military commander (in Syria) 566

In 566 some building work, possibly on a fort, was completed ὑπὸ Μακεδονίου τοῦ [...] in Syria through his *notarius* Ioannes 79; *IGLS* iv 1743 Abu Habbeh, central Jebel 'Ala, Syria. His office is lost, but he was perhaps a military commander in the area. For the date, see Ioannes.

Maclivus                              comes Britannorum 560-577

Brother of Chanao (and three other brothers); *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 4. Father of Iacobus 4 and Warochus; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 16, 26, Fredegar. iii 77.

He ruled part of Brittany (apparently with his four brothers, cf. Chanao), but was imprisoned by Chanao and only saved from death through the intervention of bishop Felix of Nantes (c. 550-582, *HF* vi 15); he swore an oath of loyalty to his brother, then broke his word and fled to Chonomor who hid him from Chanao's men and convinced them that he was dead; his territory was then seized by Chanao; Maclivus escaped to Vannes, entered holy orders and became bishop (of Vannes), but on Chanao's death (in 560) abandoned the church, returned to his wife and took over his brother's kingdom; he was then excommunicated; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 4.

COMES BRITANNORVM a. 560-577: *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 4 (in 560), 16 (in 577). For the title, see Warochus.

He and Bodicus swore a mutual oath that whichever outlived the other would protect the interests of the other's sons; however when Bodicus died Maclivus exiled his son Theodericus 1 and seized his territory; later Theodericus returned with an army and defeated and killed Maclivus and his son Iacobus; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 16, Fredegar. iii 77.

Macrobius (*CIL* XIII 10024.234) ?IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Macrobius (*CIL* v 1680) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Macrobius (*P. Oxy.* 2003) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Macrobius                              scribo E VII

Executed by Phocas as privy to the plot led by Theodorus 150 and Elpidius 3; *Theoph. AM* 6101 (Μακρόβιον τὸν σκρίβωνα). The year corresponds to 609, but the conspiracy was in 605 or 607; see Constantina 1 and Theodorus 150.

Magister                              ?v.c. (in Egypt) ?VII

*P. Flor.* 1 70. See Fl. Theodorus 208 (his son); cf. also *P. Flor.* 1 38 and Menas 19.

Magnacharius                      dux Francorum 565; father-in-law of Guntram

Magnarius; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 25. Magnacharius; *elsewhere*. For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 158.

Father of Marcatrudis, the (first) wife of Guntram; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 25, Fredegar. iii 56. He had two sons, Guntio 1 and Wiolicus; Fredegar. iii 56 (giving their names), cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* v 17 (two sons).

DVX FRANCORVM a. 565; *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 565 (cited below).

He died in 565; *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 565 (eo anno transit Magnacharius dux Francorum). His wife survived him; Fredegar. iii 56.

Guntram's second wife, Austregildis, was formerly one of his servants; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 20, Fredegar. iii 56.

Magnatrudis                              wife of Baudegiselus M/L VI

Wife of Ba(u)degiselus (bishop of Le Mans); *Greg. Tur. HF* x 5. Described as even more ruthless than her husband, whom she incited to further crimes; after his death she claimed that objects donated to the church during his episcopacy were rightfully his and should now be hers, and she abandoned the claim unwillingly; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 39. In 590 she saved her daughter from Cuppa, mobilising her servants to meet force with force; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 5.

Magnovaldus 1                      wealthy Frank (in Austrasia) 585

A wealthy Frank in Austrasia, murdered at Childebert II's court at Metz in 585 on the king's orders; his property was confiscated; he was allegedly killed for murdering his wife and sleeping with his late brother's widow; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 36.

Magnovaldus 2                      dux (in Austrasia) 587

Appointed *dux* under Childebert II in Austrasia in 587 after the death of Rauching; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 9 (in locum tamen Rauchingi Magnovaldus dirigitur dux).



Magnulfus official (?comes) (in Austrasia) ?c. 568/575

Addressee of a poem by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* vii 10.

Brother of Lupus 1; *Carm.* vii 10 title (ad Magnulfum fratrem Lupi) and cf. line 20.

While Venantius was at Poitiers, Magnulfus was in the Rhine area and distinguishing himself as an administrator of justice; *Carm.* vii 10, lines 3-4 (nam tibi cum Rhenus, mihi sit Liger ecce propinquus, hic, Magnulfe, decens, magnus honore places), lines 9-18, esp. 9-10 (iuredico in primis pollens torrente relatu sic regis, ut revoces facta vetusta novis) and 17-18 (aequalis concors ut ab omnibus, alme, voceris, legibus hinc iudex, hinc bonitate parens). He probably served under king Sigibert. It is not certain whether he was a high official at the royal court or the *comes* of a district, but the tone of Venantius suggests that he had his own court and may therefore have been a *comes*.

He may be identical with Magnulfus bishop of Toulouse in 585 (Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 27, 32) but there is no evidence for this.

MAGNVS 1 comes; cavalry commander (in Italy) 535-544

COMES a. 537 and cavalry commander a. 535-544: comes; Jord. *Get.* 312 (in 537, cf. below). Commander of a regular cavalry unit; Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (cited below), 10.1 (ὅς ἱππικοῦ καταλόγου ἡγεῖτο).

In 535 Magnus was one of three commanders of regular cavalry units sent to the west under Belisarius to reconquer Italy (his two colleagues were Innocentius 1 and Valentinus 1); Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (καταλόγων δὲ ἱππικῶν μὲν Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος sc. ἄρχοντες).

In late 536, at the siege of Naples, Magnus and Ennes were given command of a picked band of men and sent to penetrate the defences of the city through a gap in an aqueduct; once inside they were to give a signal by trumpets, at which a general assault would begin; Proc. *BG* I 10.1-4. After various difficulties they got inside the fortifications and went to the wall where they killed the guards in two of the towers; then they gave the signal and the general assault began on the walls, which ended in the capture of the city; Proc. *BG* I 10.5-21, 10.26. Cf. Belisarius, p. 196.

In early 537 Magnus was in Perusia with a small force where the Goths under Hunilas tried to lay siege to him; however a Roman army arrived and the Goths were almost wholly destroyed; Jord. *Get.* 311-12. This incident must be the one described by Procopius, *BG* I 16.5-7, in which Constantinus 3, after liberating Perusia and remaining there for a time, encountered a Gothic army under Unilas and Pissas in the neighbourhood of Perusia, routed them with heavy losses and captured

their leaders. Magnus presumably served under Constantinus and was perhaps left in Perusia while Constantinus waited nearby for the Gothic approach.

In autumn 537 (cf. Belisarius, p. 201) Magnus was sent with Sinthues and about five hundred men to occupy the fort at Tibur; Proc. *BG* II 4.7. They were one of several cavalry detachments sent out to harass the Gothic supply routes; Proc. *BG* II 4.5. At Tibur they quickly repaired those parts of the fort which had fallen into disrepair and then, with their base secured, began to harass the Goths in their neighbourhood and to harry the Gothic supply convoys with unexpected attacks; Proc. *BG* II 4.15.

When Belisarius laid siege to Ravenna (in late 539/early 540), he sent Magnus with a large force beyond Ravenna to keep watch on the river Po and to prevent supplies from reaching the Goths by that route; the opposite (north) bank was similarly guarded by Vitalius 1; Proc. *BG* II 28.1-2. By a stroke of good fortune for the Romans, the river level fell and they captured a large number of boats laden with corn and other supplies from Liguria; Proc. *BG* II 28.3-4.

Magnus was in Auximum in 544 when it was under siege by the Goths; a relief force of a thousand soldiers, sent by Belisarius under Thurimuth, Ricilas and Sabinianus, succeeded in joining him in the city; Proc. *BG* III 11.19-20. After the death of Ricilas, Magnus and the others agreed that the new arrivals should withdraw, as they were no match for the enemy and their presence was putting extra pressure on the already scarce supplies in the besieged city; they therefore left; Magnus presumably remained in Auximum; Proc. *BG* III 11.26-7. The city later fell into Gothic hands (by 551, cf. *BG* IV 23.40) but the date is unrecorded, as is the subsequent fate of Magnus.

#### Magnus 2

honorary consul; comes domesticorum and curator domus divinae rerum Hormisdæ c. 581/582

He was a native of Syria; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii. Possibly a native of Huwwarin (Evaria); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40 ('ad pagum suum, qui vocatur Haurin', and cf. below).

CSL a. (565-566-573: in office early in the reign of Justin II, when he is cited among the high officials who encouraged Corippus to compose his panegyric on the emperor; Coripp. *Iust.* I 22-4 (nec non magnanimus meritis et nomine Magnus, mente placens dominis, sacris rationibus aptus, rectorum Latii discussor providus orbis; this description of his functions suits the role of the CSL, cf. Jones, *LRE* I, pp. 427-37). Still in office in 573; Joh. Epiph. 5 (τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπετρόπευε χρημάτων), cf.

Evagr. *HE* v 10 (πρώην μὲν ἀργύρου τραπέζης προϊσταμένω κατὰ τὴν βασιλείω), Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 38 (from Evagrius).

In 573 Magnus was sent to the east by Justin, possibly to take command of the war; with a small force he encountered the Persian army of Adarmaanes returning from the capture of Apamea and fled, losing a few prisoners; later, when Dara fell, he was at Mardin; Evagr. *HE* v 10 ἐλαχιστοῦ κομιδῆ στρατοῦ πρὸς Ἰουστίνου πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Μάγνῳ ταπτομένου), Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 38 (from Evagrius), Joh. Epiph. 5 (at Mardin; Magnus τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιπίστευτο). After the fall of Apamea Magnus received information about the location of a fragment of the True Cross hidden near Apamea by a priest who had been captured by the Persians; the fragment was recovered by one Varanes of Apamea and conveyed to Constantinople; Men. Prot. fr. (Halkin) (in F. Halkin, *Zelesis*, Mélanges E. de Strycker, Antwerp, 1973, pp. 664-7).

VIR GLORIOSISSIMVS, CVRATOR DOMVS DIVINAE RERV MARINAE a. 573/578: after 573 he was appointed *curator* of one of the imperial *domus* by Justin; Evagr. *HE* v 10 (ὑστερον δὲ καὶ μίαν τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκιῶν ἐμπιστευθέντι πρὸς Ἰουστίνου), Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 38 (from Evagrius). This was probably the *domus rerum Marinae*, of which Magnus is recorded as *curator* in an inscription from Attalia in Pamphylia; *IGC* 308<sup>2</sup> = *AE* 1924, 140 (+Χώριον διαφέροντα τῷ θίῳ οἴκῳ τῶν Μαρίνας προνοουμένων ὑπὸ Μάγνου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κουράτορος +).

COMMERCARIIVS of Antioch a. 573/578: he is attested on two seals of a *domus divina*, found at Tyre; Zacos I 130 = *SEG* xx 390 = Tchalenko, *Antiques Villes* III, pp. 40-2, no. 39g, Zacos I 130bis (τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκου) τοῦ ὑπὸ Μάγνον ἐνδοξ(ότατον) κουράτ(ορα), κομμερκιάρ(ιον) Θε(εο)υπό(λεως); both seals had identical texts, but 130bis is damaged and Θεουπόλεως is missing). Both seals have imperial busts. The first one has two figures, identifiable as Justin II and Sophia; the second has three, identified in Zacos and Veglery as Maurice, Theodosius and Constantina, but Magnus was dead too soon for that (see below) and the three are perhaps Justin II, Tiberius and Sophia (cf. Feissel, cited below, n. 17). If so, the seals date from before the sole reign of Tiberius and before Magnus was *curator* of the *domus* of Hormisdas (see Domentziolus 1) and presumably therefore from the time when he was *curator* of the *domus* of Marina. He was therefore *commercarius* of Antioch under Justin II, in 573/578.

VIR GLORIOSISSIMVS, HONORARY CONSVL, COMES DOMESTICORVM, and CVRATOR DOMVS DIVINAE RERV HORMISDAE a. 581?: in 581 he was *curator* in Syria; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii (see further below for the date). The *domus* is identified as that of Hormisdas on an inscription

from the territory of Antioch, near Bāb el Hawa in the Jebel Barisha; *IGLS* II 528 (cf. Grégoire, in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* (1923), pp. 159/160) (Χώριον διαφέρει τῷ θε[ί]ῳ οἴκῳ τ[ῶ]ν Ὁρμισδ[ο]υ π[ρ]ο[νο]ο[υ] (μ)έ(νω)ν ὑ[π] (ὸ) Μάγνου τοῦ <α> πανευφήμου ἀπὸ ὑπ(ά)των, κό[μ]η(τος) κα(θ)ο(σ)(ιομένων) (δ)ο[μ] (ε)στίκων), (γ)ενικ[οῦ] κουρ(ά)τορος). He served as *curator* of the *domus* of Hormisdas in Syria with the honorific titles of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων and κόμης δομεστίκων. He perhaps held these titles in 581/582, when he died (see below).

In 581, when Alamundarus was accused of treachery by Maurice before Tiberius, Magnus promised to capture him; Magnus was a friend and patron ('πάτρων') of Alamundarus who trusted him and regarded him as representing his interests at court; he tricked Alamundarus into joining him at Ḥuwwārīn, supposedly for the consecration of a church; there he arrested him and carried him off to Constantinople; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40-1, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, cf. *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii (said to be living at Edessa and with authority over Syria - regionem Syriae tenebat - and to have captured Alamundarus in Emesa and delivered him to the local army commander). During his absence al-Nu'mān, son of Alamundarus, plundered his camp (κάστρα) and parts of Syria, and the emperor sent him back there to capture the sons of Alamundarus and to install Alamundarus' brother as ruler of the Arabs; he failed to do so and shortly afterwards he died (before the accession of Maurice); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.42-3, with Mich. Syr. x 19 (part of John's account is missing but is supplied from Michael the Syrian), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii.

He was perhaps a native of Ḥuwwarin, which he converted into a city and surrounded with a wall; he built a church there, to whose consecration in 581 he invited Alamundarus; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40. A mutilated monogram found at Ḥuwwarin could possibly be interpreted as (Μά)γνου; *IGLS* 2696, and cf. Feissel, cited below, n. 13.

See also Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 465-9.

The two later sources, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii ('mortuus est Magnus dux exercitus') and Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82 ('the captain of the Syrian army'), both describe him, probably wrongly, as an army commander.

Magnar 3 ?vir clarissimus (in Gaul) VI/VII

Cl(arissimus?); father of Fidentius and Gallus 3; *CIL* XIII 2483 near Briord (département Ain). Cf. Stroheker, no. 234.

Malaricus usurper in Gallaecia 585

After the overthrow of the Suevian kingdom by the Visigoths in 585 (cf. Audeca), Malaricus tried to seize power in Gallaecia and rule as king

(in Gallaeia tyrannidem assumens quasi regnare vult) but was quickly captured by Leovigild's generals and delivered to him in fetters; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585.

Mallegundis sister of Caletricus M VI

Sister of Caletricus, of noble family; *V. S. Leobini* xxiii 73.

Perhaps to be identified with Monegundis, a native of Chartres, who married at her parents' wish and had two daughters but took up a religious life after their early death and settled near Tours; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 19.

Malthanes (Proc. *Anecd.* 29.28-38): see Marthanes 1.

Mamak Mamikonian Armenian noble L VI

Cf. Justi, p. 189.

An Armenian noble, he revolted against both Rome and Persia with Atat Khorkhoruni, Samuel Vahewuni and others (perhaps in 595, see below); the rebellion quickly collapsed, some rebels submitting to Rome, others to Persia; Sebeos vi, pp. 31-3. Mamak was of the Persian party and in 595 (shortly after the revolt and in year six of Chosroes, a. 595) was one of the pro-Persian Armenians summoned to the royal court and honoured by Chosroes (see also Gagik Mamikonian); Sebeos xi, pp. 39-40. Shortly afterwards he died at Dvin where Chosroes had sent him on military business; Sebeos xiii, p. 41.

Mamalus scriniarius (in Italy) ? L VI/VII

Σκρινιάριος; son of Anastasius 19 and Agathe, husband of Mouschousi (Μούσχουσι); *CIG* 9853 Orbetello (Etruria). He was the third generation of his family recorded as buried at Orbetello, and was presumably contemporary with Moschus ἀρχηδιάκων τῆς ἀγιοσύνης ἐκλισῆος (sic), also interred there. His wife's name suggests that she and Moschus may have been relatives, perhaps brother and sister. The character of the inscription, in Greek and barbarously spelt, suggests a late sixth- or seventh-century date.

Mamas military commander (?tribunus) (East) 531

For the form of the name (probably Μάμαντος in the genitive), see Bury, in *BZ* vi (1897), p. 230, on Joh. Mal. 463, line 12.

Mamas and Dorotheus commanded the Isaurian troops in the battle of Callinicum (April 19, 531); Joh. Mal. 463. They were possibly *tribuni* of the Isaurian *numeri*, and both probably perished in the battle; see further Dorotheus 3 and Longinus 1.

Mamianus patricius M VI

Allegedly a native of Seleucia and owner of property at Constantinople on the site later occupied by Hagia Sophia (οἰκῆματα Μαμιανοῦ πατρικίου Σελευκίας); he sold the property to Justinian for six pounds of gold; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 5. The story may well be a fiction.

Gagik Mamikonian

Hamazasp Mamikonian

Mamak Mamikonian

Mushegh Mamikonian

Sahak Mamikonian

Vardan Mamikonian

Mammas scholasticus and ?censitor (in Egypt) VI

Responsible for revising the assessment of taxes, apparently at Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67037, line 2 πρὸς μέτρησιν Μάμμα[ς] σχολ(αστικοῦ), from Antinoe (sixth century). His assessment is also cited in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67041, lines 6-7, and 67042, line 3 (πρὸς μέτρησιν Μάμμας). Possibly a *censitor*; cf. Ioannes 3 and see *P. Lond.* v 1686.

Manasses patricius and praepositus M/L VI

Supposedly sent by Justin II to Proconnesos for marble for building work (Μανασσῆ πατρικιον καὶ πραιπόσιτον); *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 28. Perhaps the name is an error for Narses, though the whole story is probably a fiction.

Manaulfus Burgundian noble 642

A Burgundian, he fought for Willibad at Autun in Sept. 642; he nearly killed Bertharius 2, formerly his friend, and was himself killed by Bertharius' son Chaubedo; Fredegar. iv 90 (he entered the fray 'cum suis').

Presumably a Frankish noble from Burgundy.

Maniach (Μανιάχ) Turkish envoy 568/569

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 191.

Ruler of Sogdia (τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν προεστῆκει) and subordinate to the khan of the Turks, Sizabulus, whom he advised to seek alliance with the Romans; sent as envoy, he was well received in Constantinople and terms of friendship were agreed (in 569); Men. Prot. fr. 18. In August 569 he set off on his return journey in company with the Roman envoy Zemarchus 3; Men. Prot. fr. 19. By 571 when Zemarchus returned Maniach had died but his son (unnamed) succeeded to his position (τὸ πατρῶον διαδεξάμενος γέρας); Men. Prot. fr. 20 (and cf. Tagma).

See also Haussig, *Mittelasien*, pp. 47-50.

Manna v.d. (at Ravenna) 575

V(ir) d(evotus); son of Nanderit (dead by 575); in 575 he made a will making the church of Ravenna his heir; Marini, *P. Dip.* 75 = *P. Ital.* 6. The will was dated on Feb. 25, 575 (lines 31-3) and proved on April 1, 575 (lines 46-7).

Mannas silentiarius L VI

Σελεντιάριός τις τῶν πρώτων ὀνόματι Μάννας, in Constantinople; husband of Theodora 4; cured miraculously by Theodore of Syceon (during Theodore's visit to Constantinople, under Maurice); *V. Theod. Syn.* 89, cf. 90 (ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ τοῦ σελεντιαρίου Θεοδώρα).

Mansur ?commander (in Damascus) ?635

Son of Sergounas (Sergius), he was in charge of Damascus under Heraclius after the defeat of Persia; he paid to Heraclius arrears of taxes for the period of the Persian occupation, even though Damascus had already paid the money in taxes to Persia, and was then confirmed in his post, although he is said to have harboured a grudge; Eutychius, *Annales*,

col. 1089. In (?)635 he allegedly refused to pay to Heraclius' Arab allies what was due to them so that they dispersed, and he then betrayed the city of Damascus to the Arabs under Khālid ibn al-Walid; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1096-8. On the dating, see Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 131-2, 136-7, 141-2.

Manuel 1 Armenian noble M/L VI

Brother of Vardan, of the Mamikonian family; his murder by the Persian ruler of Armenia Surena was one of the causes of the Armenian revolt against Persia in 572; Theoph. Byz. 3 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 64).

Manuel 2 MVM M VI/M VII

Μανουήλ στρατηλάτου; Zacos 920 (seal; obv.: +M/ANOV/ΗΛ+; rev.: CTPA/THΛA/TOV+).

Manuel 3 Byzantine commander (Egypt) 645/646

A eunuch and an Armenian, who led the Byzantine attempt to recapture Egypt in 645/646; he retook Alexandria but it was subsequently recaptured by the Arabs under 'Amr and Manuel himself died in the fighting; several sources describe him, wrongly, as the successor of Cyrus 17 as *augustalis* in 640/641; cf. Theoph. AM 6126, Mich. Syr. xi 7, *Chron.* 1234, cxviii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 95, Agapius, p. 472, Balādhurī, pp. 221-2 = Hiiti, pp. 348-9, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1112, and see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 263, n. 1, pp. 468-75.

Manuel 4 honorary consul VII

Μανουήλ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Fogg Art Museum seal 2672 (seal; obv.: +/MAN/OVH/Λ; rev.: +/ΑΠΟΝ/ΠΑΤΩ/Ν).

LVCIVS MAP... v.c., proconsul Africae 565/578

A dedication to an emperor Justin, probably by the city of Carthage (devota Kar(thago) [pos(uit)]), was made 'dedicante/Lucio Map.../v.c. p[roc(onsule)] p(rovinciae) [Afr(icae)]'; *CIL* VIII 1020 Carthage. Since Carthage was under Vandal control in the reign of Justin I, the emperor was presumably Justin II

Maracharius

comes (civitatis Ecolismensis); bishop of Angoulême M/L VI

Uncle of Nantinus; he held office for many years as *comes* at Angoulême (diu in ipsa urbe usus est comitatu); on retirement he

entered the church, took holy orders and became bishop of Angoulême; as such he was an active builder and furnisher of churches and church properties, but in his seventh year as bishop he died, allegedly after eating fish poisoned by the man who succeeded him as bishop, Frontonius; in his will he bequeathed much property to the church; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 36. His dates are uncertain, but Frontonius died after one year, to be succeeded by Heraclius 1 who was harassed for a while by Nantinus who in his turn died in 580; Maracharius was therefore possibly bishop from c. 571 to c. 577/578 and *comes* during the 560s to c. 571.

Marcatrudis wife of Guntram M/L VI

For the name, cf. Förstemann 1095.

Daughter of Magnacharius and (first) wife of king Guntram to whom she bore a son; she murdered Gundobad, Guntram's son by Veneranda, but shortly lost her own son, fell out of favour with Guntram and was dismissed, dying soon afterwards; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 25, Fredegar. iii 56. Sister of Guntio 1 and Wiolicus; Fredegar. iii 56, and cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* v 17.

Marcellinus (v.c., *comes*; author E/M VI): *PLRE* II, pp. 710-11 (Marcellinus 9).

Marcellinus quaestor (Vigilius, *Ep.* xv, in *PL* 69, 53ff.): the text is defective, see now Vigilius, *Ep.* 1 (ed. Schwartz) and cf. Constantinus 4 and Marcellus 3.

Marcellinus 1 ?father of Ziper M VI

Ziper was either son of Marcellinus or his bodyguard (*δορυφορος*); Agath. iv 18.1. See Ziper 2.

Marcellinus 2 v.ill., vicarius (?urbis Romae) 559

Illustris vir clarissimus Marcellinus vicarius; in office in Rome in 559 when Georgius 6 deputised for him in hearing a case of alleged desertion of his wife by a husband; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 63 (a. 559 March/April).

Marcellinus 3 proconsul Dalmatiae (598-599)

His name is given as Marcellus in Greg. *Ep.* iii 22, iv 38, viii 24. Called Marcellinus in Greg. *Ep.* ix 158, 237 and the inscription (see below).

In 593 and 594 he was a *scholasticus* in Dalmatia and involved with the

selection of the new bishop of Salona, Maximus; Greg. *Ep.* iii 22 (a. 593 March); the *rector patrimonii* in Dalmatia, Antoninus, was ordered to do what was necessary to elect a new bishop 'cum consilio magnifici atque eloquentissimi Marcelli filii nostri', iv 38 (a. 594 July; addressed 'Marcello scolastico', whom Gregory styles 'gloria vestra' and 'nobilitas vestra', perhaps indicating aristocratic descent, though see Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 166-7; Gregory rejects a request from Marcell(in)us for pardon for bishop Maximus of Salona; Marcellinus and Gregory were old acquaintances).

PROCONSUL DALMATIAE a. (598-599): in 598 June Gregory wrote to the bishop of Iader to encourage Marcell(in)us to come to Rome, as he wished to see him; Greg. *Ep.* viii 24 (he is styled by Gregory 'gloriosus communis filius domnus Marcellus', which suggests that he was already in office as *proconsul*). In 599 Marcellinus wrote to the pope admitting that he had angered him and asking to be restored to favour; Gregory replied that he should repent and stop supporting Maximus; Greg. *Ep.* ix 158 (a. 599 May/June; addressed 'Marcellino proconsule Dalmatiae'; he is styled 'magnitudo vestra'). He was summoned to Constantinople this year by Maurice, but delayed going until he had concluded the business concerning Maximus; he then went to Constantinople bearing a letter from Gregory to the deacon Anatolius; Greg. *Ep.* ix 237 (a. 599 Aug.; he is styled 'filius noster magnificus Marcellinus').

Marcellinus is recorded on the tombstone of a priest Ioannes, who died at Salona on August 13 of a second indiction (which would correspond to Aug. 13, 599); *CIL* iii 9527 + p. 2139 = *AE* 1890, 80 = *ILCV* 79a and b Salona (expleto annorum circulo quinto hunc sibi sepulchrum Iohannis condere iussit, Marcellino suo pro consule nato, germano praesente simul cunctosque nepotes). The sense is not certain; apparently Marcellinus was the son of Ioannes, and he with the unnamed brother of Ioannes and all of Ioannes' nephews was present at his interment (?). However the text can be interpreted differently to mean that Marcellinus was the son of Ioannes' brother (so Mommsen in *CIL*).

Marcellinus 4 wealthy citizen of Alexandria E VII

A wealthy citizen of Alexandria, he was at least twice married, to Athanasia 3 and to Iuliana 4, both of whom were miraculously cured by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 24 and 29 (*PG* 87.3.3489, 3508). He is clearly identified in the text as the same man.

Tullius Marcellus: writer on logic ?IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Marcellus 1** vir illustris (in Gaul) E/M VI

Marcellus vir illustris; one of the laymen who subscribed the Acts of the Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 65 = *MGH, Leg.* III I, p. 54. Cf. Syagrius 1. See Stroheker, no. 237.

MARCELLVS 2 dux Numidiae 536

In 530 he was one of the commanders of cavalry stationed on the right wing of the Roman army under Belisarius at the battle of Dara (June 530) (his colleagues were Cyrillus 2, Dorotheus 1, Germanus 1 and Ioannes 32); *Proc. BP* I 13.21.

In 533 he was one of the nine commanders of the *foederati* (ἄρχοντες ... φοιδεράτων) on the expedition led by Belisarius against the Vandals; *Proc. BV* I 11.5-6 (for the others, see Althias). He was doubtless present throughout the campaign although he is mentioned by name only once in the narrative of Procopius. At the battle of Tricamarum in mid December 533 (*Proc. BV* II 3.28) the left wing of the Roman army was held by the commanders of the *foederati* (φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντες), among them Marcellus; *Proc. BV* II 3.4. On an earlier occasion he was presumably one of the commanders of the *foederati* routed by Gelimer at Ad Decimum (on Sept. 13; cf. Belisarius); *Proc. BV* I 19.13-24, 19.30.

DVX NUMIDIAE a. 536: he apparently remained in Africa under Solomon 1 after Belisarius left in 534, since in summer 536 he was one of the Roman commanders in Numidia (οἱ ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες); he and Cyrillus 2 were then commanders of the *foederati* (ἡγεμόνες φοιδεράτων), while the regular soldiers were under Barbatus, Terentius and Sarapis; Marcellus however was the senior because he had the command of Numidia (Μαρκέλλω μόντοι ἐπήκουον ἅπαντες ἅτε Νουμιδίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι); *Proc. BV* II 15.50-1. He was therefore *dux Numidiae*, a post created after the reconquest in 534 (cf. *CJ* I 27.2.1 and 26). He had perhaps been appointed very recently, after the recall of Valerianus (q.v.). In summer 536 on learning that the rebel Stotzas was in Numidia with his men at Gadiaufala (which Procopius calls Gazophyla), Marcellus took his army to attack him there; however Stotzas induced the soldiers to desert and Marcellus with all the other commanders sought sanctuary in a church at Gadiaufala; they came out only after receiving pledges from Stotzas, but were all executed by him; *Proc. BV* II 15.50-9, *Jord. Rom.* 369.

**Marcellus 3** comes excubitorum 541-552; honorary consul 552

INDEX PEDANEVS a. 539 April 8: appointed by Justinian on April 8,

539, as one of the four higher ranking *iudices pedanei* (μείζους δικαστᾶς, the other three were Plato 3, Victor 1 and Phocas (*PLRE* II, Phocas 5); for the other, lower ranking, appointees, cf. Anatolius 4); he was a close associate of the emperor and famous for his deep concern for justice (αἰ μὲν ἡμῖν παρόντα, καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου θαυμαζόμενον τήρησιν, καὶ παρὰ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν ἡμῖν προσιόντων διὰ τοῦτο αἰτούμενον); unlike his colleagues, no details are recorded of his earlier career - he is styled simply ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος - but he was evidently an active and experienced judge; he employed as his *assessor* Apion 2, a man skilled in the technicalities of the law; *Just. Nov.* 82.1. His three colleagues Plato, Victor and Phocas were all ἐνδοξότατοι, and although only styled μεγαλοπρεπέστατος Marcellus must have been superior to his *assessor* Apion who was himself περίβλεπτος; Marcellus was probably a *vir illustris* of a lower grade than the *gloriosissimi*. If he bore any title he was perhaps one of the *comites consistoriani* (cf. below).

COMES a. 540: he was sent in 540 to recall Belisarius from Italy; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540 (evocante se Marcello comite). There is no evidence that he was yet *comes excubitorum*, and he may therefore have been still a *comes* involved with judicial work, perhaps a *comes consistorianus*.

COMES EXCUBITORVM a. 541-552: τὸν τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἄρχοντα, in May 541; *Proc. BP* I 25.24. "Ὁς τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἦρχεν, in early 549; *Proc. BG* III 32.22. Ex consule (cf. below) et comes excubitorum, on Jan. 28, 552; Vigilius, *Ep.* I (ed. Schwartz).

In May 541 Marcellus was sent to Rufiniana by Theodora with Narses 1 and many soldiers to spy on Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian (see Narses for details); during a scuffle Marcellus received a blow from the sword of one of the guards of Ioannes; *Proc. BP* I 25.24-9.

Early in 549 Marcellus was told by Germanus (*PLRE* II, Germanus 4) of the plot of Arsaces and Chanaranges against Justinian; before reporting to the emperor he demanded confirmation, and arranged for his follower Leontius 5 to eavesdrop on a conversation between Germanus and Chanaranges; *Proc. BG* III 32.22-6, 33-4. It there emerged that the plotters hoped to kill Marcellus as well as the emperor and Belisarius; he was still reluctant to inform Justinian but did so when Belisarius approached Constantinople and the time for the attempt drew near; *Proc. BG* III 32.39-42. During the examination of the affair in an imperial consistory, when an attempt was made to implicate Germanus, Marcellus was among those who defended his innocence; *Proc. BG* III 32.43-6. Later he allayed the emperor's anger at Germanus' silence by taking responsibility himself; *Proc. BG* III 32.48-50.

HONORARY CONSVL a. 552: he was an honorary consul in 552; Vigilius, *Ep.* 1 (cited above).

On Jan. 28, 552, Marcellus was one of the *gloriosi iudices* (cf. Belisarius) sent to pope Vigilius in Chalcedon to persuade him to return to Constantinople; their mission was unsuccessful; Vigilius, *Ep.* 1.

He was a forbidding character, humourless and taciturn, who lived a very austere life; described as indifferent to money and deeply concerned over justice and truth; Proc. *BG* III 32.23, cf. Just. *Nov.* 82.1 (cited above).

Marcellus 4 banker and conspirator 562

Native of Cilicia; Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (cited below).

Ὁ ἀργυροπράτης, he had an ἐργαστήριον near to Hagia Eirene; possibly he was subordinate to the *curator*, Aetherius 2; Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (ὁ ἀργυροπράτης ὁ τῶν Κιλικίων ὁ ἔχων τὸ ἐργαστήριον πλησίον τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ νέας ὁ κατὰ Αἰθέριον τὸν κουράτορα). Ὁ ἀργυροπράτης; Joh. Mal. 493, Theoph. AM 6055.

In late 562 he conspired with Sergius 6 and Ablabius 1, to whom he paid fifty pounds of gold to take part, to assassinate Justinian; on the day of the plot he was caught entering the palace with a dagger and committed suicide; Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055. He had borrowed money from Isaac 4 to finance the scheme; Joh. Mal. fr. 49.

Marcellus 5 patricius 565

Nephew of the emperor Justinian; Proc. *BP* II 28.2 (ἀδελφιδούς), cf. Theoph. AM 6054 (ἀνέψιος). Brother of the emperor Justin II (Iustinus 5); Coripp. *Iust.* II 283, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18. He was therefore son of Vigilantia, the sister of Justinian, and of Dulcidius, and was brother of Praeicta 1. He married Iuliana 1, the daughter of Magnus *cos.* 518 (*PLRE* II); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.12. In 544 he was still a young man (ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα); Proc. *BP* II 28.2.

MVM (VACANS) a. 544: in 544, after the deaths of the στρατηγοί Iustus 2 and Peranius, Marcellus and Constantianus 1 were sent to replace them on the eastern frontier; Proc. *BP* II 28.1-2. Like Marcellus, Iustus was related to the emperor.

MVM (?VACANS OF PER THRACIAS) a. 562: ὁ στρατηλάτης, sent by Justinian in 562 with a large army to defend Constantinople from the

Huns (i.e. Bulgars) who were raiding Thrace; Theoph. AM 6054 (probably in March; the story is placed between events dated in March and April 562). He had perhaps been *magister militum (vacans)* since 544, but is not recorded in the intervening period.

PATRICIVS a. 565: at the time of his brother's accession Marcellus was a *patricius*; Coripp. *Iust.* II 287 (cited below), cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18 (cited below).

He and Baduarius 2 were especially prominent during the ceremonies at the accession of Justin II; Coripp. *Iust.* II 280-8 (tunc ordine longo incedunt summi proceres fulgensque senatus. Ipse inter primos vultu praeclarus honoro fratris in obsequium gaudens Marcellus obibat Dispositorque novus sacrae Baduarius aulae... His aetas dispar, sed par votum atque voluntas. Ambo patricii, dilecti principis ambo fulgebant geminis similes radiantibus astris).

He was enormously wealthy; his property was later given by the emperor Maurice to his father and brother (in 582/583); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18 ('bona (οὐσία) omnia patricii magni Marcelli fratris regis Iustini, quae haud multo minora erant quam regia, donavit, et domos eius et villas (προαστείον) et aurum et argentum et vestiarium (βεστιάριον) et omnia prorsus quae ubivis habebat'). It is not clear whether Marcellus was still alive or not at this date.

Marcellus 6 bishop of Uzès 581

Son of the senator Felix 3; a deacon, in 581 he became bishop of Uzès with the support of Dynamius 1 and the provincial bishops; attacked and besieged by Iovinus 1, whom eventually he bought off; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 7. Cf. Stroheker, no. 238.

Marcellus 7 vir illustris (Africa) ?VI

Marcellus illustr(is); he honoured Diocletianic martyrs in a church at Ammaedara, probably in the sixth century; *BCTH* 1934-5, p. 23 = *ILT* 470 Ammaedara (Byzacena).

Marcellus 8 vicarius (at Odessus, ?of a numerus) ?VI

Ὁδουσιτανὸς βικάρης ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε Μάρκελλος; *SEG* XIX 463 Tomi. Possibly he was an ecclesiastic, cf. Velkov, *Cities in Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity*, p. 64, n. 190, or perhaps a military *vicarius* deputising for a *tribunus* as commander of a *numerus* stationed at Odessus; for a φρούριον at Odessus, cf. Proc. *Aed.* IV 11.20. Although serving at Odessus he died and was buried at Tomi.





rather than a bishop). He was a pupil of Procopius of Gaza (*PLRE* II, Procopius 8); Chor. *Or.* 2.7.

Bishop of Gaza; Chor. *Or.* 1 title, 1.83 (ἱερεὺς πρυτανεύων τὸ ἄστυ), *Or.* 2 title. Among his activities while bishop, Choricus includes his role as builder and repairer of the city walls and of churches; Chor. *Or.* 1.7, 1.10ff., *Or.* 2.16, 2.17, 2.25, *Or.* 3.60. He acted as mediator between local inhabitants and passing troops; Chor. *Or.* 2.23. Said to have directed affairs at Gaza during a time of troubles; Chor. *Or.* 8.50-1.

Marcianus 2 infantry commander (in Africa) 533

Probably a native of Thrace; Proc. *BV* I 11.10.

In 533 he was one of the infantry commanders (ἄρχοντες... πεζῶν) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; he and his colleagues (see Theodorus 6) were under the overall command of Ioannes 16; Proc. *BV* I 11.7-8. He is not mentioned by Procopius again.

MARCIANVS 3 ?senatorial landowner in Italy E/M VI

Probably in 535 the estates of a certain Marcianus were given by Theodahad to Maximus (see Maximus 20, in *PLRE* II); half the property was later given by Justinian to Liberius (*PLRE* II) and the donation confirmed in 554; Just. *Nov. App.* 7 (554 Aug. 13; the pragmatic sanction regulating affairs in Italy). The estates were evidently in Italy. At the time of Theodahad's donation, Marcianus had perhaps recently died. His identity is unknown, but he could be identical with either Marcianus 13 or Marcianus 14 (both in *PLRE* II); the latter indeed had a brother called Maximus but he is not to be confused with the Maximus who received Marcianus' estates.

Marcianus 4 prominent citizen in Venetia 541/542

Described as ἐν Βενέτοις ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, he lived in a fortress close to Verona; probably in spring 542 he planned to deliver the city to the Roman army and persuaded a guard to open the gates; Proc. *BG* III 3.6-8. Cf. Artabazes and Constantianus 2.

Marcianus 5 tribunus (in Africa) 546/547

Tribunus; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 201, 206, 211, 227, 236. He commanded troops in Africa under Ioannes 36 Troglita and fought in the battle in which the Romans defeated Antalas in winter 546/547; his horse was

killed under him (by Hisdreasen) and he continued to fight on foot; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 505, v 201-23. According to Corippus, his success caused Antalas himself to enter the fray against him; he received an apparently mortal wound at his hands; *Ioh.* v 224-39.

Marcianus 6

vir gloriosissimus; honorary consul; ?dux et augustalis Arcadiae  
c. 549/550

Recorded in a document written perhaps in 567 May/Nov. which alludes to an occurrence some seventeen years earlier ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(άτου) τηνικαῦτα πράττοντος; *P. Lond.* v 1708, lines 82-3 Antinoe. From the context Marcianus seems to have been *dux et augustalis*, but there are uncertainties about both office and date; cf. *P. Lond.* v, pp. 121-2. He is probably however to be identified with the ὑπερφύεστατος Μαρκιανός, described as ὁ πανεύφημος ὑπάτος ὦ (sic, for ὁ) δούξ, whose wife Anonyma 1 paid a visit to Arsinoe; *SB* 9616 verso 14-16 Arsinoe (undated). He was presumably therefore honorary consul and *dux et augustalis Arcadiae*. Cf. also Apion 3.

Marcianus 7 patricius; MVM per Orientem 572-573

His name is given wrongly in Theoph. AM 6064 and Zon. XIV 10 (Martinus), in Bar Hebraeus (Marcion) and in *Chron.* 1234 (Mauricianus and Mauricius).

Nephew (ἀνέπιος) of Justinian; Joh. Mal. 496, Theoph. AM 6055. Cousin (ἐξάδελφος) of Justin II; Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 64). His mother was Justin II's maternal aunt; Mich. Syr. x 8, *Chron.* 1234, lxxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 77. A kinsman of Justin II; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.2, Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Evagr. *HE* v 8, Theoph. Sim. III 10.1, Theoph. AM 6064, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 37.

MVM a. 563: στρατηλάτης, Theoph. AM 6055. When the Moors revolted after the murder of Cutzinas (Jan. 563), Marcianus was sent to Africa with an army and quickly restored peace; the Moors apparently welcomed him (προσερρήσαν αὐτῷ; perhaps as a relative of the emperor with authority to resolve their grievances); Joh. Mal. 495-6, Theoph. AM 6055.

PATRICIUS a. 572: he was already *patricius* when appointed MVM *per Orientem* in 572 (see below); Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.2, 6.4, Theoph. Sim. III 10.1, Theoph. AM 6064, Zon. XIV 10.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 572-573: appointed to this post in 572 and sent to the east to resume warfare against Persia; Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 (τῆς ἔω

χειροτονηθείς στρατηγός), Evagr. *HE* v 8 (στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐφῶν), Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.1 (both στρατηγός), Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.2 (= Mich. Syr. x 8) ('unus erat e ducibus militaribus qui illo tempore ad Orientem mittebantur'), Theoph. AM 6064, Zon. xiv 10 (both στρατηγὸν ... τῆς ἀνατολῆς), Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 37 (στρατηγὸν τῶν ἐφῶν ταγματῶν), *Chron.* 1234, lxv, lxvii ('dux exercitus'), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 77. The statement in Mich. Syr. x 8 and Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 77 that he was made Caesar is a mistake. For the date, cf. Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 (in the eighth year of Justin), Joh. Epiph. fr. 3 (ten years after the peace of 561), and see Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 42-3 with n. 6. Described as an experienced and brave soldier; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3.

Probably in mid 572 before fighting began (cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 51, n. 6), he was involved in the emperor's plot to assassinate the Ghassānid Alamundarus, which cost the Romans for a time the support of their Arab allies; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.3-4, *Chron.* 1234, lxvii, cf. Evagr. *HE* v 8 and Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 42-3. In autumn 572 he crossed the Euphrates into Osrhoene and sent a force of three thousand men under Theodorus 32, Sergius 7 and Iuventinus on a successful raid of Arzanene; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.2, *Chron.* 1234, lxv. In spring 573 he assembled his forces and set out, probably with Ioannes 88, towards Nisibis from Dara; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.4. In the vicinity of Nisibis they encountered a large Persian army under Bahram and defeated it at the battle of Sargathon; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Byz. fr. 4, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.4, Zon. xiv 10, Evagr. *HE* v 8. Marcianus then laid siege to the Persian stronghold of Thebethon but after ten days had made no impression and so abandoned the attempt and returned to Dara in time for Easter (April 9) 573; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.5. Under increasing pressure from the emperor, he invaded Persia again and laid siege to Nisibis; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Byz. fr. 4, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.2, 6.5, Evagr. *HE* v 8-9, Theoph. Sim. iii 10.5, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 37, Mich. Syr. x 8, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 77, *Chron.* 1234, lxv, lxvii. The siege was on the point of ending with the capture of Nisibis when Marcianus was removed from his command on the emperor's orders, allegedly for not prosecuting the war with enough vigour; Joh. Epiph. fr. 4, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.2 (the city was on the point of surrender), 6.5, Evagr. *HE* v 9, Theoph. Sim. iii 11.1-2, Zon. xiv 10, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 77, *Chron.* 1234, lxv, Mich. Syr. x 8, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 38, Theoph. AM 6066. One contemporary source claims that he was dismissed for entertaining imperial ambitions and was succeeded by Theodorus 31 (Tzirus); Theoph. Byz. fr. 4. He is also said to have been unpopular with Justin since the plot to murder Alamundarus misfired; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.3-4 (= Mich. Syr. x 8), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 79-80,

*Chron.* 1234, lxvii. Most sources name his successor as Acacius 4. The manner of his dismissal by Acacius in front of his troops was insulting and degrading and the army promptly abandoned the siege of Nisibis in sympathy and withdrew to Dara and Mardin; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.2, Joh. Epiph. fr. 4, Theoph. Byz. fr. 4, Theoph. Sim. iii 11.2, Evagr. *HE* v 9.

Marcianus 8 tabularius (in Sicily) 598/599

Tabularius; employed by bishop John of Syracuse in a case brought on behalf of Rusticana 2, alleging that John's men had illegally seized her possessions; Rusticana's agent Petrus 24 accused Marcianus of procrastination; Greg. *Ep.* ix 83 (a. 598 Dec./599 Jan.). Marcianus may have been an ecclesiastical official.

Marcia(nus) 9 notarius VI

Marcia(no) not(ario); Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2249 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΜΑ/ΡCΙC/ΝΟΤ).

Marcianus 10 ?pagarch (or tribunus) (at Athribis) 609

Described as 'the prefect of the city of Athrīb' (or similar); Joh. Nik. 107.29.33-40 (pp. 544-6 Zotenberg), 108.12 (p. 548 Zotenberg; 'commandant d'Athrīb'). He was perhaps the pagarch, although the allusion to his troops suggests that he may have been a military officer, possibly *tribunus*.

In 609 he refused to support the revolt of Heraclius; he made his troops ready and joined forces with Bonosus 2 when the latter reached Athribis; Joh. Nik. 107.29.33-5 (pp. 544-5). He later informed Bonosus of the opposition to Phocas of bishop Theodorus (?of Nikiu); Joh. Nik. 107.40 (p. 546). In late 609/early 610 he was among many killed when Nicetas 7 defeated Bonosus near Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 108.12 (p. 548).

Marcias Gothic commander 536-537

In late 536 he was in command of Gothic forces in Gaul; Proc. *BG* i 11.28, 13.15-16 (Γότθων πολλοί τε καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὧν Μαρκίας ἡγεῖτο, φυλακὴν εἶχον). Summoned back from there by Vitigis when this land (Provence) was surrendered to the Franks in return for help against the Romans; Proc. *BG* i 13.24-27.29. His arrival was awaited by Vitigis in Ravenna in early 537 before the Gothic king marched against Belisarius; Proc. *BG* i 16.7. When the siege of Rome began (Feb. 537),

Marcias commanded the Gothic camp in the *campus Neronis*, accompanied by his troops from Gaul; Proc. *BG* 1 19.12. When battle was joined between the Romans and the Goths, Marcias was ordered by Vitigis to remain in the *campus Neronis* to prevent Roman forces from crossing the river and attacking the main Gothic army from that direction; Proc. *BG* 1 29.2, and cf. Belisarius, p. 200 and Valentinus 1 for the ensuing fighting.

Marcovefa wife of Charibert M VI

Daughter of a poor *lanarius*, sister of Merofleda; she was a nun and a servant of Ingoberga; Charibert married her after Ingoberga and Merofleda, for which both were excommunicated by bishop Germanus of Paris; she died shortly before Charibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26.

Marcus 1 scholasticus (in Rome) 536/537

He and Iulianus 6 forged a letter at Rome in order to convict pope Silverius of treachery with the Goths; Liberat. *Brev.* 22 (Marcum quendam scholasticum). See further Iulianus.

Marcus 2 praefectianus (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born in 495; a *praefectianus*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 121 (Marcus dixit: Marcus dicor; praefectianus in hac civitate natus), p. 127 (praefectianus; aged fifty-five in 550). Cf. Eumolpius.

Fl. Marcus 3 doctor (in Egypt) 572

Doctor, probably at Oxyrhynchus; son of Ioannes 57 (also a doctor); husband of Flavia Stephanous; he and his wife came from Iustinopolis (= Oxyrhynchus); *P. Oxy.* 126, lines 23-4 + Φλ. Μάρκος σύν Θεῶ ἰατρός, υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς λογίας μνήμης Ἰωάννου γενομέ(νου) ἀρχιιάτρου, cf. lines 6-7 Μάρκου τοῦ λογιωτάτου μου συμβίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως (= Ἰουστίνου πόλεως) (dated May 10, 572).

Marcus 4 referendarius (under Chilperic) 579-583

REFERENDARIUS a. 579-583; *referendarius*, in 579, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 28; in 583, *HF* vi 28. He was saved from a lynch-mob at Limoges on March

1, 579, only by the bishop's intervention; he had gone there to announce new and heavy taxes imposed by Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 28. In 580 the tax registers which he brought from her cities to queen Fredegundis were burnt by her in a fit of repentance (iussit libros exhiberi qui de civitatibus suis per Marcum venerant); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 34. In 583 he fell ill, accepted the tonsure and died; his great wealth, accumulated during his career as tax-collector (congregatos de iniquis descriptionibus thesauros), was confiscated by the royal treasury (resque eius fisco collatae sunt; nam magni ibidem thesauri ex auro argentoque et multarum specierum reperti sunt); Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 28.

Fl. Marcus 5 scholasticus (in Egypt) L VI

According to a papyrus from Syene dated June 7, 583, he issued and endorsed a judgement in a civil dispute; *P. Monac.* 6, line 84 Μάρκος σχ(ολαστικός), and fr. a) 2 (on p. 61) Φλ. Μάρκος σχολαστικός έκρινα τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα...

Possibly identical with the Marcus who arbitrated in a dispute at Syene, possibly in 586; *P. Lond.* v 1732, line 4 τῶ εὐδοκι[μ]ωτάτῳ Μάρκῳ τῶ λογιωτάτῳ δικαστήν (sic) (dated Mesore 23, of indiction 3, which could be Aug. 16, 586).

MARCUS 6 scribo 598

Vir magnificus scribo; in 598 he visited Rome to take Gregorius 6 and others back to Sicily to present their accounts to Leontius 11; Greg. *Ep.* ix 4 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; cited under Gregorius).

MARCUS 7 ?provincial governor (in Egypt) M VI

Brother of Callinicus 4, Colluthus 3 and Dorotheus 7; he is mentioned in verses written by Dioscorus 5 in praise of Colluthus in terms implying that he was a provincial governor; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67120 (= Heitsch xlh 13 and 17), verso, right column, line 29 καὶ Μάρκῳ τιμῆντι περισσόνῳ δικασπῶλῳ; verso, left column, line 41 ἔπειτα καὶ Μάρκος σοφώτατος κριτῆς (alternative version, σύν σοφωτάτῳ Μάρκῳ πανεδόξῳ κριτῆ). Both δικάσπολος and κριτῆς suggest that he was a provincial governor; perhaps in Egypt.

Marcus 8 MVM VI

Μάρκου στρατηλάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2244 (seal; obv.: monogram (218) of Μάρκου (less probably Μαυρικίου); rev.: .TPA/.HΛA/.OV).

Marcus 9 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

Α σχολαστικός, in the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1033 (cited under Fl. Philippus 2). The document is a receipt for meat signed by Philippus but the role of Marcus is obscure; possibly the nine pounds of meat constituted tax in kind due to the *res privata* from Marcus.

Marcus 10 patricius M VI/M VII

Μάρκω πατρικίω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2836 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, in the quarters ΤΩ-Δδ/[ΛΩ-Cδ]; rev.: +/ΜΑΡΚ/ΩΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩ).

Mardius military commander (in Tripolitana) 609

In 609 three military commanders of Phocas, Mardius, Ecclesiarius and Isidorus 10, were defeated by barbarian troops allegedly invited to attack them by the inhabitants of Tripolis in support of Heraclius; *Joh. Nik.* 109.22-3 (p. 551 Zotenberg).

Margarites chartularius M VI/M VII

Μαργαρίτου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 922 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2971 (seal; obv.: ΜΑΡ/ΓΑΡΙ/ΤΟΥ; rev.: .ΑΡ/ΤδΛΑ/ΡΙδ).

Possibly identical with the eunuch Margarites who attended the wedding of Maurice and Constantina in 582 as the emperor's groomsmen; *Theoph. Sim.* i 10.8 (παρῆν δ' ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως νυμφευτῆς· εὐνοῦχος δ' ἄρα ἦν οὗτος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, Μαργαρίτης ὄνομα αὐτῶ, ἀνὴρ περίβλεπτος ἐν τῇ ἐστία τοῦ βασιλέως), *Theoph.* AM 6075 (παρενύμφευσε Μαρίτης (sic), ὁ εὐνοῦχος τοῦ παλατίου μέγας ὑπάρχων).

Maria (*CIL* v 6734) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Maria (*BCH* 1889, p. 309, n. 17) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Maria (*Just. Nov.* 159) E/M VI: *PLRE* II.

Maria: wife of Hypatius 532; *PLRE* II.

Maria (*Just. Nov.* 159) M VI: *PLRE* II.

Maria 1 wealthy lady at Gaza L V/E VI

She had a brother who was leader of the clergy at Gaza; *Chor. Or.* 2.8. She had four sons and four daughters; *Chor. Or.* 7.5. Mother of Anastasius 2 (bishop of Eleutheropolis), *Chor. Or.* 7 title, *Or.* 7.7-8; and of Marcianus 1 (bishop of Gaza), *Chor. Or.* 2.8, 7 title, 7.7-8, 7.20. Her other two sons were governor of Palestine and a lawyer (see Anonymus 49 and 63); *Chor. Or.* 7.8, 7.21. The family were natives of Gaza; *Chor. Or.* 2.7. All her daughters were married; *Chor. Or.* 7.9.

Actively involved in charitable work, in which she received help from her sons; *Chor. Or.* 7.17.

She died in old age, a grandmother, and her funeral oration was composed by Choricus; *Chor. Or.* 7, and see 7.2, 7.35 (her death).

Maria 2 wife of Thomas 17 M VI

An Armenian lady of the Arsacid family, she married Thomas 17; she joined her husband in the ascetic life and lived in the monastery for women which he founded in Armenia until her death; *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 21 (= *PO* 17, pp. 286, 290, 297-8).

Aurelia Maria 3 daughter of Cyriacus M/L VI

Daughter of Cyriacus, granddaughter of Theodosius 7 (illustrius); a native of Antioch, in 569 she was a widow there; a document from Antioch records a loan by her of fifteen *solidi*; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67309 Antioch (dated March 569).

Maria 4 patricia M/L VI

Maria patricia; Zacos 2899 (seal; obv.: [+ ]ΤΕ/[O]ΤΟCE/[b]ΟΗΤI; rev.: +ΜΑ/ΡΙΩΡΑ/ΤΡΙCΙΩ).

Maria 5 sister of al-Nu'mān L VI

Sister of Naamanes 4 and Hind; a Christian; *Hist. Nest.* II 65 (*PO* 13, p. 478).

Maria (Mariam) 6 Christian wife of Chosroes II L VI

A Roman, a Christian, and wife of Chosroes; Anon. Guidi, p. 17 = p. 16. In many non-Byzantine sources she is described as daughter of the

emperor Maurice given in marriage to Chosroes after his restoration; Mich. Syr. x 23, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxi, *Hist. Nest.* II 43, 58, 92, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1081-2. There is no support for this in any of the Byzantine sources. See also Goubert, I, pp. 179-82, and cf. Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 275, 283-4, 360.

She was the mother of Cavades II *qui et Siroes*; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1091, *Hist. Nest.* II 92.

**Maria 7** gloriosa femina; patricia 596

In 596 pope Gregory congratulated a bishop Stephanus (whose see is unknown) on bringing Maria to the fold (de gloriosa autem Maria patricia valde laetatus sum, quia in sancto Dei ouili adgregata est); Greg. *Ep.* VII 8 (a. 596 Oct.). She had presumably become a nun. The location may have been Scodra (Scutari) in Dalmatia (see Constantinus 10), but this is uncertain.

Evidently not identical with Maria who owned property in Campania, perhaps at Naples, and who died before April 596 (substantiam vero quondam Mariae); Greg. *Ep.* VI 32 (a. 596 April; instructing Anthemius, *rector* of the patrimony in Campania, at Naples, to send an inventory of her property).

**Maria 8** daughter of Comitiolus 599

Daughter of Comitiolus 1, wife of the clericus Pardus; she inherited her father's property but was reluctant to pay out the bequests in his will; Greg. *Ep.* IX 89 (a. 599 Jan.). She perhaps lived in Bruttium; cf. Comitiolus.

**Maria 9** gloriosissima femina (in Egypt) VI

Ἡ ἐνδοξ(ο)τ(ά)τη; wife of Letodorus; recorded among others who made payments of barley; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 30. Presumably she and her husband were landowners in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

**Maria 10** magnifica femina (in Egypt) VI

Ἡ μεγαλοπρε(πεσ)τάτη; recorded among others who made payments of barley; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 20. Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

**Maria 11** mother of Paulus 51 VI/VII

Mother of the *candidatus* Paulus 51; on the island of Samos she met John Moschus and told him an anecdote from the days when she was in Nisibis; styled θεοφιλης και φιλόπτωχος; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 266 (185).

**Maria 12** mother of Martina E VII

Sister of Heraclius; Nic. *Brev.* 14, 17, 24. Wife of Martinus 7 and mother of the empress Martina; Nic. *Brev.* 14. She later married Eutropius and had a son, Stephanus 60, whom she ransomed from the Avars; Nic. *Brev.* 17, 24.

Other sources (see Martinus) claim that Martina was the daughter of Heraclius' brother.

**Marianus 1** scholasticus M VI

Author of several poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* IX 626-7, 657, 668-9, XVI 201 (all Μαρριανοῦ σχολαστικοῦ). One of these poems, IX 657, alludes to the building of the palace of Sophianae by Justin II and so cannot have been written before 566/567; see Averil Cameron, *Iust.*, p. 134, and *Byz.* 37 (1967), 15ff.

**Marianus 2** a secretis VI

Mariani (or Marini or Mauriani) a secretis; Zacos 416 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.751 (seal; obv.: two superimposed monograms, one, the P, the other (217) perhaps of Mariani; rev.: AΣE/CRE/ΤΙΣ).

**Marianus 3** patricius VI

Μαρριανοῦ πατρικίου; Zacos 417 (seal; obv.: square monogram (215) of MAPIANOV (or MAPINOV or MAVPIANOV); rev.: ΠΑΤ/ΠΙΚΙ/OV).

**MARIANVS 4** referendarius M VI/M VII

Μαρριανοῦ ῥεφερενδαρίου; Zacos 418 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (216) of MAPIANOV (or MAPINOV or MAVPIANOV); rev.: cruciform monogram (288) of ῥεφερενδαρίου).

**Marianus 5** cubicularius; MVM (in Egypt) 640

Appointed as successor to Marinus 11 in Egypt and ordered to cooperate with Cyrus 17; he disagreed with the conciliatory policies of Cyrus, met the Arabs in battle and was defeated and killed; Nic. *Brev.* 24-5 (προβαλλέται στρατηγὸν Μαρριανὸν κουβικουλάριον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἀξίαν), cf. Severus of Ushmūnayn, *Hist. Patr.* I, 14 (PO I, p. 494) ('the Muslims... destroyed the nation of the Romans and their general who was named Marianus' - referring to the fall of Babylon, spring 641).

The narrative of the Arab conquest of Egypt in Nicephorus is very unreliable; cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 207-8.

Fl. Marianus Iacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Constantinus Theodorus  
Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus  
Marinus Athanasius

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus  
Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon  
Anastasius Dominus Theodorus Callinicus

Fl. Marianus Ioannes

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas  
Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Ioannes Theodorus Georgius  
Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus

Marileifus doctor (at Chilperic's court) 577-?584

On the name, see Förstemann 1104.

His father was in the service of the church in charge of mills while his brothers, cousins and other relatives worked in the royal kitchens and bakery; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 25.

Archiatrus; in 577 while returning from the court of Chilperic he was attacked near Tours and stripped of his valuables by followers of Merovechus; he escaped death by taking refuge in a church in Tours and bishop Gregory later supplied him with clothes and sent him with a safe conduct to Poitiers; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14.

He was the leading doctor at Chilperic's court (primus medicorum in domo Chilperici regis habitus fuerat); probably in 584 after Chilperic died he was robbed by Gararicus (apparently in Poitiers, cf. *HF* vii 13); in 585 he was again robbed of all his possessions by the army of Guntram, left destitute and forced back into the service of the church like his father (ipsum ditioni ecclesiasticae subdiderunt); Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 25.

He was perhaps doctor at Chilperic's court from before 577 to 584 and seems to have lived at Poitiers.

Marina (*ILCV* 227) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Marinus (*SEG* xviii 763) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Marinus (*CIL* vi 32012) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**MARINVS 1**

v.c., comes (East) 555

He is named in the dating of mosaic work in a church east of Acre, recorded in an inscription from year 680 of the local era (= 555 A.D.); *Quart. Journ. Dept. Ant. Pal.* 3 (1933), 96ff. = *SEG* viii 21 Suhmātā (east of Acre, Phoenice) (ἐπὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων Μαρίνου κόμητος) (καὶ Διῶε(!) ...).

**Marinus 2**

comes excubitorum 561-562

COMES EXCUBITORVM a. 561-562: ὁ κόμης τῶν ἐξκουβιτόρων, Theoph. AM 6054 (a. 561 Nov.), Joh. Mal. 491 (a. 562 May), Joh. Mal. 495 (a. 562 Dec.). In Nov. 561 he was sent with the *curator (domus divinae) rerum Caesarii* (Anonymus 77) to suppress faction violence; Theoph. AM 6054. In May 562 he was again sent to check the factions, this time with Iustinus 5 (*curapalatii*); Joh. Mal. 491. In Dec. 562 he and Constantianus 2 conducted further enquiries into the conspiracy of Nov. 562 to assassinate Justinian; Joh. Mal. 495.

**MARINVS 3**

?v.c. (East) 590

Named in a letter of pope Gregory to Narses 9 in Constantinople in 590, in which Gregory sent greetings to him and styled him 'filius meus' (unlike the others there listed, who were all 'domnus' or 'domna'); Greg. *Ep.* 16 (a. 590 Oct.) (cited under Narses).

He was possibly a younger son of Narses, and in any event seems likely to have been too young to be identified with Marinus 6.

**Marinus 4** ?vir illustris (at Edessa) 590

A leading citizen of Edessa in 590, he was a rival of Ioannes 102 (of Resapha), and owned a splendid house where he entertained the fugitive Persian king Chosroes; described as a Chalcedonian; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxvii (Chosroes, in 590, 'deversabatur in aedibus Marini chalcedonensis, prope aulam Ioannis Rosaphayae'), *Mich. Syr.* x 25 (they were 'chiefs' at Edessa). In c. 604/605, his house was occupied by Narses 10; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxv (the 'aula Marini' at Edessa), *Mich. Syr.* x 23.

For his status and rank, see Ioannes 102.

He is probably not identical with Marinus 5, who was presumably at Chalcis in 590.

**MARINVS 5** ?dux Syriae Euphratensis 591

After the defeat of the Persian rebel Bahram at the battle of Blarathon (late summer 591), the Romans sent an army of, allegedly, ten thousand men in pursuit, *κεχειροτονηκότες ταξιάρχας αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν Χαλκιδίων ταγματῶν ἡγούμενον*; *Theoph. Sim.* v 11.4 (the text is clearly defective and Marinus' name has fallen out). Subsequently Marinus and his colleague Bestamius (Bistam) returned from the pursuit empty handed; *Theoph. Sim.* v 11.7.

Marinus was commander of army units (presumably *numeri*) stationed at Chalcis (in Syria); he was perhaps a regional *dux* based at Chalcis (?*dux Syriae Euphratensis*) who accompanied the expedition led by Narses 10 to restore Chosroes to his throne in 591. See also Iuveninus.

**MARINVS 6** vir magnificus (at Constantinople) 597

Husband of Gordia 1, living in Constantinople; he and Christodorus were styled *magnificus* and *domnus* by Gregory (et *magnificis earum hominibus domno Marino et domno Christodoro*); he was ignorant of Latin (see Gordia); *Greg. Ep.* vii 27 (a. 597 June; to Narses 9).

**Marinus 7** ?author of a (lost) work on rhetoric ?VI

A Christian and author, apparently, of a (lost) work on rhetoric, from which two poems by him invoking the aid of Christ for his book are extant in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* 1 23 ('Αθανάτου πατρός υἱέ συναχρονε, κοίρανε πάντων, αἰθερίων μεδέων, εἰναλίων, χθονίων, δμωί τεῶ, τῶ τήνδε βίβλον γράψαντι Μαρίνω, δὸς χάριν εὐεπίης καὶ λογικῆς σοφίης), 28 (Χριστέ, Θεοῦ σοφίη, ὅπασον χάριν εὐεπιάων καὶ λογικῆς σοφίης ἐμπέραμον τέλεσον, ὃς τόδε τεῦχος ἔγραψεν ἐαῖς χεῖρεσσι Μαρίνος, φάρμακον ἀφραδίης, πρόξενον εὐφραδίης). No author is recorded for the poems between these two, *Anth. Gr.* 1 24-7, and they could also be by

Marinus. His date is not certain and there seems to be no other allusion to his work. There seems no good reason to identify him with the Marinus recorded for his unprepossessing appearance in *Anth. Gr.* xvi 319.

**Marinus 8** commerciarus at Tyre M VI/E VII

One of three *commercarii* of Tyre recorded on a seal (see Arcobindus 6); *Zacos* 130 bis, note, no. 5 = Seyrig, *Magnus le Syrien*, p. 40, n. 3.

**Marinus 9** honorary consul M VI/M VII

Μαρίνου ὑπάτου; *Zacos* 927 (seal; obv.: +MA/PI/NOV; rev.: +V/ΠΑ/ΤΟV).

**Marinus 10** scholasticus (at Oxyrhynchus) VI/VII

Mentioned in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus; he had a *chartularius* under him, Theodorus 140; *PSI* 894, line 7 τοῦ σοφωτάτου σχολαστικοῦ Μαρίνο(υ).

Possibly identical with Marinus 13.

**Marinus (?) 11** ?MVM per Thracias 640

Ὁ τῶν Θρακικῶν ἐκστρατευμάτων ἡγεμῶν; after the death of Ioannes 249 he encountered the Arabs in Egypt but was also defeated by them, narrowly escaping with his life; *Nic. Brev.* 24.

Succeeded in Egypt by Marianus 5.

**Marinus 12** son of Heraclius; Caesar M VII

Son of the emperor Heraclius (by Martina), proclaimed Caesar with his brother David 8; *Nic. Brev.* 27. See stemma 6.

Overthrown with Martina and his brothers in 641, mutilated and exiled; *Joh. Nik.* 120. 52 (p. 580 Zotenberg).

**Marinus 13** scholasticus (at Oxyrhynchus) VII

Addressee of two letters from a σελλαριώτης; *P. Oxy.* 1862 (addressed [?λαμπρ]ο(τάτω) τιμ(ῆς) ἀξίω κυρίω Μαρίνω σχο(λαστικῶ); he is styled τὴν ὑμῶν θεοφύλακτον δεσποσίαν), *P. Oxy.* 1863 (+ἀπ(ο)δοθ(ήτω) τῶ κυρ(ι)ω Μαρίνω σχο(λαστικῶ); he is styled τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξ(οτάτην) φιλίαν).

Possibly identical with the addressee of another letter, perhaps from a σύμμαχος; *P. Oxy.* 1864 verso + ἀποδ(ο)θ(ήτω) τῷ δεσπότη(τη) Μαρίνω τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ); he is styled τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξ(οτάτην) καὶ πάνσοφος (sic) προστασίαν.

Possibly identical also with Marinus 10.

Marinus 14 excubitor VII  
 Μαρίνου ἔξκουβίτορος; *Zacos* 925A (seal; obv.: MARI/NOV; rev.: + ΕΞ/ΚΟΝΒΙ/ΤΟΡΟC).

Marinus 15 scribo et imperialis spatharius VII  
 Μαρίνω σκρίβωνι καὶ βασιλ(ι)κῷ σπαθαρίῳ; *Zacos* 2901 (seal; obv.: + ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ[Ε]/ΒΟΗΘΗ/ΜΑΡΙ/ΝΩ; rev.: C[K]ΡΙ/ΒΩΝΙ/ΒΑCΙΛΕΙ/[Κ]ΩCΠΑ/ΘΑΡ).

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus  
 Marinus Athanasius

Marius (of Avenches) 1 chronicler; bishop of Avenches 574-594  
 According to his epitaph, preserved only in a thirteenth-century compilation, the *Gesta Episcoporum Lausannae* 3 (*MGH, SS*, xxiv, 794ff.), he was born in 530/531 (see below), near Autun, of noble family; Epitaph, line 7 nobilitas generis radians et origo refulgens. At an early age he entered the church; Epitaph, line 5 clericus officio primaevus tonsus ab annis.

Bishop of Avenches a. 574-594: he became bishop of Avenches in 574, when aged about forty-three, and attended the Council of Mâcon in 585; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 248. He appears shortly afterwards to have transferred his see from Avenches to Lausanne.

He died in 594 aged sixty-three or sixty-four.

Author of a Chronicle which continued that of Prosper from 455 down to 581; it is edited by Mommsen in *MGH, AA* xi, pp. 232ff.

See further Mommsen, *MGH, AA* xi, p. 228, Stroheker, no. 239.

Marius 2 tribunus ?VI/VII  
 De donis d(e)i s(an)c(t)i Paul(i) Marius tribunus con.../...conio. ensuam v̄v...ji suis votom suom solvet; *CIL* III 10146 = *ILCV* 1940 island of Apsorus (off Dalmatia). Marius was perhaps a local landowner

and/or commander of a *castrum* on the island; on *tribuni*, cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 56-8 with notes.

Fl. Marous gloriosissima (in Egypt) VII  
 Φλ. Μάρους ἐνδ(οξοτάτη); made various payments διὰ Καλομηνᾶ ν(ο)τ(αρίου); *Stud. Pal.* III 246-52 Arsinoe.

The name is feminine and a diminutive of Maria; cf. Sophronius, *V. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 10 (*PG* 87.3.3448-9).

Marouzas (Μαρουζᾶς) Persian commander 588  
 Ὁ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγός (or similar), defeated and killed by the Romans (under Germanus 6) at the battle of Martyropolis in summer 588; *Theoph. Sim.* III 4.1-3, 5.8, *Theoph. AM* 6079, *Cedr.* I 694. Cf. *Justi*, p. 197, s.n. Marūžan, no. 3.

MARTHA 1 clarissima femina 533  
 Ἡ λαμπροτάτη, daughter of Sergius τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης and of Auxentia ἡ λαμπροτάτη (*PLRE* II, Auxentia 1 and Sergius 3); her father died while Martha was still in infancy and her mother remarried and defrauded her of her father's property; she was still under twenty in 533 when Justinian ordered her rights to be respected; *Just. Nov.* 155 (a. 533 Feb. 1; addressed to Belisarius, who was to settle the matter in co-operation with the patriarch of Antioch; presumably the family were natives of Antioch).

Fl. Martha 2 ?c.f. (Egypt) L VI  
 A document from Antinoe is addressed Φλαυία Μάρθα τῆ λαμπροτάτη καὶ τιμιωτάτη θυγατρί τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτης) [μν]ήμης Δημητρίου; she was a native of Antinoe and daughter of Demetrius 6; *PSI* XIII 1367 Antinoe. The date is Thoth 5 (= Sept. 2) of indiction 4 (Sept. 585-Aug. 586) in year three of Maurice (= 584); either the indiction or the regnal year seems to be in error; the date is Sept. 2, 584 or 585.

Marthanes 1 MVM (?vacans) (East) 559/560  
 Μαρθάνης; *Proc.* Μαρθάνιος; *Inscriptions* (see below). Marthannius; *ACOec.*

Son-in-law of Leo 1; *Proc. Anecd.* 29.28. Perhaps related to Marthanes 2 (see further below).

?Dvx, in Cilicia, ?in the late 540s: ordered by Justinian to suppress growing violence in Cilicia; *Proc. Anecd.* 29.29 (τοῦτον βίας ἀναστέλλειν ἐπίστελλε - sc. Justinian - τὰς ἐν Κίλιξι). He is alluded to in *Anecd.* 29.37



as τῶν τις ἀρχόντων. He took the opportunity to enrich himself, robbing the Cilicians and sending a share of the proceeds to the emperor; when the Blues of Tarsus demonstrated against him, he entered the city with troops under cover of darkness and in the ensuing fighting a senator and patron of the Blues, Damianus 1, was killed; this provoked an outcry at Constantinople and the emperor ordered an investigation into the conduct of Marthanes, but it was dropped, so Procopius alleges, after Leo bribed the emperor; Marthanes went to Constantinople and was warmly received by Justinian but on leaving the palace was attacked by a gang of Blues and narrowly escaped with his life; he went unpunished for his activities in Cilicia; Proc. *Anecd.* 29.29–38.

The date of these events was before 550, when Procopius wrote the *Anecdota*, but may have been recent, since Marthanes was in Cilicia in 550 (see below). Moreover his wife, the daughter of Leo, was probably not born until after Justinian became emperor (see Leo 1). His office and the circumstances of his appointment are not clear, but the facts that he could be styled ἀρχων and that his duties involved the suppression of violence, combined with the approximate date, suggest a parallel with the office of *dux* or βιοκωλύτης which Justinian created not long before 553 in the provinces of the Phrygias, Pisidia, Lycaonia and Lydia; cf. Just. *Nov.* 145 praef. (ὀλίγω γὰρ πρότερον τοῦτο μὲν ἀταξίας δημῶδεις, τοῦτο δὲ ληστῶν ἐπιδρομὰς κατὰ Φρυγίαν ἑκατέραν καὶ Πισιδίαν γίνεσθαι μαθόντες, ὡς πολιτικὴν διοίκησιν ἐκβαίνειν τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπιμέλειαν, ταύταις τε καὶ πρὸς γε Λυκαονίαν καὶ Λυδίαν στρατιωτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπεστήσαμεν, δοῦκα ἤτοι βιοκωλύτην ὀνομάσαντες τὸν ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους τεταγμένον). The abuses of this office, which led to protests by the provincials and the restriction of its authority by *Nov.* 145 in 553, also echo the situation in Cilicia. Possibly Marthanes was also a *dux* in Cilicia with the title of βιοκωλύτης.

VIR MAGNIFICVS, COMES DOMESTICORVM a. 550 June 17, *ACOec.* iv i, p. 118. The title by this date was honorific and probably conferred on him the status of *vir illustris*. *Vir magnificus*; *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 116–19 (all in 550).

In 550 he was instructed to help organise the enquiry at Mopsuestia in Cilicia concerning the removal from the diptychs of the name of Theodorus of Mopsuestia and to transmit the findings back to the emperor; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 117. He attended the synod, held on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 116, 118, 119.

MVM (?VACANS) in the east a. 559/560: recorded as στρατηλάτης on two inscription, both in the form of acclamations, *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten* (Ankara) 42 (1978), p. 410, no. 35 (dated 559/560, in the museum of Adana in Cilicia; Μαρθανίου στρατηλάτου εἰς αἰῶνας ἢ

μνήμη) and SEG 1 548 (undated, Berytus; Μαρθανίου στρατηλάτου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη). He was perhaps a *vacans*, though the location of these inscriptions suggests that he could have been MVM *per Orientem*.

The στρατηλάτης of 559/560 is not to be identified with the CRP of 558, Marthanes 2; there were therefore two men in high office at this time with this name, one civil and one military. On balance the man in Procopius and at Mopsuestia seems more likely to be the one whose career was military.

## Marthanes 2

CRP 558

Presumably related to Marthanes 1.

CRP a. 558 Nov. 17, Just. *Nov.* 142 (addressed Μαρθάνη κόμητι περιβάτων; his title is recorded in the Epitome of Athanasius, and the text styles him ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης).

## Martina 1

Augusta c. 613–641

Daughter of Martinus 7 and Maria 12; Nic. *Brev.* 14. She was the niece of the emperor Heraclius; Nic. *Brev.* 14, *Capt. Hieros.* xxiv 8, Cedr. 1 752, Zon. xiv 15 (pp. 305, 307), Joh. Nik. 116. 4 (p. 564 Zotenberg) (by his sister), Mich. Syr. xi 3 (by his brother), *Chron.* 1234, xcviij (by his brother), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93.

Wife of Heraclius (his second wife); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 624, Nic. *Brev.* 14, *Capt. Hieros.* xxiv 8, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Theoph. AM 6105, Cedr. 1 715, 752, Zon. xiv 15 (p. 305), Mansi x 610, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 49, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcviij, cxxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1096, Suid. H 465. The marriage probably took place in 613/614; Theoph. AM 6105, Cedr. 1 715 (in year four of Heraclius).

AVGVSTA: he proclaimed her Augusta; Theoph. AM 6105, Cedr. 1 715, Zon. xiv 15 (p. 305).

Her first child, probably born the year after her marriage, was Constantinus 34 (as he is not heard of again he presumably died in infancy); Theoph. AM 6106, Cedr. 1 715 (in year five of Heraclius), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 49, cf. Zon. xiv 15 (mentions a son born while the emperor was at Caesarea preparing for war; perhaps Constantinus). She subsequently bore another son to Heraclius, also called Heraclius (but known as Heraclonas); Theoph. AM 6121, 6132, Cedr. 1 753, Zon. xiv 15 (cf. below), 18, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Vardan, p. 85, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcviij, cxxv, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, *Hist. Nest.* ii 107, Joh. Nik. 119.19 (p. 572 Zotenberg), Suid. H 465. She was the mother also of David 8 and Marinus 12; Zon. xiv 15 (mother of Fabius *qui et* Heraclonas (sic) and David), Joh. Nik. 120.52 (p. 580) (in 641 three sons

were alive, Heraclius (= Heraclonas), David and Marinus), and cf. Mansi x 610 (Heraclius tried to safeguard her interests and those of her sons). See also Fabius, Theodosius 44, Augustina and Martina 2, and cf. stemma 6.

In 641, after Heraclius died, she aimed to secure the supreme power for her son Heraclonas and herself; Nic. *Brev.* 27-8. She was allegedly responsible for the murder of her stepson Heraclius Constantinus (son of Heraclius by his first wife) and the elevation of Heraclonas to the imperial throne; during his reign she shared in the government; Nic. *Brev.* 29, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Vardan, p. 85, Cedr. I 753, Zon. xiv 18, *Chron.* 1234, cxxv, *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 93, 96. She was subsequently overthrown, mutilated and exiled to Rhodes together with her sons; Theoph. AM 6133, Cedr. I 753, Zon. xiv 18, Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Vardan, p. 85, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 86 (killed by Constans), *Hist. Nest.* II 107, Joh. Nik. 120.52 (p. 580) (exiled to Rhodes). See also Valentinus 5.

**Martina 2** daughter of Heraclius; Augusta M VII  
Daughter of the emperor Heraclius (by Martina), proclaimed Augusta; Nic. *Brev.* 27. See stemma 6.

**Martinianus 1** in Italy 547  
Native of Constantinople; a young man (*νεανίας*) in 547 with a reputation for prowess in single combat, apparently earned in Italy during the war against Totila; when Totila captured Rome (Dec. 17, 546), Martinianus escaped from the city with Conon 1 but his wife and two children were captured; in early 547, with the consent of Belisarius, he pretended to desert to Totila, who restored to him his wife and one child, keeping the other as hostage, and sent him to Spolegium; there Martinianus won over some of the Roman soldiers who had deserted and were serving with the Goths and with the help of Hodolgan and troops from Perusia succeeded in recapturing the city, killing most of the garrison and returning to Belisarius with the survivors as prisoners; Proc. *BG* III 23.1-7.

**Martinianus 2** illustrius VI  
Martinianu illustri; Zacos 929 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55-1.4405 (seal; obv.: ΜΑΥ/ΤΙΝΙ/ΑΝΥ; rev.: ΙΛΛ/ΥΡΤ/ΥΙΥ).

**Martinianus (or ?Martinus) 3** PVC VI  
A square monogram (415) occurring on small glass weights may be interpreted as Μαρτινιάνου or Μαρτίνου; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue*

E, no. 2a (= Schlumberger, *REG* 8 (1895), no. 41), Jungfleisch, p. 241, no. 23. It also occurs (five times) on a large (one pound) glass weight, recorded with photograph in Sotheby's Sale Catalogue for 20 May 1986 (Ancient and Islamic Coins), no. 264.

**Martinus 1** praefectianus (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born c. a. 487; a *praefectianus*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 120 (in hac civitate natus), p. 126 (praefectianus; aged about sixty-three in 550). Cf. Eumolpius.

**Martinus 2** MVM per Armeniam 555-556

A native of Thrace; Proc. *BV* I 11.10.

In September 531, when with the Roman army under Sittas 1 and Hermogenes near Martyropolis, Martinus was sent as a hostage with Senecius, one of Sittas' bodyguards, to the Persian generals besieging the city, in order to end the siege; this took place shortly after the death of Cavades (Sept. 13, 531) and the accession of Chosroes; Proc. *BP* I 21.23-7. The hostages were released by Chosroes as soon as Justinian's envoys came to him to discuss peace; Proc. *BP* I 22.1-2.

In 533 Martinus was one of the nine officers who commanded the *foederati* (ἄρχοντες ... φοιδερᾶτων) on the expedition against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.5-6 (for the others, see Althias). According to Zach. *HE* IX 17 the expedition was under the command of Martinus, Belisarius and Archelaus; to judge from Procopius, this source exaggerates the role of Martinus; it was perhaps composed when he had become a person of importance in the east (cf. below) and his name was familiar.

Before the main force set sail in mid June 533 from Constantinople, Martinus and Valerianus 1 were sent ahead to await the others in the Peloponnese; Proc. *BV* I 11.24. An incident at their departure, when Justinian, not wishing to delay them, ordered them not to return or disembark, was interpreted as a bad omen; however, Procopius applies the portent, not to Martinus and Valerianus, but to Stotzas, future rebel in Africa, who at that time was one of Martinus' bodyguard (ἐν τοῖς Μαρτίνου δορυφόροις); Proc. *BV* I 11.25-30. They went to Methone where they were soon joined by Belisarius with the rest of the expedition; Proc. *BV* I 13.9.

Martinus was doubtless present throughout the campaign against the Vandals, although he is mentioned by name only once in the narrative of Procopius. At the battle of Tricamarum in mid December 533 (Proc.

*BV* II 3.28) Martinus and the other commanders of the *foederati* (φοιδαράτων ἄρχοντες) held the left wing of the Roman army; Proc. *BV* II 3.4. Earlier he was probably one of the commanders of the *foederati* (τοὺς τῶν φοιδαράτων ἄρχοντας) routed by Gelimer at Ad Decimum (on Sept. 13; cf. Belisarius); Proc. *BV* I 19.13-24, 19.30, and see Althias.

Martinus apparently remained in Africa under Solomon I after Belisarius returned to Constantinople in 534. In spring 536 he was present in Carthage with Solomon when the Roman army mutinied; he sought sanctuary with him in the church in the Palace, and then late in the day accompanied him to the house of Theodorus 8; there, together with Procopius 2, they took nourishment and then went to the harbour where Martinus happened to have a boat ready; on this they escaped to safety in Missua; from there Martinus was sent by Solomon to Valerianus I and other commanders in Numidia to urge them by any means possible to regain the loyalty of their soldiers; Proc. *BV* II 14.37-40. Shortly afterwards the mutineers from Carthage chose Stotzas, a bodyguard of Martinus, to be their leader; Proc. *BV* II 15.1. Neither Martinus nor Valerianus is named among the commanders in Numidia whose army deserted to Stotzas shortly after the intervention of Belisarius and his return to Sicily (summer 536); Proc. *BV* II 15.50-1 (cf. Marcellus 2). At about this time they were apparently recalled to Constantinople; see below and cf. Proc. *BV* II 19.2.

MAGISTER MILITVM ?a. 536-556: he and Valerianus were 'uterque magister militiae' in 537 when sent to help Belisarius; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537. They were originally sent in late 536, cf. below, and were both already presumably *magistri militum* at that date. Martinus is styled 'mag(ister) mil(itum)' in reference to Stotzas in *Jord. Rom.* 369 (Martini clientulus mag. mil.), but Martinus was a well-known MVM when Jordanes wrote and the title may not be accurate for the time when Stotzas revolted (spring 536). He probably bore the title continuously until his final disgrace in 556, mainly as a *magister militum vacans*, but on two occasions holding specific appointments, in the East and in Armenia (see below).

In December 536 (ἄμφι τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς) Martinus and Valerianus were sent by Justinian with an army to Italy; they sailed as far as Greece but were unable to proceed further (presumably owing to weather conditions; there is no suggestion of enemy activity) and wintered in Aetolia and Acarnania; probably in March 537, following an urgent plea for aid from Belisarius, then under siege in Rome, they were ordered by Justinian to go to Italy with all speed; Proc. *BG* I 24.18-20, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537 (cui, sc. Belisario, directi sunt Martinus et Valerianus uterque magister militiae). They arrived in

Rome on a date twenty days after Portus fell to the Goths (perhaps April 2, cf. Belisarius), with reinforcements comprising sixteen hundred cavalry, mainly Huns, Slavs and Antae; Proc. *BG* I 27.1-2. Shortly afterwards Martinus and Valerianus were sent by Belisarius with fifteen hundred cavalry against a Gothic cavalry force of five hundred, most of whom they destroyed; Proc. *BG* I 27.22-3. In mid June (ἄμφι θερινὰς τροπὰς; Proc. *BG* II 2.1), when Euthalius I approached the city bringing the army's pay, Martinus and Valerianus were sent by Belisarius to the *campus Neronis* to distract the attention of the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 2.8. In the fighting which ensued they were in grave danger of defeat until reinforcements under Bochas arrived; Proc. *BG* II 2.19-21. They in turn rescued Bochas when he was surrounded and wounded; Proc. *BG* II 2.24.

Later in the year when Belisarius despatched cavalry detachments to neighbouring towns (perhaps in September or October; cf. Bury, *LRE*<sup>2</sup> II, 188, n. 1), Martinus and Traianus 2 were sent with one thousand men to Tarracina; they were accompanied by Antonina, the wife of Belisarius; they reached Tarracina after evading the enemy camps under cover of darkness and, after sending Antonina to Naples with an escort, occupied local strongholds and began to harass the Gothic supply routes in the area; Proc. *BG* II 4.5-6, 4.14. They were recalled to Rome shortly before the arrival of Ioannes 46 (probably late November or early December); Proc. *BG* II 5.4.

As soon as the siege of Rome ended (March 538), Martinus and Ildiger were sent to Ariminum by Belisarius with one thousand cavalry, with orders to replace Ioannes 46 and his men with an adequate force drawn from Ancona; Proc. *BG* II 11.4. They travelled by the Via Flaminia in order to arrive before the Gothic army under Vitigis, which was marching from Rome to Ariminum to lay siege to it; Proc. *BG* II 11.3-4, 11.8. En route they captured and garrisoned the fortress of Petra; Proc. *BG* II 11.10-20. They then went on to Ancona, collected most of the infantry troops in the place, and proceeded to Ariminum, arriving there on the third day; Ioannes refused to obey the orders of Belisarius and leave, and so Martinus and Ildiger left the infantry there and returned to Rome with all the bodyguards of Belisarius who had been in Ariminum; Proc. *BG* II 11.21-2.

Martinus was presumably with the army which Belisarius led from Rome in mid June 538 against Vitigis and which joined up with the army under Narses I at Firmum; Proc. *BG* II 13.1, 16.1. His part in the strategy devised by Belisarius to relieve Ariminum was to lead an army along the coast road from Firmum, staying within sight of the fleet under Ildiger, and to light as many camp fires as possible in order to deceive

the enemy about the size of the army; Proc. *BG* II 16.23 (στρατιάν μὲν ἄλλην, ἣς Μαρτίνος ἦρχε). On the night before the Goths abandoned the siege and fled, Martinus and his army camped about eight miles east of Ariminum and alarmed the enemy by the multitude of their fires; Proc. *BG* II 17.20 (τὸ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ στράτευμα).

Later in 538 Martinus was sent by Belisarius with Vliaris I and a large army to help Milan, which was then under siege from the Goths under Vraias; Proc. *BG* II 21.1, cf. 18.19 and 22 for the date (soon after the relief of Ariminum). They advanced as far as the river Po, one day's march from Milan, made camp and remained there for a long while deliberating whether to cross; Proc. *BG* II 21.2. They were visited by Paulus 6, an envoy from Mundilas in Milan, urging them to hurry to the city's aid, and they sent him back with promises of speedy assistance; Proc. *BG* II 21.3-10. Nevertheless they remained where they were and more time elapsed while they still hesitated whether to cross; eventually Martinus wrote to Belisarius explaining that the delay was due to the presence in Liguria of large Gothic and Burgundian forces, too numerous for his army to engage, and requesting that Ioannes 46 and Iustinus 2 be sent with reinforcements; a further delay now occurred while Ioannes and Iustinus had their orders from Belisarius confirmed by Narses; Proc. *BG* II 21.12-25. However the delays went on too long and Milan surrendered to the Goths, whereupon Martinus and Vliaris marched their army back to Rome; Proc. *BG* II 21.42 (this occurred in spring 539; cf. Proc. *BG* II 22.1). Procopius reports that, after this disaster, Belisarius refused to see Vliaris ever again, but he says nothing of Martinus; it would appear that all the blame was cast on Vliaris; cf. Proc. *BG* II 22.2-4.

Later in 539 Martinus and Ioannes 46 with their men and another army under Ioannes 64 were sent to the region of the river Po with orders to prevent Vraias from leaving Milan and attacking the forces of Belisarius then occupied in besieging Faesulae and Auximum; if they could not prevent him, they were to follow and harass him from the rear; they occupied Dertona where they made camp and remained; Proc. *BG* II 23.3-5. Their presence helped to deter Vitigis from leaving Ravenna to relieve Auximum; Proc. *BG* II 24.12. They also checked the advance of Vraias who, under orders from Vitigis, left Milan for Ticinum and made camp close to the Roman position at Dertona; the armies remained there without fighting a battle; Proc. *BG* II 24.21-4. The arrival of the Franks under Theodebert surprised both armies; the Goths took flight while Martinus and Ioannes, forced to fight against superior numbers, were defeated and fled into Tuscany, where they reported what had happened to Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 25.13-15, 25.19. Later,

after Theodebert withdrew to Gaul, Martinus and Ioannes returned in order to prevent any help reaching the Goths who were still under siege; Proc. *BG* II 26.1.

In 540 Martinus and Ioannes 46 were still in the vicinity of the Po when they heard that Sisigis and Thomas 8 were under attack from Vraias in the Cottian Alps; they hastened to the rescue and captured a number of forts in the Alps, taking many prisoners among whom chanced to be the wives and children of many of Vraias' soldiers; the latter then deserted to join the Romans under Ioannes and Vraias was compelled to withdraw; Proc. *BG* II 28.33-5. Later this year, after the fall of Ravenna (May 540; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62), Martinus was one of the commanders who accompanied Belisarius back to Constantinople (the others were Valerianus, Ildiger and Herodianus); Proc. *BG* III 1.1.

He was immediately sent to the Persian front and was present in Dara when it was besieged by Chosroes in late summer 540; Proc. *BP* II 13.16 (ὁ στρατηγός), 14.9, cf. 14.28-9 (the city was defended successfully and Chosroes returned home, in late summer).

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 543-544 (-?549): appointed MVM *per Orientem* in 543 in succession to Belisarius; Proc. *Anecd.* 4.13 (Βελισάριον δὲ βασιλεὺς . . . παραλύσας ἣς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς Μαρτίνον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐφ' ἄσας στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο), cf. Proc. *BP* II 24.13 (ὁ τῆς ἐφ' ἄσας στρατηγός, in 543), *BP* II 27.27 (ὁ στρατηγός, in 544), *Jord. Rom.* 377 (he replaced Belisarius in the east).

When news came in 543 that Chosroes was in difficulties because of plague and a rebellion by his son, Martinus, Valerianus and the other commanders in the east were ordered by Justinian to unite and invade Persian Armenia as quickly as possible; Proc. *BP* II 24.8-11. Martinus with Ildiger and Theoctistus made camp at Citharizon, where they were joined not long afterwards by Petrus (*PLRE* II, pp. 870-1) and Adolius; Isaac I was there already and Philemuth and Verus camped in Chorzianene, not far away; Proc. *BP* II 24.12-14. The invasion began in disorderly fashion, when first Petrus invaded on his own initiative, followed by Philemuth and Verus; Martinus and Valerianus then followed in turn and joined forces with the others inside Persian territory; Proc. *BP* II 24.18-20. The army advanced towards Dvinius (Dvin) without pausing to rob and plunder on the way; Proc. *BP* II 24.21. At a place called Anglon, some fifteen miles from Dvinius in difficult country, they unexpectedly encountered a Persian army under Nabedes; Proc. *BP* II 25.5-6.15-16. In the ensuing struggle Martinus commanded the centre of the Roman army; Proc. *BP* II 25.17. The battle of Anglon ended in the total defeat and rout of the Romans; Proc. *BP* II 25.29-34.

The invasion of Persian Armenia by Martinus and Iustus 2 and their return is mentioned in Zach. *HE* x 10 index, but the account is lost.

In the following year Martinus was again involved in the war with Persia. He was present in Edessa with his fellow-generals Petrus and Peranius during the siege by Chosroes; Proc. *BP* II 26.25. When the besiegers began building an artificial mound to overtop the defences, Martinus was sent to try to negotiate an end to the siege; Proc. *BP* II 26.42-4. He was unsuccessful, the Persians insisting that it was Chosroes who desired peace and Justinian who rejected it and that even Belisarius, the superior of Martinus in influence and rank (τῆ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἀξιωματί), had failed to persuade him; Proc. *BP* II 26.45-6. As the siege continued and the mound grew Martinus held frequent talks with the Persians but once the mound was completed they broke off the talks; Proc. *BP* II 27.5-6. Later, when attempts on the walls had failed, the Persians allowed the emperor's envoy Rhecinarius through and tried to resume negotiations, but the Romans demanded a delay because Martinus was ill; according to Procopius, Chosroes did not believe this and began preparations for battle; Proc. *BP* II 27.27-8. Finally, after further unsuccessful attacks the Persians resumed talks with Martinus and a truce was concluded; Chosroes raised the siege in return for five *centenaria* of gold; Proc. *BP* II 27.45-6. Later, peace was made with Persia (in 545, for five years; cf. Constantianus 1); Jord. *Rom.* 377.

Martinus ceased to be *MVM per Orientem* by c. 549 when Belisarius again received the title; Proc. *BG* IV 21.1.

*MVM* in Lazica a. 551-554: in command in Lazica in 551 (on the date, see below); Men. Prot. fr. 11 (Μαρτίνου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου τῆνικαῦτα ἐκέισε στρατηγούντος). Still in command there in 552; Proc. *BG* IV 17.12 (Μαρτίνου ἡγουμένου). Styled στρατηγός; Agath. II 18.8, 19.2, III 2.3 (all in 554). He was junior in rank to the *MVM per Armeniam*, Bessas (*PLRE* II); Agath. III 2.8 (see below).

In 551, owing to hostility between Martinus and the king of the Lazi, Gubazes, the Suani were not sent their usual supplies of corn; in consequence Suania abandoned Rome and allied itself to Persia; Men. Prot. fr. 11. The loss of Suania to Persia occurred in late 551; Proc. *BG* IV 14.53, 16.14.

In the following year (552), when Mermeroes invaded Lazica with an army of Persians and Huns, the Romans under Martinus withdrew to a strong position at the mouth of the river Phasis, accompanied by Gubazes, and remained quietly there while the Persians attacked other places; Proc. *BG* IV 17.11-13.

In 554 Martinus, with Bessas and Buzes, all three with long experience of war, together with Iustinus 4, were in Lazica in command

of a large army; Agath. II 18.8 (στρατηγοὺς ἐπέστησε, sc. Justinian, τοὺς ἀρίστους. Βέσσας τε γὰρ καὶ Μαρτίνος καὶ Βούζης ἠγεῖτο, ἄνδρες ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγενημένοι καὶ πολέμους συχνοὺς ἀγωνισάμενοι). When the Persians invaded under Mermeroes, Martinus was in the strong fortress of Telephis blocking their advance across the Phasis; Agath. II 19.2. He was tricked into believing that Mermeroes was dead and the Persians leaderless and relaxed his guard; a Persian attack caught him unprepared and he retreated to join forces with Bessas and Iustinus who were in camp close by at Chytropolia; Agath. II 20.4-5. He left Theodorus 21 behind at Telephis to learn what he could of the Persian strength and dispositions; Agath. II 20.8. The generals (ἅπαντες οἱ στρατηγοί) decided to stand firm and prevent further progress by the enemy; Agath. II 20.6. They were too slow, however, in making their dispositions, were caught in disarray by the Persians, and fled with all their forces to Nesus, some twenty miles away; Agath. II 21.5-11. As a result Gubazes wrote to Justinian accusing the generals of incompetence; he blamed Bessas mostly but also accused Martinus and Rusticus 4; Agath. III 2.3.

*MVM PER ARMENIAM* a. 555-556: Bessas was dismissed from office and Martinus, although Justinian was angry with him too, became the senior general, superior to Iustinus 4, Buzes and the others; Agath. III 2.7-8 (τῷ δὲ Μαρτίνῳ πολλὰ νημεσήσας, ὁμως αὐτῷ τὰ πρωτεῖα τῆς ἡγεμονίας παρέσχετο· καὶ ἦν ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς πρότιστος μὲν αὐτός, Ἰουστίνος δὲ δεύτερος καὶ Βούζης αὐ μετ' ἐκείνον καὶ ἐξῆς οἱ ἄλλοι ὡς ἕκαστοι). He was made *MVM per Armeniam*; cf. Bessas (who had held the post) and see Agath. IV 21.1 (he was succeeded by Iustinus as στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν Κολχίδα χώραν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ ταγαμάτων). Styled στρατηγός; Agath. III 20.9, 23.6 (both in 556).

There was a history of enmity and distrust between Martinus and Rusticus on the one hand and Gubazes on the other; Agath. III 2.9ff., 12.6, Men. Prot. fr. 11. In 555 Martinus and Rusticus planned to assassinate Gubazes to put an end to his criticisms; they first sent Rusticus' brother Ioannes 47 to Justinian to accuse the Lazi king of aiming to betray the country to the Persians; Agath. III 2.11-3.7, 14.2. Then they arranged with Iustinus and Buzes to meet Gubazes near the river Chobous, ostensibly to discuss an attack on the Persians in Onoguris; Agath. III 3.8-10. At the meeting Gubazes was treacherously murdered; Agath. III 4.1-6.

After this, at the urging of Martinus, the Romans began preparations for an attack on Onoguris; according to Agathias they hoped that by capturing the place they could avert the emperor's displeasure at the murder of Gubazes; Agath. III 5.6.8. In the plain near Archaeopolis they

prepared siege devices; Agath. III 5.9. At the news that Persian reinforcements under Nachoragan were approaching Lazica, the Roman generals (οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί) deliberated what to do; Martinus supported the proposal of Rusticus, which prevailed, that they should continue the assault on Onoguris with their main force while sending a detachment against Nachoragan; Agath. III 6.6-8. They attacked Onoguris and laid siege to it, but the unexpected arrival of the Persian relief force caused them to abandon the attack and to flee in panic; Agath. III 6.10-7.6. Soon afterwards the winter (555/556) came with the army scattered in various places; Agath. III 8.3.

In spring 556 Martinus was in Nesus with Iustinus and their armies when the Persians invaded under Nachoragan; Agath. III 15.1, 17.4. He had stationed the Hun allies in the plain near Archaeopolis with orders to harass the enemy advance; Agath. III 17.5. At Nesus he is said by Agathias to have rejected peace proposals from Nachoragan based on a withdrawal by the Romans; Agath. III 19.1-7. Nachoragan then left Nesus to attack Phasis, and Martinus and the other generals except Buzes all hastened from Nesus to secure Phasis before the Persians could reach it; Agath. III 20.1-8. Martinus and his forces, together with Iustinus 4, Valerianus, Angilas, Theodorus 21, Philomathius and Gibrus, took up defensive positions in the city; Agath. III 20.9-10. At the first skirmish, the orders of Martinus that everyone should remain at their posts were disobeyed by Angilas and Philomathius; Agath. III 22.3.

The remaining narrative of Agathias concerning the siege of Phasis by the Persians contains gross improbabilities which obscure what appears to have been a relatively straightforward sequence of events. According to him, Martinus, wishing to encourage his own men and to confound the enemy, summoned the troops together and delivered a message purporting to come from Constantinople, announcing the imminent arrival of reinforcements; these, he claimed, were unnecessary and he would not admit them as they would deprive his own troops of the rewards and glory of victory, now so near, after all their sufferings; by these words and the promise of booty, he is said to have inspired his men to fight more bravely; Agath. III 23.5-13. At the rumour of reinforcements for the Romans, the Persian commander, it is said, sent a detachment from his own army to meet them and so weakened his own forces; Agath. III 24.1-4, 28.8. Then, Agathias continues, Martinus allowed Iustinus to take the best troops from both their forces, amounting to five thousand cavalry, out of the city to a nearby church to pray, neither expecting a Persian attack nor being aware that, from another direction, they were in the process of mounting one; Agath. III 24.7-9. The Roman soldiers in the city met this attack with such vigour,

says Agathias, that the ruse of Martinus was justified; Agath. III 25.3-4. Finally, after the intervention of Iustinus (Agath. III 25.8) and much confused fighting the Persians were totally defeated and put to flight and the Romans continued to pursue them until Martinus gave the signal to recall them; Agath. III 25-7.

The siege certainly ended in a considerable victory for the Romans with the defeat of Nachoragan by Martinus (cf. Agath. IV 30.6). There may have been a rumour of approaching reinforcements, possibly started by Martinus himself for the reasons given by Agathias; at such news the Persian commander perhaps sent men at least to keep watch for such a force, if not to harass and delay it. The departure of Iustinus from the city was presumably a concerted plan aimed at catching the Persians in the rear with a strong force while their attention was directed at the city itself; the plan worked and contributed much towards the Roman victory. On this, cf. Ites, *BZ* 26 (1926), 274-7, Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 514 with n. 2, Cameron, *Agathias*, 46-8.

After these events the enquiry under Athanasius 2 into the murder of Gubazes took place, in which it was alleged that the murder was in accordance with the wishes of Martinus; Agath. IV 10.6. Athanasius took no action against him but reported his alleged involvement in the affair to Justinian; Agath. IV 11.1.

Still in early spring 556 the Roman generals (οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί) decided to send an expedition against the Misimiani; Agath. IV 13.1 (the Misimiani had recently murdered Soterichus 1, Agath. III 16.8, IV 12.2). Martinus was to lead the army, consisting of four thousand cavalry and infantry, and until he was ready it was placed under the command of Varazes and Pharsantes; Agath. IV 13.3. The expedition reached the land of the Apsilii and remained there for the summer owing to the presence of a Persian force in the area; Agath. IV 13.5-6. Only at the end of summer when the Persians withdrew to eastern Lazica and Iberia was the campaign resumed; the expedition proceeded to the fortress of Tibelis, on the boundary of the Apsilii and the Misimiani, where Martinus joined them intending to lead the whole army for the rest of the campaign; however he fell ill and remained behind while the expedition continued under its former leaders; soon afterwards he returned to Lazica; Agath. IV 15.5. The expedition failed to profit from early successes through lack of decisive leadership and Martinus therefore appointed Ioannes 66 Dacnas as supreme commander; Agath. IV 17.2.

Martinus was dismissed from office by Justinian and succeeded by Iustinus 4; Agath. IV 21.1. His role in Gubazes' murder cost him the emperor's favour; he retained his command for a time because of his

importance in the war in Lazica and because his experience and efficiency made him popular with the army; Agathias suggests that he owed his life to this; however, although no charges were brought against him, out of respect for his past services, he was not allowed to hold office again but had to live as a private individual (ἀρχεῖν δὲ οὐ συνεχώρει, ἀλλὰ ἰδιωτεύειν ἐκέλευεν); Agath. iv 21.1-3.

## Martinus 3

?MVM 579, 587

?MVM (vacans) a. 579-87: in summer 579 he, Romanus 4 and Theodericus 2 were sent by Mauricius 4 to raid Persian territory; Theoph. Sim. iii 17.3-4. One of his colleagues at least, Romanus, was a *magister militum*, and Martinus may have been of equivalent rank. In spring 587 he served in Thrace with Comentiolus; at Anchialus Comentiolus divided his army between himself, Martinus and Castus and put Martinus in command of the right division (τοῦ μὲν δεξιῦ λόχου ταξιαρχεῖν Μαρτίνω παρεκελεύετο); Theoph. Sim. ii 10.9, Theoph. AM 6079. He surprised the Avar khan near Tomi and put him to flight and then joined up with Castus; they then rejoined Comentiolus at Marcianopolis; Theoph. Sim. ii 10.12-14, 11.3, Theoph. AM 6079. He later accompanied Comentiolus up into Mount Haemus; Theoph. Sim. ii 11.4.9-10, Theoph. AM 6079.

## Martinus 4

scholasticus (in Africa) 598

In 598 he represented bishop Crementius, primate of Byzacena, when charges were brought against him, and visited Sicily to discuss the case with bishop John of Syracuse; Gregory wrote to him and John committing the case to John; Greg. Ep. ix 24 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Martino scolastico'), 27 (a. 598 Oct.; to bishop John, referring to a letter from John 'in quibus indicatis Martinum virum eloquentissimum de Africana provincia Syracusis venisse vobisque aliquid secreto locutum fuisse').

## Martinus 5

protector VI

Martinu protictoros; Zacos 930 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2942 (seal; obv.: +MA/RZI/NY; rev.: PRO/TCICZ/OROS).

## Martinus 6

scholarius (at Nicomedia) E VII

Α σχολάριος, he became a shoemaker (λωροτόμος) at Nicomedia; described as an incorrigible blasphemer who came to a bad end; V. Theod. Syn. 159.

## Martinus 7

father of Martina E VII

Husband of Maria 12 and father of the empress Martina; Nic. Brev.

14. According to oriental sources, he was the brother of Heraclius (Mich. Syr. xi 3, Chron. 1234, xcvi, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 93) but Nic. Brev. 14 and Joh. Nik. 116.4 (p. 564 Zotenberg) assert that Martina was Heraclius' niece by his sister Maria.

## Martius (?)

gloriosus vir (in Italy) 591

Mentioned in a letter of pope Gregory asking the *mag. mil. Velox* to consult Martius and Vitalianus 3 on the military situation (occasione inventa cum gloriosis filiis nostris Martio et Vitaliano loquere) and to heed their advice; Greg. Ep. ii 7 (a. 591 Sept. 27).

Probably a *magister militum* like Vitalianus. The name is given in different manuscripts as Martius, Mauricius and Maurilius; he may therefore be identical with Mauricius 2.

## Marturius

tribunus (in Africa) 544/545-546/547

He was a *tribunus*; Coripp. Ioh. iv 504 (atque tribunicia socios virtute regerat). In late 544 or early 545 he was with the troops who deserted to Stotzas after the defeat and capture of Himerius 1; later he and Liberatus escaped from the rebels after persuading many of the soldiers to return to their allegiance to the emperor; Coripp. Ioh. iv 58-74. He fought in the battle of Thacia (autumn 545) and was among the survivors; Coripp. Ioh. iv 201-4. At the battle in which Antalas was defeated in winter 546/547 he was stationed on the Roman right, apparently near his fellow *tribuni* Marcianus 5 and Senator; Coripp. Ioh. iv 502-4.

Martyrius (IGC 124, 4) V/VI: PLRE II.

## Martyrius

?v.c. (in Egypt); exceptor VI/VII

Addressee of a letter seeking help with the recovery of some property; P. Oxy. 1865 verso [+δεσπ(ότη)] ἐμῶ τὰ πάντ(α) λαμπρ(οτάτ)ω πάσ(ης) τιμ(ῆς) ἀξ(ί)ω προστάτ(η) μετὰ τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν κυρ(ί)ω Μαρτυρία ἐξέπει(ορι); he is also styled τὴν σὴν λαμπρὰν ἀδελφότητα. The *exceptor* was a relatively humble member of an *officium* and the use of λαμπρ(οτάτος) is further evidence of the devaluation of the term. Cf. Mebis and Petronius 3.

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

## Maruthas 1

Persian governor (in Arzanene) 586

Brother of Iovius 2 and with him commander of Arzanene for the

Persians before they deserted to the Romans in 586; Theoph. Sim. II 7.6-11. See further Iovius.

Maruthas 2

philosopher; bishop of Chalcedon; envoy of Maurice L VI

A philosopher; a man of learning, with a knowledge of Greek, Syriac and Hebrew, he wrote a commentary on works of logic; made bishop of Chalcedon by the patriarch of Constantinople, John IV (a. 582-595), he was sent by Maurice on an embassy to Chosroes; *Hist. Nest.* II 78 (PO 13, p. 518), cf. II 67 (*ibid.*, p. 494) (the embassy).

Masa

wife of Cleph 572-574

Cum Masane sua coniuge; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 31. See Cleph.

Mascator

M/L VI

Grandson of the *vir illustris* Armentarius I; with a large crowd of peasants he removed a rock which threatened the cave of the hermit Martinus at Mons Marsicus in Campania; Greg. *Dial.* III 16. The date cannot be determined closely; Martinus was already on the mountain when Benedict of Nursia was alive (before c. 550) and he may have lived into the papacy of Pelagius II (a. 579-590).

Perhaps a descendant of the *palatinus* Mascator (PLRE II).

Massonas (Μασσωνᾶς)

Moorish ruler 535

Son of Mephanias; brother-in-law of Iaudas; ruler of the Moors and ally of the Romans in 535, when he urged Solomon I to attack Iaudas, after Iaudas had murdered Mephanias; Proc. *BV* II 13.19-20.

Possibly identical with Masuna (PLRE II, p. 734).

Mastalo

Paristocrat (in Istria) 599

Addressee of a letter from Gregory praising his efforts to reconvert the schismatics in Istria; he is styled 'dilectio tua' and addressed as 'dilectissime fili'; Greg. *Ep.* IX 161 (a. 599 May/June). He was probably neither an ecclesiastic nor an imperial official but a pious layman, perhaps an aristocrat (cf. Theodosius 14).

Masticana

?landowner (Africa) ?L VI/E VII

She built a fortress on an estate (presumably her own) near Theveste, in the time of bishop Faustinus of Theveste; *ILAlg.* 3764 = *CIL* VIII 2079 = Durliat, no. 32 = Pringle, no. 39 Henchir Bou Sboa (near Theveste, by the road from there to Thelepte). The text ends: h(a)ec munitio fundu (? = fundi) Masticana exunto (= ex sumptu) proprio fecit. The inscription was placed above the entrance gate. The fortification was

carried out by her on the instructions of the public authorities; see Durliat, pp. 82-3.

Mastigas

Moorish ruler in Mauretania 535-540

Μαστίνας; Proc. *BV* II 13.19. Μαστίγας; Proc. *BV* II 20.31.

Ruler of the Moors in Mauretania, in early 535 he conspired with Iaudas against Ortaias; Proc. *BV* II 13.19 (τῷ Μαστίνα, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μαυριτανίᾳ βαρβάρων ἡγεῖτο). He ruled Mauretania Caesariensis, with the exception of the city of Caesarea itself (still in Roman hands), in 540; Proc. *BV* II 20.31. He was not an ally of, or subject to, the Romans, whose only access to Caesarea was by sea; *BV* II 20.32.

Matasuentha

patricia; Ostrogothic princess M VI

Mathesuentha; Jord. Matesuentha; *Marcell. com. Addit.* Ματασοῦνθα; Proc.

Granddaughter of Theoderic, daughter of Amalasuetha and Eutharic, sister of Athalaric (all in PLRE II); *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, Jord. *Get.* 80-1, 251, 311, 313-14, *Rom.* 373, 383, Proc. *BG* I 11.27, 29.8. III 39.14.

At Ravenna in 536 she was forced to marry Vitigis; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, Jord. *Get.* 311, Proc. *BG* I 11.27, II 10.11, cf. Jord. *Get.* 81, 313, Proc. *BG* II 28.26. A fragment from a panegyric on the wedding by Cassiodorus survives; *MGH, AA* XII, p. 480. The marriage was childless; Jord. *Get.* 81.

In spring 538 she hoped to betray Ravenna to the Roman commander Ioannes 46; Proc. *BG* II 10.11-12. During the siege of Ravenna in 539-540 she was thought responsible by some for burning supplies of grain stored in the city; Proc. *BG* II 28.25-6.

In 540 she was carried off to Constantinople with Vitigis by Belisarius; Jord. *Get.* 81, Proc. *BG* III 1.2. Vitigis died in 542 and she subsequently married Germanus (PLRE II; cousin of the emperor); Jord. *Get.* 81, 251, 314, Proc. *BG* III 39.14. The date was perhaps in 549/550, since Procopius seems to connect the marriage with Germanus' ambitions to reconquer Italy; cf. Proc. *BG* III 39.14 and 15 (he hoped that her presence as his wife in 550 would induce the Goths to make peace).

PATRICIA c. a. 549/550: Germanus patricius ... eam in conubio sumens patriciam ordinariam fecit; Jord. *Get.* 81. The phrase *patricia ordinaria* seems to be without parallel; the wife of a *patricius* was automatically entitled to the title of *patrica*, in her husband's right; perhaps Germanus had the title specially conferred on Matasuentha, so that she bore it in her own right, and not merely as his wife.



After the death of Germanus in 550, she bore him a son, Germanus 3; subsequently she remained a widow; *Jord. Get.* 81, 251, 314.

**MATHEVS** v.c., scholasticus (in Campania) 599

In 599 pope Gregory ordered the *rector* of the patrimony of Campania, Anthemius, to pay 12 *solidi* out of his own accounts to Matheus; *Greg. Ep.* ix 136 (a. 599 April; 'Matheo viro clarissimo scolastico').

Matrona wife of Epiphanius L VI

Daughter of Pomponiana (= Pompeiana) and wife of Epiphanius 3; she was made usufructuary of his estate in his will and in addition owned property of her own, part of which had in 603 been illegally seized by the *defensor Sardiniae* Vitalis and bishop Ianuarius of Caralis (see Pompeiana); *Greg. Ep.* xiv 2 (a. 603 Sept.). Her husband was already dead in 591; *Greg. Ep.* i 46.

Mavia (Mu'āwiya) Arab; son of Caisus E/M VI

Son of Caisus (Qays), sent to Constantinople as a hostage by his father after the first embassy of Abramius (*PLRE* II, Abramius 2); Nonnosus (= Phot. *Bibl.* 3 = *FHG* IV, p. 179). He was of the ruling family of the Kindites. The date of his visit to Constantinople was probably 528; see Caisus.

Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius: consul 527; *PLRE* II.

**Maurentius 1** vir illustris (West) M VI

V(ir) i(n)lustris; died in 571 aged about thirty-three, buried at Trieste; *CIL* v 694 Tergeste (Trieste).

**MAVRENTIVS 2** vir magnificus, chartularius (Italy) 590-596

In Sept. 590 his arrival in Rome, possibly from Sicily, was apparently anticipated by pope Gregory who urged Paulus 41 (*scholasticus* in Sicily) to travel with him because of the danger in and around Rome from mutinous troops and from Lombards; *Greg. Ep.* i 3 (a. 590 Sept.); to Paul; *veniente autem viro magnifico domno Maurentio chartulario, ei quaeso in Romanae urbis necessitate concurrite, quia hostilibus gladiis foris sine cessatione confodimur, sed seditione militum interno periculo gravius arguemur*). In Feb. 591 his arrival was still awaited, when Gregory advised Nonnosus 2 that his claims on a property would be settled when Maurentius came to Rome; *Greg. Ep.* i 21 (a. 591 Feb.); to Nonnosus; *indico, quia veniente humili (sic) vestro domno Maurentio*

de possessione, quam vestra gloria petiit, per omnia paremus; the word 'humili' is unlikely and has been plausibly explained by Ewald, note *ad loc.*, as a scribal error due to a misunderstanding of 'v.m.', i.e. 'viro magnifico'). In 596 Maurentius and the deacon Bonifatius sent instructions, supported by Gregory, to the papal *notarius* and *apocrisarius* at Ravenna, Castorius, in connection with alleged irregularities in the use of the pallium by the bishops of Ravenna; *Greg. Ep.* vi 31 (a. 596 April; to Castorius; *hoc quod tibi filius noster diaconus Bonifatius et vir magnificus Maurentius chartularius scripsit sollicite attende*).

**Maurentius 3** MVM (in Campania) 598-599

Brother of Ioannes 173 (monk at Rome); *Greg. Ep.* viii 12.

MAGISTER MILITVM (in Campania) a. 598 Feb.-599 May/June: addressee of six letters from Gregory, *Ep.* ix 17 (a. 598 Oct.), 53 (a. 598 Nov.), 65 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.), 124 (a. 599 Feb./April), 159 (a. 599 May/June) (all addressed 'Maurentio magistro militum') and *Ep.* 162 (a. 599 May/June; addressed 'Maurentio'). Mentioned as *magister militum* by Gregory in *Ep.* viii 12 (a. 598 Feb.), xi 108 (a. 599 Feb.), 119 (a. 599 Feb./April), 133 (a. 599 April) and without his office in *Ep.* ix 68 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.) and 131 (a. 599 April). He is addressed as 'gloria vestra' in *Ep.* ix 17, 53, 65, 124, 159, 162; styled 'gloriosissimus', *Ep.* 119, 131, 133; 'gloriosus', *Ep.* viii 12, ix 68, 108. Gregory calls him 'filius noster' in *Ep.* ix 68, 108, 119, 131. He was stationed in Naples; *Ep.* ix 53 (*vobis in Neapolitana civitate positus*). Involved in affairs in Naples and Campania; *Ep.* ix 17, 65, 68, 69, 108, 124, 159, 162. In April 599 he sent agents to Ravenna, apparently to collect the pay for his troops; *Greg. Ep.* ix 131 (*pro percipiendo precario suo*), 133 (*ad precarium suum accipiendum*).

In 599 Feb./April he was in dispute with the church of Palermo over an estate (*causam de massa Getina contra Panormitanam ecclesiam habere queritur*); *Greg. Ep.* ix 119.

Maurianus (*CIL* vi 32014) E VI: *PLRE* II.

Maurianus 1 scribo VI

Mauriani. Μαυριανού σκρίβ(ονος); *Zacos* 422 = *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.1235 (seal; obv.: monogram (219) of MAVRIANI; rev.: MAV/PIANΩ/CKPIB).

**Maurianus 2** honorary consul M VI/M VII

Μαυριανού ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; *Zacos* 2902 (seal; obv.: MAV/PIA/NOV; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ). For a similar seal, see Schlumberger, *Mel.* p. 239, no. 68 (obv.: MAVPIANOV; rev.: ΑΠΟΥΠΑΤΩΝ; dated ?VII by

Schlumberger, referring to Maurianus, general of Constans in Armenia in 653, Theoph. AM 6145).

**Maurianus 3** ex praefectis VII  
Μαυριανοῦ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ω)ν; Zacos 931 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5336 (seal; obv.: +MA/VPIANΘ/ΑΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΟΝ+; rev.: +Δδ/ΛδTHC/ΘΕΟΤΩ/Κδ+).

**Maurianus 4** imperialis spatharius VII  
Μαυριανῶ βασιλικῶ σπαθαρίῳ; Zacos 659 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.355 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: MAVP/IANΩB/ACIΛIKΩ/CPAΘA/PIΩ). For a very similar seal, see Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 592, no. 14.

**Mauricius 1** ?MVM vacans 535-536  
Son of Mundus; Proc. BG I 7.2, III 1.36, IV 26.13, cf. Theoph. AM 6024, AM 6032, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, Cedr. I 652 (unnamed son of Mundus). Father of Theodimund; Proc. BG III 1.36. He had a daughter who married Aruth the Herul; Proc. BG IV 26.13. He was descended from Gepid rulers; cf. Mundus.

In 529 he accompanied his father to Constantinople to receive gifts from the emperor; Theoph. AM 6032, Cedr. I 652. For the date, see Joh. Mal. 450-1 and cf. Mundus.

In January 532 he was in Constantinople and commanded troops in the massacre in the hippodrome which ended the Nika riot; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, Theoph. AM 6024.

?MVM VACANS a. (535?-)536: ὁ στρατηγός, in 536; Proc. BG I 7.3. Unless the word is here not technical, he was presumably an MVM vacans.

He apparently accompanied his father on the expedition which recaptured Salona in 535 (cf. Mundus). In 536 near Salona he encountered the Gothic army while on a scouting expedition with only a few men and was killed after fierce fighting; Proc. BG I 7.2-3, 7.12.

**Mauricius 2** mag. mil. (in Italy) 591-592  
In 591 he had certain 'families' (see Adobin) with him (qui cum glorioso Mauricio magistro militum esse noscuntur) whose release pope Gregory asked the mag. mil. Velox to obtain; Greg. Ep. II 7 (a. 591 Sept. 27), and cf. also Martius (possibly identical with this man).

In 592 July he and Vitalianus 3 were sent two letters by pope Gregory, both concerned with the military situation in Italy and urging them to intervene if Ariulf showed signs of marching on Rome; they are

styled 'gloria vestra' and 'gloriosi filii'; Greg. Ep. II 32 (addressed 'ad Mauricium et Vitalianum magistros militum'), 33 (addressed 'Mauricio et Vitaliano magistris militum').

**Mauricius 3** honorary consul VI  
Μαυρικίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 2812 (seal; obv.: square monogram (220) of Μαυρικίου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

**Fl. Mauricius Tiberius 4** (the emperor Maurice)  
Augustus 582-602

He was given the name Tiberius on his accession in 582 by the emperor Tiberius; Evagr. HE V 22, Joh. Eph. HE III 5.13, 5.22, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 5. Mauricius Tiberius; Greg. Ep. I 16a, 16b (adds Flavius), cf. Cedr. I 690-1 and Zon. XIV 12 (who both note that these were his official names).

He came from Arabissus in Cappadocia; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.47, 5.13, 5.22, 6.14, 6.27, Evagr. HE V 19, Eustrat. V. Eutyph. 68-9 (PG 86.2352), Cedr. I 690-1, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 8, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. III 15, Mich. Syr. X 21, Bar Hebr., Chron., p. 83, Chron. 1234, lxxvi, Joh. Nik. 94.26 (p. 523 Zotenberg). According to Evagrius, he traced his family origins to old Rome (ἔλκοντα μὲν γένος καὶ τοῦνομα ἐκ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας 'Ρώμης); Evagr. HE V 19 (repeated in Nic. Call. HE XVIII 8) (possibly true but perhaps just flattery, see Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 70-1). He was aged forty-three when he became emperor in 582, Theoph. AM 6075, Zon. XIV 12; and was sixty-three years old at his death, Zon. XIV 14 (probably deduced from his age in 582). He was therefore born in 539.

Son of Paulus 23; Agath. IV 29.8, Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18, Men. Prot. fr. 47, fr. 58, Theoph. Sim. I 10.1, Theoph. AM 6075, Cedr. I 698, Chron. 1234, lxxvi. He had one brother, Petrus 55; Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18, V. Theod. Syc. 54, Theoph. Sim. VI 11.2, VII 1.1, VIII 4.9, Chron. Pasch. s.a. 602, Theoph. AM 6087, 6090, 6095, Chron. 1234, lxxvi, lxxxiii, Agapius, p. 448. He had two sisters, one, Theoctista 2, a widow in 582, the other, Gordia 2, the wife of Philippicus 3; Theoph. Sim. I 13.1, Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18, Greg. Ep. I 5, Chron. 1234, lxxvi, Theoph. AM 6076, 6094, Evagr. HE VI 3, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 10. He was a relative, possibly uncle, of Domitianus (bishop of Melitene); Joh. Eph. HE III 5.19, Evagr. HE VI 18, Theoph. Sim. IV 14.5, VIII 11.10-11, Theoph. AM 6081, Mich. Syr. X 23 (nephew), Chron. 1234, lxxvi, lxxxii, Joh. Nik. 96.5 (p. 527 Zotenberg), 96.13 (p. 528) (cousin), 99.2 (p. 535) (nephew). His wife was Constantina 1, daughter of the emperor Tiberius; Joh. Eph. HE III 3.47, 5.13, Evagr. HE V 22, VI 1, Theoph. Sim. I 1.4, 10.1-12, Joh. Biel. s.a. 581, Chron. Pasch. s.a. 582, s.a. 602, Greg. Tur. HF VI 30, Greg. Ep.

v 38-9, *P. Monac.* 9.24, 13.16, Theoph. AM 6074, 6093, 6094, Cedr. I 690-1, 701, 707-8, Zon. xiv 11, 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5, Mich. Syr. x 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, *Hist. Nest.* II 41, 55, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 15, Joh. Nik. 95.1 (p. 523), *Patr. Const.* III 46, 157. Father of Theodosius 13 (the eldest), Tiberius 3, Petrus 49, Paulus 49, Iustinus 13, Iustinianus 4, Anastasia 5, Theoctiste 3 and Cleopatra; cf. *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. Sim. VIII 11.9, Theoph. AM 6094, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 26, Joh. Nik. 95.22 (p. 526), 103.6-8 (pp. 538-9) (five sons and two daughters, wrongly), and see the separate entries. For his supposed daughter Maria, attested in oriental sources as the wife of the Persian king Chosroes II, see Maria 6.

In a letter written by Gregory in 593 his career is summarised as follows: Ego (Christ is speaking) te de notario comitem excubitorum, de comite scubitorem (sic) caesarem, de caesare imperatorem, nec solum hoc, sed etiam patrem imperatorum feci; Greg. *Ep.* III 61.

Before his appointment as *MVM per Orientem* (see below) he had had no experience in warfare (ἐν πολέμοις μὲν καὶ ἀγῶσιν οὐκ ἦν ἐντεθραμμένος); Men. Prot. fr. 56 (= Suid. M 294). He was a close follower of (the future emperor) Tiberius; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14, Men. Prot. fr. 47. When the latter became Caesar in 574 Maurice was his *notarius*; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.27 (cited below), and cf. Greg. *Ep.* III 61 (cited above). He was a *chartularius*; *V. Theod. Syc.* 54 (cited below).

COMES EXCVBITORVM a. 574(?)–582(?): he was appointed *comes excubitorum*, probably in 574 when Tiberius became Caesar, as Tiberius' own successor; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.27 ('Tiberius... quoniam notarius cum eo fuerat (sc. Mauricius), hac de causa rex factus provexit, et locum comitis excubitorum ei dedit, deinde super omnes magistros militum et ductores copiarum Romanorum qui in toto Oriente erant eum emisit' (see below)), and cf. Greg. *Ep.* III 61 (cited above). *Comes excubitorum*, in late 577, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14 (cited below), Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578 (cited below), Theoph. Sim. III 15.10 (τότε δὴ τότε τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγούμενον), *V. Theod. Syc.* 54 (ζώσας κόμητα Μαυρίκιον τὸν χαρτουλάριον). *Comes*, in 577/578, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14 ('cum Dei amans Caesar quendam e suis cui nomen Mauricius vidisset, qui in loco comitis excubitorum constitutus erat itaque comes vocabatur'), 6.15, 6.34; in 577/582, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40 (= Mich. Syr. x 19), 5.19, 6.35; in 582, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.13. He perhaps remained *comes excubitorum* until becoming Caesar in 582, combining the title with the post of *MVM per Orientem*. In *Patr. Const.* III 42 he is described as *patricius et excubitor* before he became emperor (ἐπι ὄντος πατρικίου καὶ ἐξκουβίτορος). For the title *comes foederatorum*, see below.

PATRICIVS: he was a *patricius* by 577/578; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.34, cf.

Agapius, p. 178 = p. 438 ('one of his (= Tiberius) patricians'), *Patr. Const.* III 42 (cited above). He is also styled 'illustris' in Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14, 6.34.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 577-582: successor of Iustinianus 3, probably in late 577; Theoph. Sim. III 15.10 (στρατηγός, appointed by Tiberius Caesar), cf. Evagr. *HE* v 19 and Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5 (wrongly said to have been appointed by Tiberius after Justin's death). Magister militum Orientis (or similar); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578 (Tiberius Mauricium excubitorum comitem magistrum militiae Orientis instituit), s.a. 580, s.a. 581, Men. Prot. fr. 56 (στρατηγός τῆς ἐφῶς), Evagr. *HE* v 19 (χειροτονεῖ δὲ τῆς ἐφῶς στρατηγὸν Μαυρίκιον) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5). He received from Tiberius Caesar the overall command of the eastern armies; Agath. IV 29.8 (ἄρχειν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑὼ ταγμάτων προσηταγμένος), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14 ('eum (= Maurice) advocatum caput omnium ducum copiarum ad Orientem descendere iussit; eique auctoritatem dedit ut omnes magistros militum (στρατηλάτοι – sic) et tribunos totius exercitus disponderet et ordinaret et regeret, et mandatu eius (!) et contra verbum oris eius nemo eorum ullo modo agere auderet, et ut quos vellet conscriberet et de militia exauctoraret auctoritatem ei dedit eumque cum centenariis multis commeatus copiis providendi causa misit'), cf. 6.27 (partly cited above, mostly similar to 6.14), 3.40 ('cum igitur comes Mauricius in Oriente copiis praecisset'), 5.13 ('ibi (in the east) super omnes duces Romanorum princeps et ductor creatus erat'). The language of John of Ephesus suggests that Maurice was στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ for the war with Persia; cf. also Iustinianus 3. He is called στρατηγός in Theoph. Sim. III 15.10.13, Men. Prot. fr. 57, Theoph. AM 6074, Cedr. I 690 and Zon. xiv 11. Commander of the armies of Tiberius against Persia; Mich. Syr. x 13, Joh. Nik. 95.1 (p. 523 Zotenberg), *Hist. Nest.* II 41, 55, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 81, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii.

Sent by Tiberius to continue the war with Persia; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 578, *V. Theod. Syc.* 54. He first went to Cappadocia (perhaps during winter 577/578, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 72) with a large army including *excubitores* and *scribonos* and there levied fresh troops from Roman Armenia and the Syrian provinces; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14, 6.27. It is perhaps to this occasion that a notice in Theophanes placed under the year 582 is to be referred (Theoph. AM 6074, cf. Cedr. I 690, Zon. xiv 11); Tiberius hired an army of barbarian mercenaries (ἀγοράσας σώματα ἔθνικῶν) fifteen thousand strong and sent it against the Persians under the command of the *comes foederatorum* Mauricius (δεδωκώς αὐτοῖς στρατηγὸν Μαυρίκιον τὸν κόμητα τῶν φοιδεράτων) and of Narses 10. There is no other evidence that Maurice was *comes foederatorum*; the title could be an

error by Theophanes, repeated by Cedrenus and Zonaras, for *comes excubitorum*, but Maurice may have combined this title with his others (cf. also Artabanes 2) on taking command of the new army. See also Theodericus 2, for another possibility.

Possibly at this time he installed his relative Domitianus as bishop of Melitene; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.19 ('cum comes adhuc esset et a Tiberio ad Orientem missus esset, ipse in urbe Melitene Cappadociae episcopum - sc. Domitianum - fecerat').

From Cappadocia he advanced to Citharizon and made camp there; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14, 6.27, cf. Theoph. Sim. III 15.10 (sent by Tiberius to Armenia). The date was early summer 578; see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 82, n. 6. It was perhaps now that he gave his army training in the art of fortifying camps; Men. Prot. fr. 58. When campaigning began he first went to the aid of Theodosiopolis in Armenia, wrongly believing that the Persians intended to attack there; on learning that they were actually in the vicinity of Amida he hastened back only to find that they had already returned to Persia; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.14 (dated 'anno 888 Alexandri' = 576/577), 6.27. He then led his whole army into Arzanene, a rich province, where he destroyed a number of forts, took a great quantity of booty and captured many prisoners who were later settled in Cyprus; Agath. IV 29.8, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.15, Theoph. Sim. III 15.13-15 (he was ill of a fever at the time), Evagr. *HE* V 19, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5, *Hist. Nest.* II 41, Agapius, p. 178 = p. 438, cf. Men. Prot. fr. 57 (he conducted the siege of Chlomarion, presumably on this occasion, as it lay in Arzanene). Cf. also Tamchosroes. On his return from Arzanene he went south and raided the area around Nisibis as far as the Tigris, himself capturing Singara; he sent Cours and Romanus 4 to continue raiding across the Tigris; then as winter drew near he returned to winter on Roman territory; Theoph. Sim. III 16.1-2.

He apparently returned to Constantinople for the winter; in the following spring, after the death of Chosroes, he was again sent out to the east to prepare for any eventuality while envoys (see Zacharias 2 and Theodorus 36), waited to discover what the policy of the new king Hormisdas might be; when negotiations finally broke down, Maurice made ready for war; Men. Prot. fr. 55. During the summer he again invaded Persia and sent forces under Romanus, Theodericus 2 and Martinus 3 across the Tigris to plunder; Theoph. Sim. III 17.3. He then returned to spend the winter (579/580) at Caesarea in Cappadocia; Theoph. Sim. III 17.5.

In summer 580, accompanied by al-Mundhir (Alamundarus), he advanced via Circesium along the Euphrates, planning to cross the desert and take the Persians by surprise; however, they discovered that

an essential bridge over the river had been broken and their further progress barred; Maurice accused al-Mundhir of betraying their plans to the Persians and there was an angry quarrel; he then burnt his supply boats and retreated, while the Persians under Adarmaanes who had attacked Edessa now moved to Callinicum; with his best troops Maurice hastened to defend Callinicum and, perhaps after an initial reverse (cf. Men. Prot. fr. 61), routed the Persian army; a truce was now agreed; Theoph. Sim. III 17.5-11, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40 (= Mich. Syr. x 19), 6.16-17, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii. Maurice returned to Constantinople and laid charges against al-Mundhir before the emperor; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.40, 6.16, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii.

In the following year (581) Maurice was again in the east and made camp at Monocarton near Constantina while Zacharias 2 conducted negotiations near Dara; these broke down and Zacharias instructed him to prepare for battle; Men. Prot. fr. 60. There ensued somewhere near Constantina a battle in which one Persian commander, Tamchosroes, was killed and the other, Adarmaanes, fled, leaving the Romans under Maurice victorious; Theoph. Sim. III 18.3, Evagr. *HE* V 20, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 580, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 81, but see Whitby, p. 100, n. 85 (dating this battle to 582). Maurice then wintered in the east (581/582); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 580. He apparently spent the time until his return to Constantinople in 582 in strengthening the fortifications throughout the east; Theoph. Sim. III 18.3 (τὰ καίρια τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων περιφροξάμενος), cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.35 (he built the fort of Samocharta in Sophanene, perhaps at this date; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 97). His successes against Persia are also alluded to in Theoph. AM 6074, Cedr. I 690-1, Zon. XIV 11, and *Hist. Nest.* II 41.

In 582 he returned to Constantinople to a triumphant reception; Theoph. AM 6074, Cedr. I 690-1, Zon. XIV 11, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5. Named by Tiberius as his successor; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.47, Evagr. *HE* V 22, Theoph. Sim. I 1.1, 1.12, 1.21-3, Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 30, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, *Hist. Nest.* II 41. Betrothed to Constantina, daughter of Tiberius; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 581, Evagr. *HE* V 22, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.47, 5.13, Theoph. Sim. I 1.4, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 5, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, Agapius, p. 179 = p. 439.

CAESAR a. 582 Aug. 5-Aug. 13: he was made Caesar by Tiberius, already on his death-bed, on Aug. 5, 582; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.13 (on Aug. 5, within days of his return from the east), Theoph. Sim. III 18.3, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582 (Aug. 5), Theoph. AM 6074, Cedr. I 690-1, Zon. XIV 11, Agapius, p. 179 = p. 439.

AVGVSTVS a. 582 Aug. 13-602 Nov. 27: proclaimed Augustus by

Tiberius on Aug. 13, 582; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582 (Aug. 13). On Tiberius' death on Aug. 14, he succeeded him as sole emperor; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 582, Evagr. *HE* v 22, Theoph. Sim. I 1.22, 2.3-7, Theoph. AM 6074, 6075, Cedr. I 690-1, Zon. xiv 11, 12, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 15, Joh. Nik. 94.26 (p. 523), 95.1 (p. 523), Agapius, p. 179 = p. 439, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1077, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83, *Hist. Nest.* II 55, Mich. Syr. x 21 (= Dionysius of Tell Mahrē).

Shortly after becoming emperor he celebrated his marriage with Constantina; Theoph. Sim. I 10.1ff., Evagr. *HE* vi 1, Theoph. AM 6075, Cedr. I 690-1, Zon. xiv 12, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 8.

In November 602 he was overthrown and succeeded by Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. AM 6094, Cedr. I 706-7, Zon. xiv 13, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 40, Joh. Nik. 102.12, 103.6-7 (pp. 537-8 Zotenberg), *Chron.* 1234, lxxxiii, Agapius, p. 448, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1082, *Hist. Nest.* II 70, 78. He fled with his family on Nov. 22; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602 (Nov. 22), Theoph. Sim. VIII 9.7. They crossed the Bosphorus to Chalcedon where Maurice and his sons (cf. Theodosius 13) were executed by Phocas' troops on Nov. 27; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602 (Nov. 27), Theoph. Sim. VIII 9.9-12, 11.1-6 (suggesting Nov. 26, cf. Bury, *LRE*<sup>1</sup> II, p. 91, n. 2), Greg. *Ep.* XIII 1, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 26, Theoph. AM 6094, 6095 (November), Cedr. I 706-7, Zon. xiv 14, *Patr. Const.* III 185, Agapius, p. 448, *Hist. Nest.* II 70, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 329 = p. 257 (Nov. 23), *Chron.* 724, p. 145 = p. 113 (Nov. 23), Elias, *Op. Chron.* I, p. 124 = p. 60, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1082.

He is described as intelligent and self-possessed, reserved in manner, and living a life of moderation and restraint; he maintained his dignity but displayed kindness to others and was free from pride and arrogance; Evagr. *HE* v 19, Men. Prot. fr. 56. He enjoyed poetry and history; Men. Prot. fr. 1. Described as rich, kindly and charitable; Agapius, p. 179 = p. 439. Said to have summoned his family to Constantinople and enriched them; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi.

His accession is said to have been foretold by the patriarch Eutychius in exile; Eustrat. *V. Eutych.* 68-9 (*PG* 86.2.2352). For portents of it, cf. Evagr. *HE* v 21 (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 9). It is said to have been foretold also by Theodore of Syceon, whom Maurice visited with his brother on his return from defeating the Persians; *V. Theod. Syc.* 54.

Before becoming emperor he lived in the place later known as τὰ Μαυριανοῦ; *Patr. Const.* III 42.

See further M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare* (Oxford, 1988).

MAVRICIUS 5 ?dux et augustalius (Thebaidis) M VI/E VII

He was the subject of an encomium by Cyrus 12 of Antinoopolis and was present at its recital; Phot. *Bibl.* 279 (εἰς Μαυρίκιον δοῦκα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα παρόντα τῇ ἀκρόασει). His titles suggest a combination of civil and military authority, presumably in Egypt and at Antinoopolis which lay in Thebais Inferior. He was probably *dux et augustalius Thebaidis*, a post created in 538/539, cf. Rhodon.

He is not to be identified with the emperor Maurice.

Mauricius 6 MVM (in Africa) M VI/VII

Memoria Mauricius mag(ister) mil(itum); died aged fifty-five on March 30 of a fourteenth indiction, and recorded in mosaic on the floor of a basilica at Rusguniae; *BCTH* 1900, p. 144 = *AE* 1900, 50 = D 9217 = *ILCV* 234a = Pringle, no. 48 Rusguniae (Mauretania Caesariensis). His two daughters Patricia 4 and Constantina 4 were both also commemorated at Rusguniae; *BCTH* 1900, p. 146 = *AE* 1900, 51 = D 9217a = *ILCV* 234c = Pringle, no. 47 (mem. Patriciae filiae domni gl(oriosissimi) Maurici mag. mil.; also in mosaic in the same basilica), *BCTH* 1900, p. 146 = *AE* 1900, 52 = D 9217b = *ILCV* 234b = Pringle, no. 46 (mem. Constantinae filiae dom. gl. Maurici mag. mil.; a stone slab from her sarcophagus in the same basilica, parts of which Maurice was responsible for restoring).

Mauricius 7 ?patricius and magister M VI/M VII

Μαυρικίου ?πατρικίου κ(αὶ) μαγίστρου; Zacos 424 (seal; obv.: square monogram (220) of Μαυρικίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (376) of uncertain interpretation; Zacos proposed γραμματικοῦ, but the letters apparently include both Π and Σ and perhaps could represent πατρικίου καὶ μαγίστρου).

Mauricius 8 chartularius (in Italy) 638/640-643/644

Chartularius; *Lib. Pont.* 73 (a. 638/640), 75 (a. 643/644). During the period between the election of Severinus as pope (late 638) and his consecration (28 May 640) Maurice and Isaac 8 pillaged the Lateran Palace; Maurice provoked the troops to surround the palace, pointing out that the church had great wealth while they had not received any pay; after three days he managed to enter the palace with the civil authorities who supported him (cum iudicibus qui inventi sunt cum ipso in consilio) and took an inventory of the contents, whereupon he wrote to inform Isaac who came to Rome and they confiscated all the treasures; *Lib. Pont.* 73, and cf. Isaac.

In 643 or 644 (see Isaac for the date) Mauricius rebelled against Isaac, supported by the troops in the vicinity of Rome, who swore an oath of loyalty to him and hostility to Isaac; Isaac's troops under Donus 2 entered Rome and the revolt collapsed; Mauricius sought sanctuary in church but was removed and sent to Ravenna; before entering it he was beheaded on Isaac's orders and his head displayed in the circus at Ravenna; he is described as one who had helped Isaac to do many bad things (per quem multa mala operatus est Isacius patricius – no doubt referring, *inter alia*, to the pillaging of the Lateran Palace); *Lib. Pont.* 75.

The *chartularius* was a financial official and Mauricius was perhaps concerned in his official capacity both with the pay of the army and with compiling inventories of properties confiscated by the state. He was evidently stationed at Rome. He is not to be confused with Mauricius 9.

**Mauricius 9** MVM (in Italy) 639

On the orders of the *exarchus* Isaac 8 he built the church of S. Maria Dei Genetrix at Torcello; it was dedicated in 639 Sept. 1/Oct. 5 (indiction 13, in year 29 of Heraclius); *AE* 1973, 245 Torcello, in the church of S. Maria Assunta (h(a)ec fabr(ica)t(a) es[t]/a fundam(entis) per b(ene) m(eritum) M[a]ur[iciu]m glor[i]osum magistro (sic) mil(itum)/[prov(incie) Veneti]ar[um] rese[d]en[t]em in hunc locum suum). Mauricius was a *magister militum* at Torcello in Venetia under the authority of the exarch Isaac in 639.

Not to be identified with Mauricius 8 *chartularius*, who was a financial official.

**Mauricius 10** cubicularius et praepositus (?sacri cubiculi) VII

M[αυ]ρικ[ίω] δ[ι]ούλω [Χρ]ήστ[ου?] κουβικουλαρ[ίω] (καί) πρ[ε]πο-  
σήτ(ω); Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5436 (seal; obv.: +M./PIK.../OVΛΩ.../HCT...; rev.: +KOV/BIKΔΛAP.../ΠΠP./ΠOCHT). Perhaps *praepositus sacri cubiculi*.

**Maurilio** vir gloriosus; former PPO (?of Italy) L VI

Vir gloriosus Maurilio ex praefecto; after leaving office he was due to present his accounts to the PPO Italiae Georgius 11; he took sanctuary in a church at Fossa Sconii (presumably close to Ravenna) and Gregory instructed bishop John of Ravenna to protect him so far as possible, so that he could present his accounts 'absque suspicione oppressionis'; *Greg. Ep.* 1 35 (a. 591 March).

In 598 he was living in Sicily and Gregory wrote to enquire why he had not replied to his letters; *Greg. Ep.* ix 64 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.); addressed 'Maurilioni ex praefecto'; he is styled 'gloria vestra'.

He may have been predecessor of Georgius 11 as PPO Italiae, but this is not certain. In any event he held an actual office, as the reference to his *rationes* proves.

**Maurinus 1** Frankish comes M VII

He and Gariato *comites* are recorded in a letter to bishop Desiderius of Cahors (a. 640/647); *Desid. Cadurc., Ep.* 11 4. See Gariato.

**Maurinus (?Marinus) 2** scribo (in Italy) 643/644

In 643/644 he and Thomas 33 were sent by Donus 2 to escort the rebel Mauricius 8 from Rome to Ravenna to the exarch Isaac 8 (per manus Maurini (or ?Marini) scribonis et Thomati(s) chartularii); near Ravenna they beheaded Mauricius and took his head to Isaac; *Lib. Pont.* 75. On the date, cf. Isaac.

**Maurisio** Lombard dux (of Perugia) 592–593

He deserted to the Roman cause, was then besieged by Agilulfus in Perugia and quickly captured and killed; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 8 (Maurisionem ducem Langobardorum, qui se Romanorum partibus tradiderat). Perugia was one of the towns which submitted to the Romans when the exarch Romanus 7 visited Rome in 592, and was probably regained for the Lombards in the spring of 593; see Goubert, 11 ii, pp. 98–9.

**Mauritanus** drungarius VII

Μαυριταν(ῶ) δρυγ(γαρίω); Zacos 1551 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4912 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +MA/V (or ?δ) PIT/ANOΔ/ΠOΓ'). The style is described by Zacos as 'provincial'.

**MAVRVS 1** (v.c.), monk M VI

Son of Euty chius 1 (Euthicius) and of noble Roman family; sent for training to St Benedict, he became his master's assistant (magistri adiutor); *Greg. Dial.* 11 3. He became a monk under St Benedict; *Greg. Dial.* 11 4, 6, 7, 8.

On the supposed connection with St-Maur-sur-Loire, see Moricca, *Dial. Greg.*, p. 85, n. 1.

**MAVRVS 2** v.c., comes (at Terracina) 598

Asked by Gregory to help bishop Agnellus of Fundi and Terracina to suppress paganism at Terracina; *Greg. Ep.* viii 19 (a. 598 April); 'scripsimus autem et Mauro viro clarissimo comiti, ut fraternitati vestrae

in hac re debeat adhibere solacia'). He was probably the local army commander, with the title *comes et tribunus*. Cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 57, n. 34, p. 179, n. 7.

Maurus (or ?Marianus) 3                      scriniarius M VI/M VII

Μαύρου σκρινιαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1784 (seal; obv.: square monogram (221) of Μαύρου or Μαρριανοῦ, between two crosses; rev.: cruciform monogram (308) of σκρινιαρίου).

Maxentianus                      MVM praesentalis and honorary consul 536

MVM PRAESENTALIS ET CONSVL HONORARIVS a. 536 March 18: Just. *Nov.* 22 epil. (ἔγγραφή τὸ ἰσότυπον Μαξεντιανῶ τῶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηγῶ τοῦ θεοῦ πραισέντου καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων). Germanus (*PLRE* II, p. 506) and Sittas I were also *magistri militum praesentales* on this date and since both were also *patricii*, they outranked Maxentianus.

Possibly identical with the owner of a *domus* at Constantinople in which the bishop of Naissus stayed in 553; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 30 (in *domo* Maxentiani).

Maxentiolus                      bucellarius of Constantinus 537

Ὁ ὑπασπιστής of Constantinus 3; he stole Praesidius' daggers at Spolegium in early 537 and was with Constantinus in Rome during the siege; Proc. *BG* II 8.2-3.13.

Maxentius I                      officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, killed in Feb. 537 in the battle against the Goths near the river Anio; Proc. *BG* I 18.14. Cf. Belisarius, p. 197.

MAXENTIVS 2                      ?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 556

A good soldier, he was ταξιάρχος under Iustinus 4 and Buzes at Nesus in Lazica in 556 (he and Theodorus 21 were ἄμφω πολεμικῶ καὶ ταξιάρχῳ); he and Theodorus were sent with the expedition of spring/summer 556 against the Misimiani; Agath. IV 13.2 (cf. Varazes 2 and Pharsantes). While the expedition was held up in Apsilian territory by the Persians and their Sabirian Hun mercenaries, Maxentius and Theodorus led three hundred cavalry against the Huns who were encamped apart from the main force and inflicted heavy casualties on them; in the fighting Maxentius was severely wounded but was rescued and removed to safety by the prompt action of his attendants (ὄπαδοί); Agath. IV 14.1-5. See Theodorus 21 for his title.

Maximianus I                      philosopher and astrologer M VI

An Athenian, under Justinian; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 19. Probably fictitious. See Hierotheus.

Maximianus 2                      ?wealthy citizen (in Tunisia) 582/602

In the reign of Maurice, under Gennadius I and Ioannes 95, three brothers, Maximianus, Stephanus 25 and Mellosus built a tower at Ksar Lemsa (near Furnos Maius); *CIL* VIII 12035 = *ILCV* 793 = *ILTun.* 605 = *AE* 1889, 1 = Durliat, no. 30 = Pringle, no. 36 Ksar Lemsa. They were presumably wealthy local landowners, but no rank is recorded for them; cf. Durliat, pp. 77-8.

Maximina                      inlustris femina (Italy) M VI

Inl(ustris) f(emina); died aged twenty-six, buried on 24 Oct. 559 near Cubulteria; *CIL* X 4630 = *ILCV* 218 Cubulteria, near Avigliano.

Maximinus (*CIL* XI 1707) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Maximinus I                      officer of the bodyguard of Theodorus 8 and Germanus (in Africa)

537/539

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Theodorus 8; while in Africa in 537/539 he planned to revolt; his plans were disclosed by Asclepiades, and Germanus (*PLRE* II) sought to control him by appointing him one of his own bodyguards (δορυφορεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἐπέτελλεν); when he nevertheless persisted with his schemes, he was executed at Carthage by Germanus; Proc. *BV* II 18.1-18.

Maximinus 2                      PPO Italiae 542

He was a member of the senate (ἐκ βουλῆς); Proc. *BG* II 29.1. He was therefore a *vir illustris*; cf. Areobindus 2.

His early career is unknown but was presumably civil since (in 542) he had had no firsthand experience of warfare at all (ἦν γὰρ πολεμίων ἔργων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρος); Proc. *BG* III 6.12 (cf. below).

He and Domnicus 3 were sent by Justinian as envoys to Vitigis in Italy in early 540, to make peace by offering to partition Italy with the Goths and to share the royal treasure equally with Vitigis; Proc. *BG* II 29.1-2. They first showed the emperor's letter to Belisarius and then proceeded to Ravenna, where the Goths readily accepted the proposals; Proc. *BG* II 29.3. When the envoys returned to him with the news, Belisarius refused to sign the agreement and defended his action at a meeting with his fellow-officers in the presence of Maximinus and Domnicus; Proc. *BG* II 29.4-7. Later, at another meeting, the two envoys and his fellow-

officers agreed to Belisarius' suggestion that he should try to capture the Goths and their money and to recover all of Italy for the Romans; Proc. *BG* II 29.22-3. See Belisarius, p. 206.

PPO ITALIAE a. 542: in 542 the Romans rapidly lost control over much of Italy to the Goths and Justinian responded by hurriedly appointing Maximinus PPO Italiae; he was given authority over the military commanders in the war and was instructed to supply the troops with whatever pay and provisions were needed; Proc. *BG* III 6.9 (βασιλεὺς... τῶν Ἰταλίας πραιτωρίων ἑπαρχὸν Μαξιμῖνον ὡς τάχιστα κατεστήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιστάτης εἶη καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πορίζηται; the army had not been receiving its usual pay - τὰς συνειθισμένους συντάξεις - and was remaining inactive with the commanders in various cities throughout Italy, cf. Proc. *BG* III 6.6-8). He sailed from Constantinople with a force consisting of Armenian and Thracian troops under Phazas and Herodianus 1 and accompanied also by some Huns; on reaching Epirus the expedition wasted time with unnecessary delays; the reason, according to Procopius, was that Maximinus, having no experience of war, was afraid and unwilling to make a move; Proc. *BG* III 6.10-12. Eventually he proceeded with the expedition to Sicily where he settled in Syracuse and again remained inactive through fear of war (ἡσυχῇ ἔμεινε, κατορθωδῶν τὰ πολέμια); Proc. *BG* III 7.1. He was now urgently approached for help by the various Roman commanders, among them Conon 1, besieged by Totila in Naples, but he continued to waste time through fear; eventually he yielded to threats from the emperor and abuse from his colleagues and sent his whole force under Herodianus, Demetrius 3 and Phazas to help Naples, although remaining in Syracuse himself; it was now nearly winter (542/543); Proc. *BG* III 7.2-3.

Maximinus is not mentioned again by Procopius; the attempt to relieve Naples ended in disaster (cf. Proc. *BG* III 7.4-7) and Maximinus was presumably dismissed.

Maximus (*MAMA* III 45) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Fl. Maximus: consul 523; patricius 523/535-552; primicerius domesticus (under the Ostrogoths) 535; *PLRE* II.

MAXIMVS 1 vicarius urbis Romae 533/536

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to prepare a safe crossing over the Tiber for the king and his court on their forthcoming visit to Rome; Cass. *Var.* XII 19 (addressed 'Maximo vicario urbis Romae'). The date was after Sept. 1, 533 (when Cassiodorus became PPO) and before Dec. 9, 536 (when Belisarius captured Rome).

MAXIMVS 2 v.c., cancellarius of Lucania et Bruttium 533/537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (in 533/537; *PLRE* II, p. 267) to limit demands on the citizens of Scyllaceum in Bruttium for the *cursus publicus* and the maintenance of visiting governors; Cass. *Var.* XII 15 (addressed 'Maximo v.c., cancellario Lucaniae et Bruttiorum').

Maximus 3 father of Probus E/M VI

Father of bishop Probus of Reate; the bishop had a nephew, also called Probus, who was head of a monastery at Rome in the time of pope Gregory; Greg. *Dial.* IV 13. The names suggest that the family may have been aristocratic, possibly the gens Petronia. Bishop Probus also had a sister called Musa and was related to Chrysaorius; cf. Greg. *Dial.* IV 18, 40. Cf. also Maximus 5.

MAXIMVS 4 ?proconsul Asiae ?M VI

Recorded in a poem of unknown provenance and authorship as the discoverer of the tomb and statue (in bronze) of Priam's daughter Laodice (cf. *Iliad* III 123); *Anth. Gr.* VII 564, lines 3-6 σῆμα δ' ἀμαλδύναντος ἀνώιστοιο χρόνοιο Μάξιμος ἔκδηλον θῆκ' Ἀσίτης ὕπατος, καὶ κούρης χάλκειον ἐπεὶ τύπον ἐφράσατ' ἄλλη κείμενον ἀκλειῶς, τῷ δ' ἐπέθηκε κύκλω.

The circumstances are obscure. Maximus was perhaps a *proconsul Asiae*; he apparently discovered a bronze statuette of a girl, identified it for whatever reason as Laodice daughter of Priam, and associated it with an old burial place; he then set it up, perhaps as one in a circle of statues.

Maximus 5 son of Chrysaorius M/L VI

Son of Chrysaorius and a relation of bishop Probus of Reate; a monk, he knew pope Gregory when the latter was still a monk; Greg. *Dial.* IV 40, *Hom. in Evang.* I 12.7 (*PL* 76. 1122).

Maximus 6 grammaticus L VI

A *grammaticus*, whose help was invoked by the monophysite bishop of Alexandria, Damianus, during his dispute with his fellow monophysite, bishop Petrus of Antioch; Mich. Syr. X 22. The date was c. 586/587.

MAXIMVS 7 v.c., palatinus rerum privatarum (in Italy) 598

Virum clarissimum palatinum privatarum; sent to Sicily (?from Rome) in late 598 by Cethegus and Flora on business of theirs; Greg. *Ep.* IX 72 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.). See further Cethegus. He had presumably been sent out to Italy from Constantinople, to collect the revenues of the *res privata*.



Maximus 8

brother of Agnellus ?VI

Son of Ioannes 151 and Domnica, brother of Agnellus 3; he was *notarius et defensor ecclesiae* at Aquileia; *AE* 1973, 250 = 1975, 422g Trieste. See Agnellus.

Mebis

?v.c. (in Egypt); exceptor VI

Addressee of a letter; *PSI* XIV 1429, lines 10-11 + δεσπότη(η) ἐμῶ τῶ π(άντων) λαμπροτάτῳ ἀπ(άντων) τιμ(ιωτάτῳ) προσκ(υνησέως) ἀξι(ῳ) ἀδελφῶ μου . . . μα ἐξέκτορ(ι) + Μηβι. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, possibly the Arsinoite nome, from where Mebis had written to the author of this document.

Mebodes (Māhbōdh) 1

Persian noble; envoy to the Romans 525/526

On the name, see Justi, p. 185, s.n. Māhbōdh, no. 1.

Envoy of Persia in 525/526 in negotiations with Hypatius and Rufinus (*PLRE* II, Hypatius 6 and Rufinus 13); after the breakdown of talks he accused his colleague, Seoses, of deliberately sabotaging them; *Proc. BP* I 11.25 (he allegedly held a post similar to that of the *magister officiorum* - τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἔχων ἀρχήν; cf. however Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, p. 131). A close confidant and adviser of Cabades, he contrived to secure the succession to the Persian throne of Cabades' favourite son Chosroes; *Proc. BP* I 21.17-22. Shortly afterwards he was executed by Chosroes after false allegations were made against him by Zaberganes; *Proc. BP* I 23.25-9.

He was a member of the family of the Suren; a general (*spāhbād*) in 525/526, he became, after the fall of Seoses (*Siyāvush*), *Sar-nakhvērāghān* (chief of the *nakhvērs*, or governors); see Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-6.

Presumably an ancestor (?father or grandfather) of Mebodes 2.

Mebodes 2

Persian envoy M/L VI

See Justi, p. 185, s.n. Māhbōdh, no. 2.

According to Theophylact Simocatta, he was the son of Surena; *Theoph. Sim.* III 5.14 (cited below). He was doubtless a member of the noble Persian family of the Suren, and presumably a son or grandson of Mebodes 1 (whose career resembled his own); cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 103ff., 355.

In 576 he held the title of *Sar-nakhvērāghān* (see Mebodes 1); *Men. Prot.* fr. 46 (Μεβώδην τὸν Σαρναχοεργάαν) and cf. Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 21, n. 3. In *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.7 and 11 he is called simply Σαρναχοργάνης (referring to 576 and 578, cf. below).

He was sent on several embassies and diplomatic missions by Chosroes I and Hormisdas and was also active as a military commander. In late 567, following the mishandled embassy of Ioannes 81 and the death of the Persian envoy Zich (= Isdigousnas), Mebodes was sent to Constantinople to negotiate an agreement over Suania; the emperor accepted Chosroes' letter but ignored Mebodes and refused him audience; Mebodes appealed to an Arab embassy from 'Amr (which had travelled up with him) for help but achieved nothing and finally he and the Arab embassy returned home empty handed; *Men. Prot.* fr. 17.

In late 574/early 575 he met Traianus 3 and Zacharias 2 at Dara and ordered Tamchosroes to raid the surrounding districts when the Persian offer of a five-year truce was rejected by Tiberius; later he agreed to a three-year truce (spring 575-spring 578) and the payment by the Romans of thirty thousand *solidi*; *Men. Prot.* fr. 40, fr. 50 *ad init.*

In 576 he was sent by Chosroes with full authority to discuss peace with the Roman envoys Theodorus 34, Ioannes 90, Petrus 17 and Zacharias 2; they met at Athraclon, near Dara; *Men. Prot.* fr. 46 (ᾧ δὴ τὸ κύριος τῶν περὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπέθηκε Χοσρόης), *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.7, *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.12 (at Dara). He had instructions to make peace or to resume the war if he thought fit; *Men. Prot.* fr. 50. The talks dragged on through 577, with the Persians taking a harder line after the defeat of Iustinianus 3 in Armenia (probably summer/autumn 577); they eventually broke down in failure; *Men. Prot.* fr. 47, *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.12, *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.7-9, and see Zacharias 2. After the talks had broken down, Mebodes resumed active warfare without waiting for the three-year truce to end, and in spring 578 he led an army on Constantina and Theodosiopolis and sent Tamchosroes from Armenia against the district of Amida; *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.11-12 (ὁ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ... στρατάρχος; ὁ στρατηγός, in command of troops from Chaldaea), *Men. Prot.* fr. 52.

In 579 he was sent by the new king Hormisdas to question the Roman envoys Zacharias 2 and Theodorus 36 and to order them from Persia; *Men. Prot.* fr. 55, and see Zacharias.

In spring 586 he was a provincial governor (ὁ σατράπης) and was sent to Amida to persuade Philippicus and the Roman army to accept peace; his supposed address to the army was interrupted by the troops and the peace mission failed; *Theoph. Sim.* I 15.1-12. For satrap = *marzbān*, see Christensen, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7; he was perhaps governor of a province on the frontier with Rome. In summer 586 he commanded the Persian right wing at the battle of Solachon; *Theoph. Sim.* II 3.3.

In spring/summer 589 he was sent by Hormisdas to attack Philippicus outside Martyropolis (Μεβόδην Σουρήνα τὸν υἱὸν ἀντεξώπιλιζεν

ἀξιόματα δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ Πέρσαις πρεσβεύονται; cf. above); reinforced by Aphraates he joined battle but although the Persians won Mebodes was killed; Theoph. Sim. iii 5.14-15, 6.3.

Mebodes 3 Persian general 591

See Justi, p. 185, s.n. Mähbōdh, no. 3.

A Persian general loyal to Chosroes, he served against Bahram Chobin in 591 and fought in the battle of Blarathon; Theoph. Sim. v 4.2-3, 6.1-7.10, 9.1-2, 9.8.

Medardus tribunus (at Tours) 584

Tribunus; rumoured to have been involved in the murder at Tours of Armentarius 5, from whom he had borrowed money; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 23.

Medisinissas (Μεδισινίσσας) Moorish chieftain (in Byzacena) 534-535

One of the leaders of the revolt of the Moors of Byzacena against the Romans in 534 and 535; with Cutzinas, Esdilasas and Iourphouthes he defeated Aigan and Rufinus 1, himself beheading the latter, and was then defeated by Solomon 1 at Mammes (in ?early 535); Proc. *BV* ii 10.6.11, 11.15. Probably one of the Moorish leaders defeated and routed by Solomon at Bourgaon. See further Solomon.

Megaritis in Italy L VI

Niece of Ioannes 170, mother-in-law of the ecclesiastical *notarius* Pantaleo; her rights to her uncle's estate required protecting; Greg. *Ep.* ix 112 (a. 599 March).

*FL. MEGAS 1* v.c. (in Egypt); defensor (of Panopolis) E/M VI  
Φλαύιος Μέγας ὁ λαμπρ(οτάτος) ἀπὸ ἐκδίκων τῆς Πανὸς πόλεως; sent a receipt to Apollos son of Dioscorus for taxes of a third indiction; *P. Cairo Masp.* iii 67327, lines 21 and 26 Aphrodito. Probably dated in 539/540.

Megas 2 honorary consul; patricius; curator (domus divinae) 587/588

He is recorded with his titles in the inscriptions on two silver ewers dating from early in the reign of Maurice; Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, p. 7, nos. 1-2, with plates 1-4 (= Dodd, *DOP* 22 (1968), nos. 31, 1 and 2) (ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Μεγάλου ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίου (καὶ) κουράτορος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη (καὶ) ἀναπαύσεως Πέτρου Πελαγίας (καὶ) Νοννοῦ). He was in office as *curator*

in 587/588 (cf. Goubert, ii i, pp. 150-3), when he was one of the high officials at Constantinople to whom the Frankish king Childebert II wrote about an alliance against the Lombards; *Ep. Austras.* 36 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 143) (ad Megantem curatorem; he is alluded to as 'celstudo vestra' and 'magnitudo vestra'). Possibly in office as early as c. 579, if his name can be read in Evagr. *HE* v 18; see Anonymus 17.

The same man is also recorded in the inscription on a third silver object, a paten from Riha; *IGLS* ii 695 = Dodd, *BSS*, no. 20 (ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Σεργίας Ἰωάννου κ(αὶ) Θεοδότου καὶ σωτηρίας Μεγάλου καὶ Νοννοῦ κ(αὶ) τῶν αὐτῶν τέκνων) (dated under Justin II, cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>9</sup> 28 (1986), p. 137 and Dodd, *loc. cit.*). He was evidently married to Nonnous and had a family; his wife had died by the date of the inscriptions on the ewers under Maurice.

This man may be identical with the Megas whose stamp appears on three further silver objects dating from the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius, evidently in some official capacity (at Constantinople?) though precisely what is unknown; Dodd, *BSS*, p. 108, no. 27 (under Justin), no. 29 (under Tiberius) and *DOP* 22 (1968), pp. 148-9 (Justin), and cf. Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 469-70 and *Rev. Num.*<sup>9</sup> 28 (1986), pp. 136-7.

Megas 3 tabularius M VI/M VII

Μεγάλου ταβουλαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3489 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (222) of Μεγάλου; rev.: cruciform monogram (332) of ταβουλαρίου).

Megethia wealthy lady (at Constantinople) L VI

According to a late source, she built a *domus* (?) named after her at Constantinople in the reign of Tiberius (τὰ δὲ Μεγεθίας Μεγεθία δέσποινα ἀνήγειρεν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Τιβερίου τοῦ Θράκος); *Patr. Const.* iii 56. On the site, cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, p. 360.

Megethios PVC M VI/VII

Named in a cruciform monogram (223) on a glass weight; Schlumberger, *REG* 8 (1895), p. 69, no. 20 = Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue H*, no. 17. Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>9</sup> 28 (1986), p. 128, with n. 58.

Megistus (Wadd. 2328) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Megistus 1 imperialis a secretis (in Italy) ?L VI/E VII

Father of Fl. Xanthippe *gloriosa femina*; he died before his daughter's

donation at Rome; Marini, *P. Dip.* 91 = *P. Ital.* 17, line 8 (Fl. Xanthippi filia q(uon)d(am) Megisti imperialis a secretis).

Perhaps identical with Megistus 2.

Megistus 2 a secretis VII

Μεγίστου ἀσηκρίτης (sic); Zacos 934<sup>A</sup> (seal; obv.: ΜΕΓΙC/ΤΟΥΑΧ/ΚΡΙΤΗC; rev.: ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΥΤΗ/[C]ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟ[V]). For a similar seal, see Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 66.

Melangus Moorish chief 546/547

Moorish chief, fought with Antalas against Ioannes 36 Troglita in late 546/early 547; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 261, IV 641.

Melas (?v.c.) tractator (Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter from an Apa Neilos; *P. Flor.* III 303, line 2 and verso (τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ Μέλᾳ τρακτευτῆ). The provenance is unknown.

Meligedius garrison commander (at Perusia) 552

A Roman deserter, in 552 he and Vlifus were in command of the Gothic garrison at Perusia; he wanted to accept Narses' proposals and surrender the city to the Romans but was opposed by Vlifus; fighting ensued, Vlifus was killed and Meligedius immediately handed over the city; Proc. *BG* IV 33.10-12.

Melissa wife of an MVM (in Italy) E VII

Wife of Anonymus 26; mother of Deusdedit 4; Marini, *P. Dip.* 94 = *P. Ital.* 21 (a. 625).

Mellosus brother of Maximianus 2 582/602

Wealthy local landowner in Proconsularis; Durliat, no. 30 = Pringle, no. 36. See further Maximianus 2.

Melminius Andreas

Melminius Cassianus

Meltiades father of Ablabius M VI

Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49. See Ablabius 1.

Memnonius: acquaintance of Cassiodorus; vir inlustris E/M VI;  
PLRE II.

Memnonius father of Agathias E/M VI

Native of Myrina (in the province of Asia); father of Agathias; Agath.

1 prooem. 14, *Anth. Gr.* XVI 316. He had another son in addition to Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 316. Probably identical with Memnonius, husband of Pericleia, who was a rhetor (?advocate) and came from (the province of) Asia; *Anth. Gr.* VII 552 (a poem of Agathias; lines 3-4 ἐσσι δὲ τίς; - Περικλεία. - Γυνὴ τίνος; - Ἄνδρὸς ἀρίστου, ῥήτορος, ἐξ Ἀσίας, οὐνομα Μемνονίου). According to *Anth. Gr.* XVI 316 Memnonius, Agathias and his brother were all honoured with statues by Myrina as γενέης σύμβολα σεμνοτάτης.

Menander 1 (Menander Protector) historian L VI

Son of Euphratas 1, who was a native of Constantinople; he was brother of Herodotus; he himself studied law and completed his training (unlike his brother) but did not practise as the life did not attract him (οὐ γὰρ μοι θυμῆρες ἦν ἀγωνίζεσθαι δίκας, οὔτε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾶ θαμίξειν καὶ δεινότητι λόγων τὰς τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων οἰκείουσθαι φροντίδας); instead he devoted himself to the amusements of the hippodrome, the theatre and the gymnasia; however, when Maurice became emperor there was apparently a revival of patronage for men of learning and so he took up the composition of history and wrote a continuation of the history of Agathias; Men. Prot. fr. 1 = Suid. M 591 (s.v. Μένανδρος προτίκτωρ ἱστορικός) (an autobiographical note preserved in the Suidas), cf. Men. Prot. fr. 2 (= *Exc. de sent.*, p. 353 Mai) (he alludes to his dissolute way of life).

Author of verses, preserved in the Greek Anthology, concerning a Persian *magus* who became a Christian and suffered martyrdom; *Anth. Gr.* I 101 (Μένανδρου προτίκτορος).

PROTECTOR: styled *protector* in Men. Prot. fr. 1, *Anth. Gr.* I 101, and in MSS of the surviving fragments of his history. For the nature of the *protector* by this date, cf. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 130-4.

His history survives only in fragments, mainly concerning embassies between the Romans and various foreign peoples; it continued down to at least the year 582 (cf. Theoph. Sim. I 3.5; he described the fall of Sirmium to the Avars shortly before Maurice became emperor).

See further Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* I, pp. 309-12, and R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman* (Liverpool, 1985).

Menander 2

Μένανδρου στρατηλάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3681 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (223A) of Μένανδρου; rev.: CΤΓ/ΑΤΠΛ/ΑΤΥ).

Menas: PPO II (?Orientis) 528-529; honorific (or former?) PVC; patricius 529; *PLRE* II.

Menas: patricius (East) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Menas (*P. Harris* 155) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Menas (*PSI* VIII 872) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Menas (*PSI* III 176) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

FL. MENAS I v. sp., comes (in Egypt) E/M VI

Apparently guardian of an unmarried woman, daughter of Ioannes (*PLRE* II, Ioannes 73), at Aphrodito in 530; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67104, 2 (δ(ιὰ) Φλαυί(ο)υ Μη[νᾶ] [τοῦ περιβλέπτο(υ)] κόμιτος καὶ προκοράτορος) and 5 ([διὰ τοῦ προγ]εγραμμένο(υ) Μηνᾶ περιβλέπτο(υ) κόμιτος καὶ προκοράτορος) (from Aphrodito; dated a. 530 Aug. 19).

Menas 2

advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-) 533-539; iudex pedaneus 539 Advocate (patronus causarum) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commissions which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533) and on the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* (from 533 to Nov. 534); *CJ* I 17.2.9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the Digest; Menas is named second of the advocates, after Stephanus 5; see Leontius 1), Just. *Const.* 'Cordi' (a. 534 Nov. 16; completion of the *Codex*; he was the senior of the three advocates who served on this commission; see Constantinus 2).

Advocate and *iudex pedaneus* at the court of the PPO Orientis until April 8, 539, when he was appointed one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* at Constantinople to whom cases could be delegated by the emperor and the illustrious officers in the capital; Just. *Nov.* 82.1 (a. 539 April 8; among the new δικασταὶ or διαιτηταὶ were Alexander 3, Stephanus 5 and Menas, οἱ λογιώτατοι συνήγοροί τε καὶ διαιτηταὶ τῆς σῆς ἀγορᾶς - the law is addressed to the PPO Orientis). A law of Zeno (not extant) which this Novel of Justinian criticises as obsolete and seeks to replace had attached *iudices pedanei* to each of the courts in the capital (ἡπερ ἐκάστῳ δικαστηρίῳ ῥητοὺς ἀφώρισε δικαστάς; *Nov.* 82.1 init.); the institution evidently survived to some degree, since such *iudices* existed

not only in the court of the PPO, where they were chosen from leading advocates, but in that of the *magister officiorum*; see Alexander 4. It is probable that the system was encouraged by the PPO Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian (cf. Ioannes 11, p. 631 and Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 65).

...ORVS PETTIRIVS STRATEGIVS ATARBIVS PH...TVS  
PHOEBAMMON MENAS 3

v.c., comes et praeses Arcadiae M VI

Addressee of a letter on *delegatio* from the officers of a unit of Transigritani; *BGU* III 836, line 1...]ώρω Πεττιρίῳ Στρατηγίῳ Ἄταρβίῳ Φ[... ]τῷ Φοιβαμμ[ώνι] Μηνᾶ τῷ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) κόμ(ε)τι κ(αί) ἄρχοντι τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας. The date was under Justinian. The papyrus comes from somewhere in the Fayum.

MENAS 4 comes (and dioecetes) (in Egypt) c. 555

Named twice in a list of accounts from Oxyrhynchus, in c. 555, from an estate which is very probably that of the Apion family; *P. Oxy.* 1913, lines 40 (payment τῷ κόμ(ε)τι Μηνᾶ ὑπὲρ ὄψωνίου, for the third indiction) and 64 (ὑπὲρ τιμ(ῆς) χαρτῶν ἀγορασθ(έντων) εἰς χρεῖαν τῶν ἀποκρεῖσ(ιαρίων) τῆς διοικήσ(εως) τοῦ κόμ(ε)τος Μηνᾶ). He was apparently employed by the Apion family to administer part of their estates, presumably as διοικητής. See also Papirius 1.

MENAS 5 v.c., scriniarius and pagarch (of Antaeopolis) 566-567

v.c., SCRINIARIUS and PAGARCHVS of Antaeopolis in 553, jointly with Iulianus 13, when Menas acted as pagarch on behalf of Patricia 1; *P. Lond.* v 1661 (from Aphrodito, dated July 24, 553), lines 5-6 ὁ λαμπρότατος σκρινιάριος Menas was pagarch with Iulianus, *P. Lond.* v 1660 (from Aphrodito, undated), lines 7-8 δ(ιὰ) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κυρίου Μηνᾶ αὐτῆς (sc. Πατρικίας) διοικητοῦ καὶ παγάρχ(ου). See also Iulianus and Patricia.

v.c., SCRINIARIUS and PAGARCHVS of Antaeopolis a. 566-567: ὁ λαμπρότατος σκρινιάριος καὶ παγάρχης τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν (or similar); *P. Lond.* v 1677, line 10 (Antinoopolis; a. 566/567), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002 I 6, II 2, 5, 12, 15, III 2, 17 (probably from Antinoopolis; late 567/early 568, see *P. Lond.* v, p. 69), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67021, line 17, verso, line 12 (Antaeopolis; same date as 67002). He succeeded to the office in (?May) 566, at the start of the fifteenth indiction; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002 I 10 ἀφ' ἧς ἀντελάβετο τῆς παγαρχίας Ἀνταιο(υπό)λεως). He was the ninth pagarch of Antaeopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002 II 18-19.

Several petitions and complaints alleging misconduct by him in office survive; *P. Lond.* v 1677 (from Fl. Dioscorus 5, to Anonymus 78), *P. Cairo*

*Masp.* 67002 (written by Dioscorus on behalf of the λεπτοκλήτορες and the οικήτορες of Aphrodito, to the *dux* Athanasius 3), *P. Cairo Masp.* 67021 (also written by Dioscorus on behalf of some monks, to a church official).

He is identical with ὁ λαμπρότατος κύριος Μηνᾶς, mentioned in three letters found at Aphrodito and all apparently sent by subordinate officials of his; *P. Lond.* v 1682, 1683, 1684. Author of a letter concerning taxation at Aphrodito to the πρωτοκομήται Dioscorus and Apollon; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67060 verso, and cf. 67061 (written in the same hand). Perhaps identical with Menas mentioned in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67185 (κύριος Μηνᾶς) and 67322 (ὁ λαμπρότατος κύριος Μηνᾶς), both very fragmentary letters.

He is perhaps to be identified with Menas 6; *P. Lond.* v 1714 (a. 570 March 14; from Antinoopolis), lines 12–13 (Theodorus) υἱὸς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ περιβλέπτου κυρίου Μηνᾶ σκρινιαρίου τῆς κατὰ Θηβαΐδα λαμπρᾶς δουκικῆς τάξεως. Cf. Theodorus 29.

## MENAS 6

v.c. et spectabilis, scriniarius in the officium of the *dux* Thebaidis 570

*P. Lond.* v 1714, lines 12–13. See Fl. Theodorus 29 (his son). Perhaps identical to Menas 5.

Menas 7 ?v.c., singularius of the officium of the *dux* 577

In charge of reconstruction work at Philae in 577 (ἐκ σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιεικίας Μηνᾶ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου) σι[γγ]ουλαρίου τῆς δουκιανῆς τάξεως; *CIG* 8646 = Lefebvre, no. 584 Philae. He served under the *dux et augustalis* Thebaidis.

## Menas 8

?v.c. et devotissimus, ex tribunis and topoteretes (at Syene) 583

In 583 an appeal was addressed to him in a civil process; *P. Monac.* 6, lines 10 (Μηνᾶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ καθοσιωμένῳ ἀπὸ τριβούνων καὶ τοποτηρητῆ τοῦ λιμίτου), 15 (Μηνᾶν τὸν λαμπροτάτον) and 28 (Μηνᾶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ καθοσιωμένῳ τοποτηρητῆ τότε ὄντι τοῦ λιμίτου) (from Syene, dated a. 583). See also Fl. Marcus 5. For a similar official, cf. Fl. Onophrius.

FL. MENAS 9 comes (in Egypt) 590

Φλ(αούσιος) Μεγᾶς σὺν Θε(εῶ) κόμη[ς], son of τοῦ τῆς μακαρ(ίας) μνήμ(ης) Ἀποί(. . .); native of Heracleopolis; witness to a loan in 590; *P. Erl.* 67, 27–8 Heracleopolis.

## MENAS 10

*dux et augustalis* Alexandriae 598/600

Son of Ma'in; Joh. Nik. 97.34 (p. 533 Zotenberg). Father of Theodorus 156; Joh. Nik. 107.5 (p. 542 Zotenberg).

DVX ET AVGVSTALIS ALEXANDRIAE a. 598/600: in 598/600, while governor at Alexandria, he witnessed the appearance of two creatures of human shape in the river Nile and sent a report on the phenomenon to the emperor Maurice; Theoph. Sim. vii 16.1ff. (esp. 1 τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἐπαρχότητα Μηνᾶ διανύοντος, also called τὸν ἐπιβεβηκότα τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχῆς, and 3 ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγεμῶν; in ?598), Theoph. AM 6092 (ὁ ἑπαρχος; in ?600), Cedr. i 700–1 (ὁ ἑπαρχος), Nic. Call. HE xviii 36 (Μηνᾶ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἀρχὴν διυθύνοντος; in the nineteenth year of Maurice, a. 600), Joh. Nik. 97.34 ('the governor and commander in Alexandria', cf. Zotenberg, p. 533 'préfet et chef militaire'). According to Theoph. Sim. vii 16.46 he wrote his account for Maurice after his return from Alexandria.

The governor of Alexandria was by this date the *dux et augustalis Alexandriae*, whose province was Aegyptus; the form of words used by John of Nikiu corresponds most closely to this title, the other sources preserving the earlier title of *praefectus Aegypti*.

## Menas 11

?PPO Africae ?M/L VI

A rectangular bronze tablet, found at Thabarca, reads on the obverse: Tibe/riani/proc; and on the reverse: Mena/tis/pref; *CIL* viii 22655, 1 = xv 7121, and cf. v 1084\* and x 8072.7. The titles were possibly *proc(onsul)*. and *pr(a)ef(ectus)*, suggesting the *proconsul (Africae)* and the *praefectus (praetorio Africae)*.

## Menas 12

?topoteretes or tribunus (Egypt) L VI

Brother of Abaskirōn and Iacobus 6, native of Aykelāh; perhaps *topoteretes* or *tribunus*, like Abaskirōn; eventually executed as a rebel at Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 97.1–28, esp. 1, 3, 4, 25, 28 (pp. 529–32 Zotenberg). See further Abaskirōn.

## Menas 13

MVM (in Egypt) VI

+ Μηνᾶς σὺν Θε(εῶ) στρατηλ(άτης); *Stud. Pal.* viii 1048 (possibly from Hermopolis; dated Thoth 12, indiction 9).

Probably an honorific MVM. Cf. Menas 18 and 33.

## Menas 14

pagarch (?in the Fayum) VI

Recorded in a short document, possibly from the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* iii 303, line 3 τοῦ κύρου Μηνᾶ πακάρχου.

Fl. Menas 15 praefectianus and defensor of Oxyrhynchus VI

Addressee of a petition (+ Φλα(ουίω) Μηνᾶ τῷ αἰδεσιμ(ωτάτῳ) ἑπαρχ(ικῶ) καὶ ἐκδίκῳ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως); *PSI* 872 Oxyrhynchus.

Fl. Menas 16 gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI

Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος; brother of Dorotheus 9; *PSI* 953, 70 Oxyrhynchus. The same man may be named in *PSI* 956, 20 (... ἐνδοξ[οτάτῳ] ἰλλου(στρίῳ) Μηνᾶ[...]) (a list of accounts, similar to *PSI* 953, also from Oxyrhynchus).

Menas 17 primicerius (?of the officium of the dux Arcadiae) VI

A native of Arsinoe, where he issued a receipt – ἐγὼ Μηνᾶς πριμικήριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου πραιτωρίου; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 46, line 1 Arsinoe. He was probably a *primicerius* in the *officium* of the *dux et augustalis Arcadiae* rather than an official sent out from the praetorian prefecture in Constantinople (the ἱερὸν πραιτώριον).

Menas 18 ?MVM (Egypt) VI

The first two lines of a papyrus of unknown provenance read: ... τ]οῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου στρατηλάτου καὶ [.../...κυ]ρίου Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως]; *Stud. Pal.* III 58 (a receipt issued to him). Perhaps a native of Egypt and an honorific MVM. Cf. Menas 13 and 33.

Menas 19 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Ὁ λαμπρότατος; son of Magister... τῆς λαμπρῆς μνήμης; native of Hermopolis where he owned a house for lease; *P. Flor.* I 38 Hermopolis Magna. Cf. Theodorus 208.

Menas 20 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a letter from Aphrodito; *PSI* 939, 1 (μετὰ τὸ ἐπελθεῖν τὸν δεσπότην μου τὸν λαμπρότατον Μην[ᾶ]ν..., there arrived a ταξιώτης announcing the arrival of Ad...).

Menas 21 doctor (in Egypt) VI

A doctor in the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1175 Fayum (sixth century) (line 2: ...]τοῦ [Μ]ηνᾶ ἀ[ρ]χιάτρου; the document mentions Arsinoe).

Menas 22 excubitor (in Egypt) VI

A letter, probably from Sophia 2, authorises a payment to be made Μηνᾶ ἑξκουβίτορ(ι); *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1093 Fayum (sixth century).

For another Menas *excubitor* in Egypt, in the Arab period, see *BGU* II 681 Μηνᾶς ἑξσκουβί[τῶ]ρ (provenance unknown).

Menas 23 vir gloriosissimus (Egypt) M VI/VII

A letter, of uncertain provenance, mentions τοὺς ἐνδοξ[οτά]τους προστάτας Μηνᾶν καὶ Ἀπίωνα; *P. Erl.* 120. The mention of an Apion suggests Oxyrhynchus. For the date, not before the mid sixth century, see Hephæstus.

Possibly identical with the *gloriosissimus* Menas at Oxyrhynchus to whom was addressed a very fragmentary papyrus, *P. Erl.* 37; it refers to a property of his in the Oxyrhynchite nome, ἐποικίου Δαρίου τοῦ [Ὀξυρυγ]χ(ίτου) νομοῦ διαφέροντος [τῆ] ὑμε[τέ]ρα ἐνδοξότητι.

Menas 24 illustrius M VI/M VII

Μηνᾶ ἰλλουστρίου; *Zacos* 426 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2086 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (225) of Μηνᾶ; rev.: ΙΛΛΔ/CTPI/OV,).

Menas 25 ?v.c. (in Egypt) ?L VI/E VII

Ὁ λαμπρότατος; one of three individuals (the others were Serenus 6 and a προκουράτωρ Menas) responsible for paying the rent of a bath; *P. Oxy.* 943 (a letter written by Victor 15).

For another Menas *v.c.* at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* 2000), see Andronicus 5.

Menas 26 rich man (at Thessalonica) L VI/E VII

A man of wealth, he donated a large quantity (seventy-five pounds) of silver to the church of St Demetrius during the episcopate of Eusebius; *Mir. Dem.* I 6, pp. 94–5. Cf. Ioannes 224.

Menas 27 catholicus (in Egypt) VI/VII

Named in accounts recording payments of corn for a fifteenth indiction; *P. Oxy.* 1906, line 14 Μηνᾶ καθολικ(ῶ).

Menas 28 doctor (in Egypt) VI/VII

Owner of a property where an arrested farmer was held (ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ τοῦ κυρίου Μηνᾶ τοῦ ἀρχιάτρου); *P. Lond.* III, p. 283, no. 1032 (provenance unknown).

MENAS 29 comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Named in a document from the Hermopolite nome; *Stud. Pal.* XX 257, line 1 + ] Μηνᾶ κόμ(ετος) (ὑπὲρ) προσθήκ(ης); there follows a list of sums of money.

Possibly the same man is named in *Stud. Pal.* viii 1172 (provenance unknown), line 3 (τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Μηνᾶ).

**MENAS 30** comes (Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a letter; *P. Ross.-Georg.* iii 18 verso ἀποδοθήτω ἕμφ δεσπ[ο](τῆ) Μηνᾶ κόμητι. The provenance is unknown.

**Fl. Menas 31** ?v.c. (in Egypt); dioecetes of Apollinopolis VI/VII

Ὁ λαμπρό(τατος) διοικητής τῆς Ἀπολλωνοπολ(έως); ordered to pay wheat and wine to the bishop of Apollinopolis; *P. Grenf.* i 63, 3 Apollinopolis Magna. Cf. Fl. Theodorus 146.

**MENAS 32** v.sp., comes (Egypt) VI/VII

Τὸν περίβλ(επτου) κόμητα Μηνᾶν; he ordered payments to be made to a maker of arrows (κατὰ τὴν κέλευσιν αὐτοῦ); *PSI* iii 238 provenance unknown. Cf. Patricia 5.

**Menas 33** MVM (in Egypt) VI/VII

Mentioned in an inscription on a church building in the Fayum; *SB* 1449.5 (Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθησον τῷ δοῦλός σου Μηνᾶ στρα(τηλάτῃ) καὶ τῶν παῖδω[ν] αὐ(τοῦ), Ἀμήν (sic); dated Mesore 16, indiction 15).

Possibly identical with Menas on *Stud. Pal.* viii 1044, 1 (+ Μηνᾶς σὺν Θ(εῶ) στ[ρατηλάτης]) (possibly from the Fayum).

Probably an honorific MVM. Cf. Menas 13 and 18.

**MENAS 34** comes (Egypt) 604/605

Owner of lands (γῆδία) in the Hermopolite nome, close to properties owned by the *comites* Iacobus 7 and Isidorus 9; *P. Ross.-Georg.* iii 49 Hermopolite nome (line 7 μεγαλοπρε(πεστᾶτου) κόμητος Μηνᾶ) (dated in indiction 8 under Phocas).

**Menas 35** ?cancellarius (at Athribis) 609

A supporter of Heraclius in 609, he joined bishop Theodorus of Nikiu in urging the authorities in Athribis to abandon Phocas; Joh. Nik. 107.33 ('Menas, the scribe of the city of Nakius') (p. 545 Zotenberg; 'chancelier de la ville de Nakius'). After the defeat and death of Bonākīs 'Menas the scribe' ('le chancelier'; Zotenberg) and Theodorus surrendered; Menas was imprisoned by Bonosus 2, scourged and fined three thousand *solidi*; he was then released but died soon afterwards from his sufferings; Joh. Nik. 107.39.41 (p. 546 Zotenberg). He was presumably a man of considerable wealth and the holder of high office at Nikiu in 609; possibly a *cancellarius*.

**Menas 36** ?assessor of Nicetas 609

Son of Theodorus 136; Joh. Nik. 107.18 (p. 543 Zotenberg).

He is twice styled 'the coadjutor' ('le coadjuteur'; Zotenberg); Joh. Nik. 107.18 (p. 543), 108.2 (p. 547). He was a follower of Nicetas 7, whom he informed about the stylite Theophilus the Confessor at Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 108.2 (p. 547). Possibly he was the *assessor* (σύνεδρος, σύμβουλος) of Nicetas.

In 609 he apparently fell into the hands of Phocas' supporters (cf. Ioannes 235 and Theodorus 153) in Alexandria and was detained to be handed over to Bonosus 2; Joh. Nik. 107.18 (p. 543).

**Menas 37** ?v.c., argentarius (Egypt) 618

In 618 he made a payment for some horses for Victor 15 - δ(ιὰ) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Μηνᾶ τραπεζ(ι)τ(ου); *P. Oxy.* 153 = *Stud. Pal.* iii 286 (a. 618 May 20).

**Menas 38** gloriosissimus (in Egypt); ?local judge at Heracleopolis 630

Τῷ ἔνδοξ(ο)τ(άτω) κυρίω Μηνᾶ//...συγκρίτη of Heracleopolis, named in a document dated May 23, 630; *BGU* i 314, 8 (Heracleopolis). The function of συγκρίτης is unknown; the word could mean *assessor* but Menas apparently held the position at Heracleopolis and so may have been some form of local judge. The date was shortly after the recovery of Egypt from Persian occupation, when perhaps normal forms of administration were disrupted.

**Menas 39** leader of the Greens (Egypt) 640/641

Leader of the Green faction; during the siege of Babylon (in 640/641) he and the Blue leader Cosmas helped the Arabs by harassing the besieged Romans; Joh. Nik. 118.3 (p. 568 Zotenberg).

**MENAS 40** ?dux et augustalis Augustamnicae c. 640/641-642

Appointed 'prefect of Lower Egypt' by Heraclius, he remained in office under the Arabs; he is described as 'a presumptuous man, unlettered and a deep hater of the Egyptians'; Joh. Nik. 120.29 (p. 577 Zotenberg). Other governors maintained in office by the Arabs were Senuthius 2 (Sinoda) and Philoxenus 6 (*duces* in Thebais and Arcadia). Menas, who was apparently not in Alexandria, was perhaps the *dux* of Augustamnica. Cf. Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 74, with n. 3.

**Menas 41** army officer (at Alexandria) 641

An army officer in Alexandria in 641 ('Menas the general'), he was

the rival and enemy of Domentianus, against whose brother Eudocianus he bore a grudge; their enmity caused disturbances at Alexandria (cf. Philiadēs, whom Menas had befriended); Menas had the support of Theodorus 166 and was appointed by him commander of the troops in Alexandria in place of Domentianus following Cyrus 17's return from exile in Sept. 641; he had the trust of the troops; Joh. Nik. 119.6-13 (pp. 570-1 Zotenberg), 120.10 (p. 574 Zotenberg). He was probably a Copt; cf. Eudocianus and see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 310, n. 1.

Not to be confused with the Menas whom 'Amr deposed for collecting excessive taxes from Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 121.6 (p. 585 Zotenberg).

Menas 42 chartularius (Egypt) VI/VII (?E VII)

Author of several letters to higher ranking persons connected with the management of the Apion estates; *P. Oxy.* 1857-8 (to Theodorus 170), 1859 (to Victor 15?), 1936 (jointly with Philippus, apparently ὑμέτεροι δοῦλοι, to Georgius). Styled χαρτ(ουλάριος), *P. Oxy.* 1858; χαρτ(ουλάριος) ὑμέ(τερος) δο[ῦλ(ος)], *P. Oxy.* 1859. Possibly the same man wrote *P. Oxy.* 1860 to Georgius (Μηνᾶς σὺν Θε(εῶ) + ἐκδικ(ος) Κυνο[π]-ο[λ(ίτου)], i.e. *defensor* of Cynopolis). All the documents are dated no more closely than sixth or seventh century, but may be E VII; see Victor 15). His post of *chartularius* was probably a private one, in the administration of the Apion estates.

Fl. Menas 43 v.glor., MVM and pagarch of Arsinoe VII

Addressee of the acknowledgement of a loan; *Stud. Pal.* xx 240, 4-6 Φλ(αυίω) Μην[ᾶ] τ[ῷ] ἐνδοξοτ[ί]τῳ στρατηλ[ά]τῃ/παγάρχῳ τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν (a document from the Arsinoite nome, dated on Tybi 3 (Dec. 29) of an eleventh indiction, in the seventh century). He was probably a wealthy native of Arsinoe, with the honorific title of MVM (and so member of the senate of Constantinople), in office as pagarch. On the conjunction of Arsinoe and Theodosiopolis, cf. Jones, *CERP*, p. 343 with n. 64 on p. 493.

Menas 44 MVM VII

Μην(ν?)ᾶ στρατηλάτου; Zacos 934c (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΝΔΜ/ΕΡΙΚΟΝΒ/ΟΗΘΙ, i.e. Θεοτόκε Νουμερικ(ῶ)ν, βοήθει; rev.: [+?] ΜΗ/Ν[Ν?]ΑC/ΤΡΑΘΗ/ΛΑΤΘ).

Menas 45 patricius et quaestor VII

Μηνᾶ πατρικίω καὶ quaestor; Zacos 1554A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΜΗΝ/ΑΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΩ/ΣΥ/ΑΕΣΤΟ/Ρ).

Menas 46 scriiniarius VII

Μηνᾶ σκρινιαρίου; Zacos 934B (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ; rev.: [M]ΗΝ/ΑΚΚΙΝΙ/ΑΠΙΟΝ).

(Fl.) Ioannes (Menas?) Iustinianus (Demos)thenes Str(aton) (E)lias The(onas) (Dio)scorus

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hēphaestus

Fl. Theodorus Menas Iulianus Iacobus

Fl. Menas Iustinianus Demosthenes Ioannes Thomas

Menelaus 1 candidatus M VI/M VII

Μενελάου κανδιδάτου; Zacos 2814 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (223c) of Μενελάου; rev.: cruciform monogram (180A) of κανδιδάτου).

Menelaus 2 vestitor M VI/M VII

Μενελάου βεστίτορος; Zacos 2815 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (223B) of Μενελάου; rev.: ΒΕC/ΤΙΤΟ/ΡΟC).

Mephanias (Μεφανίας) Moorish chief E VI

Father of Massonas; father-in-law of Iaudas, by whom he was murdered; Proc. *BV* II 13.19.

Mercurius 1 MVM M VI/M VII

Μερκουρίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 429 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (224) of Μερκουρίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (322) of στρατηλάτου).

Mercurius 2 honorary consul VII

Μερκουρίω ὑπάτῳ; Zacos 660 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΜΕ/ΡΚΟΝΡ/ΙΩΝΠΑ/ΤΩ+). The same man perhaps owned another seal, Zacos 1555 (obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +[M]Ε/ΡΚΟΝΡ/ΙΩΝΠΑ/Τ[Ω]+).

Merdasas (Μερδασᾶς) Persian prince E VII

On the name, see Justi, p. 196, s.n. Martānšāh, no. 2.

Son of Chosroes II and Shirin, executed in 628 by his brother Siroes (= Cavades II); Theoph. AM 6118, Cedr. 1734, Zon. xiv 16 (p. 309), *Hist. Nest.* II 92. In all, eighteen brothers were executed by Cavades; cf. Justi, p. 297 (they are listed in Hamzah 61).



**Mermeroos** Persian commander 530-555  
 Μερμερόης; Proc., Agath., Men. Prot. Mermeroos; Coripp. Cf. Justi, p. 203.

One of Persia's leading generals under Cavades and Chosroes II, he was an old man at his death in 555 (see below), in ill health (gout in both feet) but highly praised by Agathias for his vigour, courage and his military abilities, to which his many successes in war were attributed; Agath. II 22.5.

In 530 he led an invasion of Roman Armenia and attacked Satala, but withdrew following defeat by Sittas 1 and Dorotheus 2; Proc. *BP* I 15.1-17. In 531, after the Persian victory at Callinicum, he, Chanaranges and Aspebedes invaded Mesopotamia and laid siege to Martyropolis, withdrawing after the death of Cavades; Proc. *BP* I 21.4-27, and cf. Bessas (*PLRE* II), Buzes and Sittas.

Early in the 540s he was twice defeated and then taken prisoner at Dara by Ioannes 36 Troglita; Coripp. *Ioh.* I 70-98. Cf. Ioannes, p. 646.

In 548 he was sent by Chosroes to Lazica to the relief of Petra (besieged by Dagisthaeus); Proc. *BP* II 29.13, 30.1-2.8.15-20 (reached Petra, began to refortify it, cf. *BG* IV 11.19, and then withdrew leaving a strong garrison). He withdrew through Lazica, harassed by Dagisthaeus and Phoubelis, and retired to Dubios (Dvin) in Persian Armenia, leaving a strong force in Lazica under Phabrizus; Proc. *BP* II 30.21-2.30-3. In spring 551 (contemporary with the capture of Petra by Bessas, *PLRE* II, p. 228, in March or April) he invaded Lazica to attack Archaeopolis, crossing the Phasis, rebuilding the fortress of Scanda and capturing Rhodopolis en route; finding that the Roman army near the Phasis mouth had fled, he burned their camp and returned to besiege Archaeopolis; Proc. *BG* IV 13.1-30, cf. Agath. IV 15.1 (Rhodopolis), and see Benilus, Vligagus and Varazes 1. He was defeated at Archaeopolis by Odonachus and Babas and withdrew to Mocheresis which he began to refortify in preparation for the winter; he also accepted the submission of the fortress of Uthimereos (see Theophobius) and strengthened his hold on Lazica, including the forts of Cotais and Sarapanis; Proc. *BG* IV 14.1-54, 16.4-33, and cf. Gubazes. In 552, with reinforcements from the Saborian Huns, he marched from Mocheresis and attempted first to capture the sister of Gubazes, then to attack the Abasgi and finally made another attempt on Archaeopolis, but achieved nothing anywhere and retired to Cotais and Mocheresis; Proc. *BG* IV 17.10-19, Agath. II 19.1 (made two attempts on Archaeopolis, both unsuccessful), and cf. Martinus 2.

In 554, by a ruse, he deceived Martinus and captured Telephis and

Chytropolia; while the Romans retreated to Nesus, he crossed the Phasis, strengthened Persian garrisons at Onoguris and elsewhere, and returned to Cotais and Mocheresis; Agath. II 19.1-22.3.

There he fell ill and withdrew to Iberia, leaving the best of his troops to hold Lazica; he died at Meschitha (Mtskheta) in Iberia; Agath. II 22.4-5, Men. Prot. fr. 11. The date of his death was in summer 555, after July 5; Agath. II 27.9, and see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 811-12. His successor in Lazica was Nachoragan; Agath. III 2.1, Men. Prot. fr. 11.

He once advised Chosroes that Suania was not worth the trouble of a war; Men. Prot. fr. 11.

Merofledis wife of Charibert M VI

Daughter of a poor *lanarius* and sister of Marcovefa; servant of Ingoberga; Charibert left Ingoberga and married her; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 26.

Merola (*CIL* XIII 2419) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Merovechus I son of Chilperic M/L VI

Merovechus; Greg. Tur. Meroveus; Mar. Avent., Fredegar. On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 168.

Son of Chilperic and Audovera, brother of Theodebert and Chlodovech; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 28, Fredegar. III 60. Son of Chilperic; Mar. Avent. s.a. 578, Greg. Tur. *HF* V 2, 3, 14, 18, Fredegar. III 74. Brother of Basina; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 39, VI 34, IX 39. He was baptised by bishop Praetextatus of Rouen; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 18.

Sent in 576 by his father with an army to Poitiers, he disobeyed orders and went instead to Tours, spending Easter there, and then to Rouen where he joined Brunichildis, widow of his uncle Sigibert, and married her; his father soon came and took him back with him to Soissons; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 2, cf. V 18 (they were married by bishop Praetextatus). Suspected of involvement in revolt, especially in view of his marriage, he was deprived of weapons and kept under guard; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 3. Probably late in 576 he was tonsured and ordained priest and sent for priestly training to a monastery at Le Mans; following an invitation from Guntchramnus Boso he escaped from there and joined Guntchramnus in the church of St Martin at Tours, where he compelled Gregory to give him communion by threatening bloodshed; in the following year he planned to leave Tours with Guntchramnus Boso and rejoin Brunichildis; his ambition was to secure the throne and he deposited a quantity of treasure on the altar of St Martin's to obtain the saint's help; following an attack on his servants by Leudastes (whose property in Tours he had seized, *HF* V 48) he had Marileifus attacked

and robbed; he rejected the prophecies of the soothsayer consulted by Guntchramnus and instead tried the *sortes biblicae* but found the results depressing; finally he left the church (in 577) with Guntchramnus and five hundred men and reached the territory of Auxerre, where he was captured by Herpo, *dux* of king Guntram, but escaped and took refuge in the church of Saint Germanus; after two months he rejoined Brunichildis among the Austrasians but was not welcomed by them and went into hiding; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14. He was concealed in the vicinity of Reims; eventually he was caught by the Tarabennenses (the people of Théroouanne, cf. Dalton, II, p. 542) who promised to desert Chilperic and support him if he would come to them; they surrounded him in a villa and sent to inform Chilperic, whereupon Merovech ordered his most trusted servant Gailen to kill him; Gregory reports a current belief that he was in fact killed by an agent of Fredegundis; after his death his followers were brutally murdered (cf. Gailen, Grindio, Guciole); bishop Egidius and Guntchramnus Boso were suspected of arranging his entrapment; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 18. His downfall and death are narrated by Gregory under the year 577 but his death may have occurred in 578; Mar. Avent. s.a. 578 (hoc anno Meroveus filius Hilperici regis occisus est).

His body was subsequently interred by king Guntram in Paris in the church of St Vincent (later St-Germain-des-Prés) beside that of his brother Chlodovechus; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 10.

Meroveus 2 son of Chlotharius II 604

Son of Chlotharius II; in 604 he commanded his father's army, jointly with Landericus, against Bertoald I near Orléans; during the campaign they were defeated by Theoderic's army near Étampes and Meroveus was taken prisoner; Fredegar. IV 25-6.

Meroveus 3 son of Theodebert II 612

Young son of Theodebert II, killed in 612 on the orders of Theoderic II; Fredegar. IV 38.

Meroveus 4 son of Theoderic II 607-613

Born to Theoderic in 607 by a concubine; he was received by Chlotharius II as his godson; Fredegar. IV 29. Brother of Sigibertus, Childeburtus and Corbus; Fredegar. IV 39, 42.

In 613 he was captured by Chlotharius with Sigibertus and Corbus but unlike them was allowed to live because Chlotharius was his godfather; discreetly sent to the care of Ingobodus in Neustria, he survived for many years; Fredegar. IV 42.

Mestrianus scribo 556

A *scribo*, he was sent to Lazica in 556 by Justinian to assist Athanasius 2 in the enquiry into the murder of king Gubazes and to execute his judgements; he captured Ioannes 47 when he tried to escape and delivered him to Athanasius; Agath. III 14.5 (εἰς δέ γε ἦν οὗτος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰ βασιλεία δορυφόρων, οὓς δὴ σκρίβωνας ὀνομάζουσιν).

Metrodorus: grammaticus (at Constantinople) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Metrodorus grammaticus (at Constantinople) M VI

Native of Tralles, brother of Alexander 8, Anthemius 2, Dioscorus 3 and Olympius 2; he was as distinguished a *grammaticus* as Anthemius was a mathematician (καθὰ που καὶ ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις γραμματικοῖς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὁ τούτου Μητρόδωρος) and his fame reached the ears of Justinian; summoned to Constantinople with Anthemius by the emperor, he spent the remainder of his life there and became famous as a teacher of the sons of the nobility (νέους πολλοὺς τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐκπαιδεύσας); Agath. V 6.4-6. His earlier career was perhaps in his home town of Tralles.

Mezamerus envoy of the Antae c. 558/560

One of the leading Antae, son of Idarizius, brother of Celagastes; on an embassy from the Antae to the Avars he was outspoken and was assassinated; the Avars resumed harrying the lands of the Antae; Men. Prot. fr. 6.

Mezezius (Mžēž Gnuni) ?MVM per Armeniam 628-635/637

Μεζέζιος; Theoph. Mžēž Gnuni; Sebeos. Evidently an Armenian.

In 628 he was with Heraclius at Ganzac on the final campaign against Chosroes; while out on a mission in March 628, he encountered envoys of Chosroes' successor Cavades and escorted them to Heraclius; Theoph. AM 6118 (Μεζέζιον τὸν στρατηγόν). In 630/1 and 635/7 he was 'the general of the Greek region' sc. of Armenia; Sebeos XXIX, pp. 91, 92, 94. After the end of the war with Persia (a. 628) the frontier between Rome and Persia was fixed as it had been under Maurice and Chosroes, and Mezezius occupied the relevant portion of Armenia; he instructed the *catholicos* Ezr (at Dvin in Persian Armenia) to come to a doctrinal agreement with Heraclius; Sebeos XXIX, pp. 91-2 (the date cannot be earlier than 630, if Sebeos' chronology is correct; Christopher, who became *catholicos* in 628, cf. Varaztiroch, was deposed in his third year in office, to be succeeded by Ezr). Mezezius induced the *ishkhan* of Azerbaijan to order the arrest of the *marzban* of Persian Armenia

Varaztiroch, who fled to the west for safety; Sebeos xxix, p. 92. Following the discovery of a plot against Heraclius (dated either 635 or 637, cf. Varaztiroch), Mezezius had David Saharuni arrested (in Armenia) and sent in chains to Constantinople; David escaped and returned to Armenia where he won over the troops and killed Mezezius and a certain Varaz Gnel Gnuni (presumably a relative of Mžēz Gnuni); Sebeos xxix, pp. 93-4.

Mezezius was apparently the military commander of the Roman provinces of Armenia and may therefore have held the post of MVM *per Armeniam*. It is possible, though, that this area had already been (or was in the process of being) organised into the Armeniac theme; if so, he was, or became, ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν. Cf. Georgius 49.

**Miccinus** honorary consul and patricius VII

Μικκίνω ὑπάτῳ καὶ σὺν Θεῷ πατρικίῳ; Zacos 2904 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΙ[Ο]/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΕΙΜ/ΙΚΚΙΝΩ; rev.: ΒΠΑΤ/...VN/-[...Π]ΑΤ/ΡΙΚΙΩ), Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2056 (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΕΙ/ΜΙΚΚΙΝ/Ω; rev.: ΒΠΑ/ΤΩ/ΣΥΝ/ΘΩΠΑΤ/ΡΙΚΙΩ).

Michael (*MAMA* viii 323) V/VI: *PLRE* n.

**Michael 1** poet; grammaticus ?M/L VI

Author of verses recording the erection of statues in honour of Agathias, his father Memnonius and his (unnamed) brother; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 316 (Μιχαηλίου γραμματικοῦ). The lines were not necessarily included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 8, n. 18.

Mi(chae)l (?) 2 ?v.c., dioecetes (of a domus) VI

Addressee of a papyrus found somewhere in the Cynopolite nome; *PSI* 474, lines 1-2 τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ κυρίῳ Μι[χ]αηλ(?) σὺν Θε[ῷ] ο[ι]κ[ο]νομήτῳ καὶ διοικῆτῳ ἐν ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ. Possibly οἰνοπαραλήμπτῃ καὶ διοικητῇ (so note *ad loc.*). He was presumably *dioecetes* of a private *domus* in the Cynopolite nome.

**Michael 3** commerciarus of Tyre M VI/E VII

One of three *commercarii* of Tyre recorded on a seal (see Areobindus 6); Zacos 1 130 bis, note, no. 5 = Seyrig, *Magnus le Syrien*, p. 40, n. 3.

**Michaelius 4** cubicularius VI/VII

Μιχαηλίου κουβικουλαρίου; *BCTH* 1925, p. xliii (seal, from Carthage; obv.: +ΜΙΧΑΗ/ΛΙΔΚΔΒ/ΙΚΔΛΑ/ΡΙΟΥ; rev.: +ΔΔΛ/ΔΤΗΘ/ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΔ).

**Michael 5** notarius M VI/M VII

Μιχαηλ νοταρίου; Zacos 940 (seal; obv.: +ΜΙ/ΧΑΗΛ; rev.: +ΝΟ/ΤΑΡ/ΙΟΥ).

**Michael 6** ex praefectis VI/VII

Μιχαηλ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 938 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3778 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΜΙ/ΧΑΗΛ/+; rev.: +ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

**Michaelius 7** scribo M VI/M VII

Μιχαηλίου σκρίβονος; Zacos 431 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (226) of Μιχαηλίου; rev.: +CK/ΡΙΒΟ/ΝΟC).

**Michael 8** cubicularius VII

Μιχαηλίου κουβικουλαρίου, δούλου τῆς Θεοτόκου; Zacos 942 (seal; obv.: ΜΙΧΑΗ/ΛΙΔΚΔΒ/ΙΚΔΛΑ/ΡΙΟΥ; rev.: ΔΔΛ/ΔΤΗΘ/ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΔ). Two similar specimens are Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1342 and Laurent, *Bulletin* 1, p. 586.

**Michael 9** ex praefectis VII

Μιχαηλ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 939 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3877 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ; rev.: +ΜΙΧ/ΑΗΛΑ/ΠΙΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩΝ).

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus Marinus Athanasius

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Ioannes Narses Aurelianus Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Domninus Theodorus Callinicus

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Georgius Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus

Micinius cancellarius of the PVR M VI

Father of Argentea; cancel(larius) in(ustris) urb(anae) s[er]v[us] d[omi]ni;

owner of gardens situated outside the Porta Portuensis in Rome; *CIL* vi 8401 = Rossi I 1122 = *ILCV* 3778. For the date, cf. Boethius 2.

Mihran Mihrewandak Persian general 571

A Persian general, defeated in 571 by the Armenian rebels led by Vardan, at the battle of Khalamakh; he escaped with a few men and returned to Persia; Sebeos I, pp. 5-6. See Justi, p. 214, s.n. Mithrana, no. 13.

Golon Mihran Persian general (in Armenia) c. 573-580

Persian general, he replaced Wardan Vsnasp in Armenia one year after the Armenian revolt of 572; he remained there for seven years before returning to Persia, suffering two defeats; Sebeos II, p. 9. See Justi, p. 374, s.n. Wlon.

Mihr-Chosroes Persian king c. 631

Briefly recognised as king of Persia in c. 631 by the army in Khorasan, he was soon killed; he was a child of the royal family; *Hist. Nest.* II 94. Cf. Borān.

Mihrdāt (Mithridates) Iberian prince M VI

Younger son of king Vakhtang I Gorgasal (Gurgenes, *PLRE* II) by a Roman lady, Helena, 'the emperor's daughter'; brother of Leo and half-brother of Dach'i; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), p. 32 with n. 22. Cf. also Justi, p. 213, s.n. Miṣradāta, no. 50.

Mihran Mihrewandak

Mimulfus Lombard dux of the insula S. Iuliani 590-591

Executed early in Agilulf's reign for collaborating with Frankish invaders; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 3 (his diebus Agilulf rex occidit Mimulfum ducem de insula Sancti Iuliani, eo quod se superiori tempore Francorum ducibus tradidisset). The allusion is perhaps to the Frankish invasion of 590. The location of his *ducatus* is the island of S. Giulio d'Orta.

Probably identical with Mimiulfus (or Minulfus), a catholic Lombard, who once sent a golden key to pope Pelagius II (579-590); Greg. *Ep.* VII 23.

Minicea inlustris femina (in Spain) M/L VI

She founded and endowed the monastery of Servitanum for abbot

Donatus in c. 570; Ildefonsus, *DVI* 3 (cui ab inlustris religiosaque femina Minicea subsidiis ac rerum opibus ministratis, Servitanum monasterium visus est construxisse). For the date, see Joh. Bicl. s.a. 571.4 (Donatus abbas monasterii Servitani mirabilium operator clarus habetur) and cf. Garcia Moreno, pp. 61-2, no. 99, with n. 2.

Miradouris Persian commander (under Bahram) 590-591

On the name, see Justi, p. 204, s.n. Mihr-ādārī.

One of the στρατηγοί appointed by the rebel Bahram in late 590, he was sent to hold the stronghold of Anathon near Circesium; Theoph. Sim. v 1.2. In early 591 the rebel troops there declared for Chosroes, executed τὸν ἡγεμόνα (presumably Miradouris) and sent his head to Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. v 2.3.

Miragdous Persian satrap 590

A Persian satrap (ἄνδρα σατράπην Μιραγδοῦν); sent by Chosroes in spring 590 to order the Persian garrison in Martyropolis to submit, since the Romans and Persians were now friends; Theoph. Sim. IV 12.9.

Cf. Justi, p. 218, s.n. Μιραγδοῦν.

Miro king of the Sueves 570-583

Miro; Martin of Braga, Conciliar Acts, Joh. Bicl., Isid. Mirus; Greg. Tur.

His father, apparently identified by Gregory with Chararicus, is recorded to have built a basilica of St Martin of Tours; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* IV 7. Miro was married to Sisegutia, who survived him; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 584. Father of Eboricus, his successor; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 92, Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 43, Fredegar. III 83. He also had a daughter who married Audeca; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 43.

KING of the Sueves a. 570-583: successor of Theodemir as king of the Sueves in Gallaecia in 570; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 91. The second council of Braga, which met on June 1, 572 (in the year of the province 610), was held in the second year of his reign; Barlow, *Martini... Opera Omnia*, p. 116 (= Mansi IX 836). Miro therefore came to the throne between June 2, 570, and June 1, 571, presumably in June/Dec. 570. Rex Suevorum; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570, s.a. 572, s.a. 576, s.a. 583. Rex Galliciensis; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 41, *Mir. S. Mart.* IV 7. He reigned for thirteen years; Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 91 (probably calculated from John of Biclarum).

In 572 he made war on the Runcones; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 91 (in his second year). For the Runcones, possibly identical with the Roccones and perhaps a mountain people in Cantabria, cf.

Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, 62, n. 4, 161. In 576 the Suevian frontiers were harassed by the Visigoth king Leovigild and Miro sent envoys to arrange a truce; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576. Some time before 579 (when Martin of Braga died) an embassy travelled from the Suevian kingdom to Constantinople, on unknown business, possibly sent by Miro; Martin of Braga, *De Trina Mersione* (Barlow, p. 257). In 580 he sent envoys to the Frankish king Guntram, who returned a year later after being arrested by Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 41. Possibly in connection with this affair he received Florentianus as envoy from Gaul (date unknown); Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* iv 7.

In 583 he marched to the aid of Ermenegildus, besieged in Seville, but was himself surrounded by the forces of Leovigildus and forced to swear an oath of loyalty; he then died either immediately (Joh. Bicl.) or shortly after returning home from illness contracted on campaign (Greg. Tur.); Joh. Bicl. s.a. 583, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 43, cf. Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 91 (who misunderstood Joh. Bicl. and states that he went to help Leovigild).

He was a Catholic, and the addressee of one of the works of Martin of Braga; Martin, *Formula Honestae Vitae* (Barlow, p. 236).

Mirrhanes Persian commander (in Lazica) 548

A Persian, commander of the garrison in Petra in 548 during the siege by Dagisthaeus; Proc. *BP* ii 30.7 (τοῦ ἐν Πέτρῳ φυλακτηρίου ἤρχεν). See further Dagisthaeus. Cf. Justi, p. 214, s.n. Miṣrāna, no. 10.

He was a member of the family of Mirhan, one of the leading families of Persia; cf. Perozes.

Misael ?PSC (under Anastasius); deacon E/M VI

He is evidently identical with the monophysite *cubicularius* Misael, in *PLRE* ii, pp. 763-4.

According to Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 57 (in *PO* xix, 200-1) Theodorus 3 served under 'a great man before God (and he was great among men also) whose name was Mishaël, who also was further the king's *praepositus*, a Christian and merciful and ascetic man, and was moreover perfect in all spiritual things, insomuch that he underwent exile for the sake of the truth of the right faith, that he might not communicate with the synod of Chalcedon, insomuch that he spent a considerable number of years in the exile, and so was at last invited and came in and was restored to his place and completed his time and retired, having lived many years in all religious habits, while like an ordinary man he used to work and labour with his hands at carpentering and building and carding, and sell and give to the poor, besides all the rest of his wealth, while he lived an ordinary and poor life, down to

extreme old age and thus departed from the world bearing great and noble testimony'. He was buried at a village called Sema(?); *loc. cit.*, p. 207.

If John of Ephesus is correct in styling him *praepositus* he was probably PSC under Anastasius before Amantius (and cf. Zach. *V. Isaias*, p. 10, cited in *PLRE* ii, p. 763). He was *cubicularius* when exiled in 518 to Serdica for conspiring against Justin; he had been allowed back to Constantinople by 534 (cf. Sev. Ant. *Ep. Sel.* iii 3), possibly in 531/532 when Justinian reopened a dialogue with the monophysites (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 377ff.); that he returned to serve in the palace before finally retiring, as implied by John of Ephesus, is not impossible but unlikely if he had taken holy orders and become a deacon; he is last recorded in 537 (Sev. Ant. *Ep. Sel.* i 63). See also Iulianus 5.

Misantas ?Moorish chief 546/547

Probably a Moorish chief; killed by Zudius in the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 262-4 (iamque ille (= Zudius) Misantan fuderat et Tiseran: Tiseras de plebe rebelli, Misantas (sic Goodyear, for the Mansitalas of the MS; cf. Coripp., ed. Diggle and Goodyear, p. 102) pinnatus erat). The contrast between Tiseran and Misantas suggests that 'pinnatus' denotes a Moorish chief.

Missurius envoy to the Franks 547

Envoy of Justinian to the Frankish king Theodebald in 547; he and Ioannes 40 conveyed the emperor's congratulations to Theodebald on succeeding to his father's throne, but made criticisms of Theodebert which Theodebald rejected in his reply; *Ep. Austras.* 18 (= *MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 131) (reply of Theodebald to Justinian). For the date, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 816-17 (Excursus N).

Mocianus scholasticus (in Africa?) M VI

In 553 bishop Facundus of Hermiane wrote against Mocianus who openly supported the condemnation of the Three Chapters by the Council of Constantinople; Facundus, *Liber contra Mocianum scholasticum* (in *PL* 67). For the date, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 824-5, Excursus R (against the traditional date of 571).

Moderatus v.d., comitiacus (at Ravenna) 572

He witnessed a deed of sale of land to Deusdedit 3 at Ravenna on June 3, 572; Marini, *P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, lines 72 (v.d. com(i)ti(a)c(us)) and 93 (comitiacus). On *comitiaci*, see Jones, *LRE* i 254-5 with n. 43 and cf. *PLRE* ii, Be...

Modericus vir illustris; envoy of Theodebert 538

Envoy of king Theodebert to pope Vigilius at Rome in 538 (per Modericum virum illustrem legatum suum); *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 38 (= *MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 57-8) (a letter from Vigilius to Caesarius of Arles, dated May 6, 538).

According to the ninth-century poem *De Exordio Gentis Francorum*, line 93 (*MGH, Poetae aevi Carolini* II, pp. 141-5) 'Modericus' was the name of one of the uncles of Arnulf of Metz.

Modestus patriarch of Jerusalem 630

A monk in Palestine at the monastery of Theodosius, he was put in charge of civil and religious affairs at Jerusalem after its capture by the Persians (in 614, see Shahrbaraz); he subsequently played a great part in rebuilding the city after the damage caused at its capture; following the defeat of Persia and the death of the patriarch Zacharias, Modestus was chosen as the new patriarch by Heraclius but he died shortly afterwards (in late 630/early 631); Sebeos xxiv-xxv, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1084 ('in monasterio Duwakesi, quod idem est monasterium Theodosii'), Georg. Pisd., *V. S. Anastasii Martyris* (PG 92, cols. 1685, 1688) (a priest, he was φύλαξ ... τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου, but later became bishop), Nic. *Brev.* 15 (Μωδέστου τηρικαῦτα ἱεροσολύμων προεδρεύοντος, i.e. at the Persian conquest). 22 (Μωδέστῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, when Heraclius restored the Holy Cross), *Capt. Hieros.* xxiv 13.

Mohammed (the prophet of Islam) ob. 632

Byzantine sources describe the prophet Mohammed as the ruler of the Saracens (ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχηγός, or similar) and a false prophet (ψευδοπροφήτης), who died in 632 having named Abū Bakr to succeed him; Theoph. AM 6122, Cedr. I 738, Zon. xiv 17. A version of his origins and career is given in Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 14-17 and Theoph. AM 6122 (followed by Zonaras xiv 17, pp. 311-12). There are allusions to him also in several Syriac sources; Mich. Syr. xi 2-3, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 932, s.a. 942, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxiv, cv, *Hist. Nest.* II 101, 104.

For the story of his supposed letter to Heraclius and of his military actions against the empire, see *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup>, p. 653-4, 656. The defeat at Mu'ta is recorded in Theoph. AM 6123, Cedr. I 751, and cf. Khālid ibn al-Walid.

MOLATZES dux (in Phoenice Libanensis) 540

In 540 Molatzes and Theoctistus 2, commanders of the troops in

Lebanon (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες), entered Antioch with six thousand men to defend the city against the Persians; Proc. *BP* II 8.2. They abandoned the defences and fled from the city when it was thought that the wall was breached, and thus allowed the enemy to enter and take Antioch; Proc. *BP* II 8.17-20. It is probable that they were the two *duces* who were based at this time at Damascus and Palmyra in Phoenice Libanensis; see Cutzes.

MONTANVS v.c., notarius sacri vestiarii (at Ravenna) 540

On Jan. 4, 540, he purchased property near Faventia (portiones fundi Domicilii cum edificio et Centum quod viginti et quinque appellatur) from Domicus *v.h.* for forty *solidi*; Marini, *P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. II, line 6 v.c., notarius sacri vesteari dom(i)n(ici), cf. col. III, lines 4, 6 v.c. notarius sacri vestearii, col. I, line 12 v.c., notarius, col. III, line 2 v.c.

He evidently served in the *sacrum vestiarium* at Ravenna under Vitigis.

Moras Gothic officer 538 and ?552

Put in command of Urbinum in spring 538 by Vitigis, with two thousand men; Proc. *BG* II 11.2. Late in the year he defended the city against Belisarius but had to surrender it when the water supply failed; he and his men stipulated that they become subjects of the emperor and serve with the Roman army; Proc. *BG* II 19.10-17. The surrender was in December 538; Proc. *BG* II 20.1.

In 552 a man of the same name commanded Gothic troops stationed in Acherontia (ὅσπερ ἐφειστήκει τοῖς ἐν Ἀχεροντίᾳ φρουροῖς); like Ragnaris at Tarentum, he opened negotiations with Pacurius with a view to surrendering to the Romans and entering their service; Proc. *BG* IV 26.4. He seems, like Ragnaris, to have changed his mind after the accession of Theia, since Acherontia remained in Gothic hands (*BG* IV 34.15, and cf. Ragnaris).

The man at Acherontia may be a different person from the man at Urbinum; the MSS of Procopius spell the name of the former Μόρας and of the latter Μῶρας, and, although it is not unlikely that the man at Urbinum would have returned to support the Gothic cause, it is not likely that he would subsequently have again offered to enter the imperial service.

Moschus I commerciaris and topoteretes (at Tyre) M VI/E VII

A *commercarius* at Tyre (ἐν Τύρῳ κομερκιάριος ἦν ὀνόματι Μόσχος), he

was accused of financial misconduct (ὅτι τὰ τοῦ κομερκίου ἐσκόρπισε), stripped of his property and sent in poverty to Constantinople; there he was saved following the intercession of a lady whom he had once helped when she was in distress; the emperor (unnamed) restored him to his office and made him in addition τοποτηρητής; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 267 (186).

#### Moschus 2

MVM M VI/M VII

Μόσχου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 434 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.113 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (228) of Μόσχου; rev.: cruciform monogram (328) of στρατηλάτου).

#### MOSCHVS 3

v.sp., cancellarius (Egypt) 612

Recorded as travelling from Oxyrhynchus to Alexandria in 612; *Stud. Pal.* III 278 = *P. Amh.* II 158, line 2 μετὰ Μόσχου τοῦ περιβλέ(πτου) καγκελλαρ(ι)ου. The papyrus comes from Oxyrhynchus. Moschus is probably identical with the unnamed περίβλεπτος ἀνὴρ, similarly engaged at the same date; *Stud. Pal.* III 277 = *P. Amh.* II 157, also from Oxyrhynchus. Both documents are dated in Phaophi, indiction one, in years 289 and 259 (local eras) at Oxyrhynchus (i.e. Sept./Oct.612).

#### Moschus 4

strator VII

Μόσχου στρατόρος; Fogg Art Museum seal 3264 (obv.: cruciform monogram (229) of Μόσχου; rev.: cruciform monogram (329) of στρατόρος).

#### Mosilius

imperialis strator M VI/M VII

Μοσιλ(ι)ου στρατ(ο)ρος βασιλικοῦ; Zacos 945A (seal; obv.: +MO/CIAH/OV; rev.: +CT/PATPO/CBAC).

#### Mougel

king of the Huns 528

Μοῦγελ; Joh. Mal. Μουάγερις; Theoph., Cedr.  
KING of the Huns of the Bosphorus a. 528; brother of king Grod; when Grod adopted Christianity in 528 and destroyed his people's idols, the pagan priests overthrew him and made Mougel king; he and his forces fled when Justinian sent an expedition under Baduarius I and Ioannes 7 against them; Joh. Mal. 432, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 644, Mich. Syr. IX 21, Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* II, p. 53, cf. Joh. Nik. 90.67 (said to have been converted by Grod).

#### Mu'adh ibn Jabal

Arab leader 639

One of the companions of the Prophet, who sent him to Yemen to

collect taxes; Balādhurī, pp. 69–73 = Hitti, pp. 107–111 (cf. p. 69 = p. 107 Muhammed 'assigned Mu'adh ibn Jabal to al-Janad, made him qaḍi and charged him with collecting ṣadaqah in al-Yaman').

He is attested near Damascus in 637/638; Balādhurī, pp. 151–2 = Hitti, pp. 233–4.

He died of the plague in Syria in 639, aged thirty-eight; according to Arabic tradition he was appointed by Abu 'Ubaydah on his deathbed as his successor; Balādhurī, p. 139 = Hitti, p. 215 (among the victims was 'Mu'adh ibn Jabal of the Banu-Salimah of al-Khazraj who was surnamed Abu-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān and who died in the district of al-Uḫhuwānah in the province of the Jordan, aged thirty-eight'), cf. *Chron.* 1234, cxx (son of Gabalus and successor of Abu 'Ubaydah as emir and 'dux exercitus Saracenorum'). Cf. also Iad.

#### Mu'awiyah ibn Abī Sufyān

caliph 661–680

Μαυίας; Theoph., cf. Cedr. (Μαβίας).

Son of Abū Sufyān; his mother was called Hind; Balādhurī, p. 135 = Hitti, pp. 207–8. Brother of Yazīd; Balādhurī, pp. 117 = Hitti, p. 179, 126 = 194, 128 = 196, 140–1 = 216–17, 142 = 219. His wife was Maysūn, who bore him a son, Yazīd (who succeeded him as caliph in 680); cf. *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> 3 II, p. 156.

A member of the Quraysh, he was employed by the Prophet as a secretary after his conversion to Islam; Balādhurī, pp. 472–3 = Hitti, pp. 789, 791 (following the capture of Mecca in 630).

Probably in 634 he served under his brother in Arab attacks on Palestine; Balādhurī, p. 108 = Hitti, p. 166. In early 635 (cf. Stratos II, pp. 58, 206–7) he fought at the battle of Marj aṣ-Ṣuffar; Balādhurī, p. 119 = Hitti, pp. 183–4 (dated the first of Muharram in year fourteen of the Hegira = Feb. 25, 635). In 637/638 he was stationed with his brother at Damascus and took part with him in the conquest of the coastal areas; Balādhurī, pp. 117, 126–8 = Hitti, pp. 179–80, 194, 196. Perhaps in 639 he was sent by Yazīd to take charge of the siege of Caesarea; Balādhurī, p. 140 = Hitti, p. 216.

In 639, after the death of Yazīd, Mu'awiyah was appointed his successor as governor of Syria, and later Mesopotamia, by the caliph 'Umar; Balādhurī, pp. 140–1, 172 = Hitti, pp. 216–17, 269, Theoph. AM 6129 (ἐπέμφθη Μαυίας ὑπὸ Οὐμάρου στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀμειράνης τῆς ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνούς χώρας ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἕως Εὐφράτου), Cedr. I 751–2, *Chron.* 1234, cxxi, *Hist. Nest.* II 104, Agapius, p. 477, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1102.

One Syriac source alleges that he captured Antioch and ravaged the surrounding district; *Chron.* 1234, cxxi. This is not supported in other

sources; for the capture of Antioch by the Arabs, see Balādhurī, p. 147 = Hitti, pp. 226-7 (by Abū-'Ubaydah, in 637/638). Probably in 641 Mu'āwiyah did succeed in capturing Caesarea; Balādhurī, p. 141 = Hitti, p. 217, Theoph. AM 6133, Cedr. I 753, Chron. 1234, cxxiv, Agapius, p. 478.

He remained governor of Syria under Othman and continued until he himself became caliph in July 661; cf. Balādhurī, pp. 126ff., 133-4, 148, 154ff., 162, 164, 173, 178, 183-5, 197-8, 204 = Hitti, pp. 194-7, 204-5, 227-8, 235ff., 250, 255, 271, 278-9, 287, 289, 309-11, 320-1.

He was caliph from July 661 to his death in April 680; cf. Balādhurī, pp. 154, 227-8, 235, 293, 299-300, 306, 308, 347, 384, 396-7, 409-11, 413 (death), 432-3, 459 = Hitti, pp. 237, 357-9, 375, 454, 463-4, 476, 479, 579, 581, 664-5, 687-9, 693, 728-9, 770. He was the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty.

See further *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> 3 II (1932), pp. 617-21 (H. Lammens).

Mucianus (see Mutianus): translator, E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Mumolenus I Frankish dux 539

He and Buccelenus (Butilinus) were allegedly commanders of the Frankish army with which Theodebert invaded Italy (in 539; cf. Proc. BG II 25) and were dismissed when the king hastened to return home; Ionas, *V. Iohannis Abbatis Reomaensis* 15 (celerque reversus, demissis ducibus, quibus summam bellorum commiserat, Mumoleno et Buccelino, ipse ad propriam repedavit).

Possibly identical with the envoy of Theodebert, Mummolus I.

Mummolenus 2 ?dux (in Gaul) 565/566

Subject of occasional verses by Venantius Fortunatus written after a visit to Mummolenus at which Venantius overate; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 14 (De Mummoleno). The date was in 565/566; see Meyer, p. 73, Koebner, p. 20.

A native of Soissons and father of Bodegiselus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 2. Father also of Bobo I; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 45. His wife and sons are mentioned; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 14. lines 37-8. He was of noble birth; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 14. lines 11 (nobilitate potens) and 13 (cui genus a proavis radianti luce coruscat). He was a Gallo-Roman; cf. also Bodegiselus.

?DVX (under Sigibert) a. 565/566: in 565/566 he stood high among the leading advisers of the king (Sigibert); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 14. lines 7-10 (Mummolenus enim, qui celsa palatia regis altis consiliis crescere rite facit, inter concives merito qui clarior extat quemque super proceres

unica palma levat). Styled 'rector'; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 14. line 37 (suggesting that he was not just one of the notables but held an office). Possibly a *dux*, but this is far from certain, especially as no office is named in the title of the poem.

Mummolus I envoy of Theodebert 533/547

Envoy of Theodebert (533/547) to Justinian at Constantinople; he fell ill en route at Patrae and was cured after praying to St Andrew there; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* 31.

Perhaps identical with Mummolenus, *dux* under Theodebert. One MS of Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* gives Mummolus' name as Mumolenus.

Eunius qui et Mummolus 2 patricius (in Burgundy) 569-581

Full name; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 42 (twice), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 4. For the name, cf. Buchner, p. 87, n. 7 (Eunius may be Aeonius; Mummolus may be Germanic).

Native of Auxerre; son of Paeonius; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 42. He was married with children; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 38, Mar. Avent. s.a. 581, Fredegar. IV 4 (his wife was Sidonia).

COMES CIVITATIS AVTISSIODORENSIS before 569; sent by his father, who held this post, to the king with gifts to secure his father's reappointment, but Mummolus used the gifts on his own behalf and obtained it for himself (datis rebus paternis, comitatum patris ambivit supplantavitque genitorem quem sublevare debuerat); his career is said to have prospered from then on (ex hoc vero gradatim proficiens, ad maius culmen evectus est); Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 42.

In c. 568 he commanded the joint armies of Sigibert and Guntram sent to recover Tours and Poitiers, occupied by Chilperic after the death of Charibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 45. Mummolus was perhaps still *comes* of Auxerre.

PATRICIUS a. 569-581: appointed *patricius* by Guntram after the death of Amatus in 569; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 42 (patriciatum promeruit; patriciatus culmen meruit), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 4. *Patricius*; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 13 (patricius Guntchramni regis, in 576), VII 1 (in ?576), 36 (in 582, see below), Mar. Avent. s.a. 581. He ceased to be *patricius* under Guntram in 581, when he deserted him; see below, and cf. Buchner, pp. 89, 101-2.

Perhaps in 571 Mummolus led the Burgundian army to victory over the Lombards near Embrun, on their second incursion into Gaul; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 42, v 20, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 4. In 572 he defeated a force of Saxons from Italy in their camp near Riez; under an agreement which he negotiated they gave him gifts and withdrew, abandoning all



their booty and captives, and undertook in the following year to return to Gaul with their families and possessions, taking oaths of loyalty to the Frankish kings and entering into alliance, and to settle in their ancestral homes in the territory of Sigibert; on their return in the following year they plundered the harvest near Avignon and caused heavy losses to the subjects of Guntram, and Mummolus made them pay heavily in compensation before allowing them to cross the Rhone into Sigibert's territory; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 5-6. In 574 when Gaul was invaded by the Lombards under Amo, Rhodan and Zaban, Mummolus first defeated Rhodan near Grenoble and then met Zaban with the remnants of Rhodan's army near Embrun and inflicted so heavy a defeat that few returned to Italy; the fear of his name, so it was said, caused Zaban to retreat from Susa where he had fled and Amo to withdraw to Italy; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 44, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 8. Mummolus is described as successful in many wars; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 45.

In 576 he defeated Desiderius 2, Chilperic's general, near Limoges, after Chilperic's army had raided Tours, and on the way back to Burgundy he plundered the Auvergne; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 13. Some time between 575 and 581, possibly in 576 (soon after the death of Sigibert) he took many prisoners from Albi, who were later ransomed by the bishop Salvius; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 1.

In 581, accompanied by his family and his large household and taking with him most of his possessions, he fled from the kingdom of Guntram and took refuge in Avignon in the territory of Childebert II; his flight was among matters discussed by a council of bishops then meeting at Lyon; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1, Mar. Avent. s.a. 581. He is henceforth styled 'dux' by Gregory; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1 (in 581), 24 (in 582), 26 (described in 583 to Guntram as 'dux tuus', alluding to 582).

In 582 he was joined in Avignon by Gundovaldus 2, pretender to the Frankish throne, with whom he was accused of conspiring; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 24, vii 36. In the same year he and Desiderius entered into an agreement (apparently to support Gundovald); Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 10. In 583 he organised the defences of Avignon and withstood a siege by Guntchramnus Boso; the siege was raised by Gundulfus, acting for Childebert, and Mummolus accompanied him to the Auvergne but soon returned to Avignon; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 26. He was still in Avignon with Gundovald when Chilperic died in late 584; he was joined there by Desiderius and they proceeded to the Limousin where they proclaimed Gundovald as king; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 10, Fredegar. iv 2 (in November 584).

In 585 he was with Gundovald in Toulouse and Bordeaux and was one of his leading supporters (see Bladastes, Desiderius, Sagittarius and

Waddo 2); Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 27, 28, 31. As Guntram's army drew near he accompanied Gundovald over the Garonne to Comminges where they were besieged; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 34. His family was already in enemy hands and he and his fellow-commanders agreed to surrender Gundovald in return for promises of safety; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 38.

He was held prisoner by Leudegisel until orders came from Guntram, whereupon he was executed; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 39, Fredegar. iv 4 (at Senuvia).

He was a very wealthy man; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 3. After his death his wife revealed the location of his treasures in Avignon; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 40, Fredegar. iv 4 (his wife and treasure were surrendered by Domnolus and Wandalmar). An estate of his is mentioned in 574 in the territory of Avignon, called Machovilla (possibly Saint-Saturnin, in Vaucluse, cf. Longnon, *Géographie de la France au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 446-7); it was a gift to him from Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 44, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 8.

Mummolus 3 praefectus (?palatii) (in Paris) ?-584

Native of Bordeaux; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 35.

PRAEFECTVS (?PALATII) a. (?-)584: *praefectus*, in Paris under Chilperic in 584; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 35, vii 15. Under Chilperic he helped Audo to impose taxes on Franks who had been exempt under Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 15. The nature of his office is uncertain; cf. Dalton, ii, p. 559. He had presumably held it for some years (cf. below).

A long-standing enemy of Fredegundis (quem iam diu regina invisum habebat), in 584 he was accused by her of involvement with witches and witchcraft in Paris and of complicity in the murder by witchcraft of her son Theoderic (died in 584); under torture at Compiègne he admitted using magic potions to win the favour of the king and queen; finally released and dismissed to Bordeaux he arrived more dead than alive following a stroke and died soon afterwards; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 35.

Mundericus: Frankish rebel ?524/533; *PLRE* II.

al-Mundhir: see Alamundarus.

Mundilas officer of the bodyguard of Belisarius 537-539

He was one of the officers (δορυφόροι) of the bodyguard of Belisarius during the war in Italy; Proc. *BG* I 27.11, II 4.3, 10.19. Procopius praised his fighting abilities (διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια); Proc. *BG* I 27.11 (a stock expression). He was certainly known to Procopius, who recorded several instances of his prowess (see below).

During the siege of Rome in 537 (possibly in late April; cf. Traianus) Mundilas and Diogenes 2 were sent by Belisarius with three hundred

bodyguards (ὑπασπισταί) on a mounted sortie against the Goths, similar to one by Traianus a few days earlier and like that one also a great success; Proc. *BG* I 27.11–12. Later in the year (perhaps September or October; cf. Bury, *LRE*<sup>2</sup> II, 188, n. 1) Mundilas and a few horsemen escorted Procopius 2 from Rome by night, evading the notice of the Goths, and returned to report his safe arrival in Campania; Proc. *BG* II 4.3–4. Subsequently he took part in fighting arranged by Belisarius to distract the attention of the Goths from the approach of Ioannes 46 with reinforcements and supplies; Proc. *BG* II 5.15 (the date was probably December 537; cf. *BG* II 7.12). When the siege of Rome was raised (in March 538), Mundilas took part in the attack on the Goths as they retreated across the Mulvian Bridge; Proc. *BG* II 10.19.

In spring 538 Belisarius sent to Milan a thousand troops, consisting of Thracians under Paulus 7 and Isaurians under Ennes; the overall command of the expedition was given to Mundilas, who also had a few troops of his own drawn from the bodyguard of Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 12.26–7 (Μουνδίλας τε ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει καὶ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν ὀλίγους τιναὶ τῶν Βελισσαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἔχων). They sailed from Portus to Genoa and then marched overland, taking with them small boats on which they crossed the Po; at Ticinum they fought and defeated the Goths but failed to capture the city; Proc. *BG* II 12.29–34. From there they went to Milan which they took with the rest of Liguria without further fighting; Proc. *BG* II 12.36. Mundilas stationed garrisons in the nearby cities of Bergomum, Comum and Novaria and in various other strongholds and was in Milan with only Paulus, Ennes and some three hundred men when a Gothic army under Vraias, augmented by a Burgundian force, unexpectedly arrived and laid siege to the city (summer 538); Proc. *BG* II 12.39–41. The siege lasted about nine months; Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 355 with n. 1 (citing Proc. *BG* II 12.41 and 22.1–9) and cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (cuius nepos Oraio (= Vraias) Mediolanum longa inedia deterit, Mundilam Paulumque duces ibi positos cum suis milites (sic) obsidens). Hard-pressed by the besiegers, Mundilas sent an envoy (Paulus 6) to the army of Martinus 2 and Vliaris 1 urgently seeking help, but in vain; Proc. *BG* II 21.3–12. Finally, after failing to persuade the troops to continue to fight for the Milanese, Mundilas surrendered to the Goths on a promise of safety for his troops; Proc. *BG* II 21.25–38. He and the troops were kept under guard while the Goths razed Milan, killing the male population and giving the women to the Burgundians as slaves; Proc. *BG* II 21.39. Mundilas and Paulus were then carried off to Ravenna; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539 (Mundilam Paulumque duces abducunt Ravennam).

The use of the title *duces* in *Marcell. com. Addit.* is not technical.

Mundilo (*CIL* XI 1708) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

### Mundus

MVM per Illyricum 532–536

Mundo; Marcell. com. Μοῦνδος; Greek sources.

Probably not identical with Mundo (*PLRE* II, p. 767) who seems to have been of Hun descent; for a contrary view, however, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 55, 145, 307, and B. Croke, *Chiron* 12 (1982), pp. 125–35.

Of barbarian origin (γένος μὲν βάρβαρος); Proc. *BG* I 5.2. He was a Gepid and son of a king of the Gepids; Joh. Mal. 450 (ὁ ἐκ γένους τῶν Γηπέδων καταγόμενος), Theoph. AM 6032, Cedr. I 652. His father's name is recorded by Theophanes and Cedrenus as Giesmus (υἱὸς Γιέσμου; it is not preserved in the surviving text of Malalas); Theoph. AM 6032, Cedr. I 652. His maternal uncle was the Gepid king Trapstila (*PLRE* II, p. 1124); Joh. Mal. 450 (Θραυστίλα), Theoph. AM 6032 (where the name is given as Πῆγας). He was born before 488; see below. Father of Mauricius I; Proc. *BG* I 7.2, III 1.36, IV 26.13, cf. Theoph. AM 6024 and *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (his son, unnamed). Grandfather of Theodimundus; Proc. *BG* III 1.36. See stemma 22.

After the death of his father Mundus went to live in Sirmium with his uncle (therefore before 488, when Trapstila was killed while opposing the westward march of Theoderic and the Goths; cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 1081–2, 1124–5); he subsequently accepted an invitation from Theoderic and joined him with his followers in Italy as his ally, serving him until his death (in 526); he then returned to the Danube area and in 529 sent envoys to Justinian offering allegiance to the empire (ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι; Joh. Mal.); he and his followers were welcomed with many gifts by the emperor and Mundus was appointed MVM per Illyricum (cf. below) and sent to take command there; Joh. Mal. 450–1, Theoph. AM 6032, Cedr. I 652. The date when he joined the Romans, 529, is given by Joh. Mal. (the consulship of Decius); the event is wrongly dated in Theophanes.

MVM PER ILLYRICVM a. 529–530 (?531): appointed MVM per Illyricum by Justinian in 529; Joh. Mal. 451 (ποιήσας αὐτὸν στρατηλάτην τοῦ Ἰλλυριῶν ἔθνους), Theoph. AM 6032 (στρατηλάτης τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ), Cedr. I 652 (στρατηλάτης τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ). Illyricianae utriusque militiae ductor; Marcell. com. s.a. 530.

Probably in 529 he attacked and routed the Getae (possibly meaning Slavs, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 308, n. 1) who had long been raiding Illyricum unopposed; Marcell. com. s.a. 530 (Mundo...dudum Getis Illyricum discursantibus primus omnium Romanorum ducum incubuit eosque haut paucis eorum interemptis fugavit). The language of

Marcellinus suggests that this event occurred before the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes, and therefore in 529; cf. Stein, *loc. cit.* In 530 he attacked and defeated the Bulgars who had invaded Thrace; he captured one of their rulers and sent him with a large quantity of recaptured booty to Constantinople; Marcell. com. s.a. 530 (idem dux audaciae suae secundus in Thraciam quoque advolans praedantes eam Bulgares felicior pugnans cecidit), Joh. Mal. 451 (calling them Ούνοι), Theoph. AM 6032 (οἱ Βούλγαροι), Cedr. I 652 (οἱ Βούλγαροι).

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 531: after the Roman defeat at Callinicum (April 19, 531) and the enquiry by Constantiolus, Mundus replaced Belisarius as MVM *per Orientem*; Joh. Mal. 466 (προαγαγών δὲ Μοῦνον ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν στρατηλάτην ἀνατολῆς). This appointment apparently lasted no more than a few months; cf. below. There is no evidence that he actually went to the east or took an active part in the war with Persia.

MVM PER ILLYRICVM (II) a. 532-536: in January 532 he was newly appointed MVM *per Illyricum*; Proc. BP I 24.41 (Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος). Ὁ Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγός, in 535; Proc. BG I 5.2. Στρατηλάτης; Theoph. AM 6024 (in 532). Ἐστρατηγός; Zach. HE IX 14 (in 532). He evidently still held this post at his death in 536 (see below).

In January 532, when the Nika riot broke out, Mundus happened to be in Constantinople, ordered there on some other business, with a number of Herul soldiers; Proc. BP I 24.41, cf. Zach. HE IX 14 ('et Mundus quidam στρατηγός et exercitus eius ibi praesto erat'). On the second day of the riot (Jan. 14), Mundus was sent with Basilides and Constantiolus by Justinian to calm the crowds and to find out the reason for their anger; as a result of their report, the emperor dismissed Ioannes I the Cappadocian, Tribonianus I and Eudaemon I; Joh. Mal. 475 (they are described as οἱ ἐκπεμφθέντες συγκλητικοί), Chron. Pasch. s.a. 532. As the troubles worsened, the emperor, according to Procopius, came to rest his hopes on Mundus and Belisarius; Proc. BP I 24.40. When Justinian planned to retreat to Heraclea, Mundus and Constantiolus were to be left to guard the palace; Theoph. AM 6024. Mundus took part in the attack on the crowd in the hippodrome which brought the troubles to an end; Proc. BP I 24.43, 24.52, Zach. HE IX 14, Joh. Mal. 476, Chron. Pasch. s.a. 532, Theoph. AM 6024, Cedr. I 647.

In 535, when Justinian began the war to recover Italy, Mundus was sent to Dalmatia, then subject to the Goths, to capture Salona; Proc. BG I 5.2. In Dalmatia he defeated the Goths and took Salona; Proc. BG I 5.11. In the following year the Goths sent a large force into Dalmatia and Mauricius, the son of Mundus, encountering it with only a few men near Salona, was killed; Mundus, driven by grief and anger, immediately

made a disorderly counter-attack and succeeded in routing the Goths with great losses, but was himself killed while recklessly pursuing the fugitives; Proc. BG I 7.1-5. Procopius records how this event was interpreted as fulfilling an ancient oracle which apparently ran: Africa capta Mundus cum nato peribit; Proc. BG I 7.6-8. The battle in which Mundus perished was one of the bloodiest of those times; Jord. Rom. 387.

Procopius describes Mundus as extremely loyal to Justinian and a bold and vigorous soldier; Proc. BP I 24.52, BG I 5.2.

Musaeus vir gloriosus (in Egypt) E/M VI

Father of Fl. Euphemia 3; landowner of Oxyrhynchus; dead by 568 (τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης); P. Oxy. 1038 (a. 568).

Mushegh Mamikonian Armenian noble L VI

Full name; Sebeos III, p. 23, VIII, p. 35.

An Armenian noble, he accompanied the Roman army which Maurice sent to restore Chosroes to the throne of Persia in 591; said to have rejected overtures made to the Armenians by Bahram; Sebeos II, p. 16, III, pp. 18-19, 21, Thomas Artsruni II 3 ('a brave soldier, gifted with mighty energy'). After the defeat of Bahram, he was accused by Chosroes of allowing him to escape, but appealed to Ioannes 101 (Mystacon) and to Maurice; summoned by Maurice to Constantinople, he never returned to Armenia; Sebeos III, pp. 23-7.

He subsequently led an army, which Maurice had raised in Armenia, on a campaign in Thrace; an initial Roman success was followed by a heavy defeat, and Mushegh was taken prisoner and killed; Sebeos VIII, p. 35. The date is not certain but may have been in 594 when the Roman campaign under Petrus 55 ended in disaster.

For Mushegh Mamikonian in Armenian legend, see Goubert, I, pp. 192-5.

He is to be identified with ὁ στρατηλάτης Μουσίλης τοῦ Μαγκόνι ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ταρωνίτης who helped restore Chosroes; Narr. de reb. Arm. 93, 96-7 and cf. Garitte, CSCO, Subsidia 4, pp. 226-7, 231-4.

Musilius patricius and PVC VII

Μουσιλίου πατρικίου, ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης; Zacos 946 (seal; obv.: +[M]OY/CILIOY/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΟΥ; rev.: +ΕΠ/ΑΡΧΟΥ/ΡΩΜΗC). Possibly the same man is named on two glass weights; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, nos. 11 a-b (+MOVCILIX EPAPXOV).

He may have owned another seal, Zacos 947 (obv.: +MOV/

CIΛΙΟΥ/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΟΥ; rev.: +KAI/ΜΑΓΙC/ΤΡΟΥ), but this is dated VII Zacos, L VII/E VIII Laurent.

See also Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), pp. 124-5 with nn. 28-31.

Musocius ruler (king) of the Slavs 593

Ruler of the Slavs in 593 (Μουσώκιον τὸν λεγόμενον ῥῆγα τῆ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῆ), captured by Alexander 11 in a surprise night attack on his camp; he had just held a funeral feast for his brother and was blind drunk; Theoph. Sim. vi 9.1-13, cf. Theoph. AM 6085 (τὸν ῥῆγα τῶν βαρβάρων; captured by Priscus 6).

Perhaps 'Musocius' is not a name but a title which Theophylact understood as *rex*. Cf. Whitby, *Byz.* 52 (1982), 425-8.

Musonius 1

PVC 556

In office a. 556 May 1, Just. *Nov.* 134 (Μουσωνίῳ ἐπάρχῳ πόλεως; the Latin version was addressed to the PPO Petrus 9). In this same month of May (in indiction 4) he suppressed public disorders arising from a bread shortage; Joh. Mal. 488 (demonstrations occurred in the theatre in the presence of a Persian ambassador and Justinian issued orders Μουσωνίῳ τῷ ὄντι ἐπάρχῳ πόλεως to restore order), Theoph. AM 6048.

Musonius 2

man of wealth (at Constantinople) ?M VI

He built a splendid house at Constantinople which after his death became a *xenodochium* and was praised in verses by Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* ix 677, cf. lines 5-6 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν εἰς ὀλίγην κεῖται κόνιν, ἡ δὲ περισσὴ τέρψις ἐπὶ ξείνοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκκέχυται. According to one lemma (Librarius B), it was ἐν Βυζαντίῳ; according to that by Planudes the house was in Constantinople and belonged to Agathias - εἰς οἶκον Ἀγαθίου σχολαστικοῦ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, but Agathias' ownership is not borne out by the verses themselves and it is more likely that the lemma has muddled the location of the house in Constantinople with the name of the author of the verses.

The identity and date of Musonius are uncertain; evidently a wealthy man at Constantinople, he may be identical with the PVC Musonius 1, but this, in view of the uncertainty over his date, is only a possibility.

MVSTELA

spectabilis femina c. 493-543

Sp. f.; she died aged about fifty in 543 and was buried on Nov. 10 in Rome; *CIL* vi 32019 = Rossi 1 1081 = *ILCV* 252b basilica of San Pancrazio.

Mustelus 1

defensor urbis (at Ammaedara) VI/VII

+Ornatus patri(a)e tegeris, Mustele, sepulcro, urbis defens[or? ... ;

*BCTH* 1941/42, pp. 611-12 = *AE* 1946, 31 Ammaedara (a flagstone in the church). On the date, cf. *CRAI* 1968, pp. 243-4 (= *AE* 1968, 640). Presumably a relative of Bellator *qui et* Mustelus. He was a native of Ammaedara and became, apparently, *defensor civitatis*.

Bellator *qui et* Mustelus 2

magister or magistratus (at Ammaedara) VI/VII

Qui gratus populis extabas mente benigna post (h)anc (a)eternam (m)eruiti sumere bita(m) Bellator qui et Mustelus  $\overline{m}$ g in pace vixit; *BCTH* 1941/42, pp. 610-11 = *AE* 1946, 30 Ammaedara (a flagstone in the church). On the date, cf. *CRAI* 1968, pp. 243-4 (= *AE* 1968, 640). Possibly husband of Iuliana 3. Presumably a relative of Mustelus 1. He was either a schoolteacher or a local magistrate.

Mutianus (= *PLRE* II, Mucianus) man of learning (in Italy) M VI

Vir disertissimus; he translated Greek works into Latin at the request of Cassiodorus (*PLRE* II, Cassiodorus 4); *Cass. Inst. Div. Litt.* viii 3 (homilies of John Chrysostom on the Hebrews), *Inst. Saec. Litt.* v 1 (a work on music by Gaudentius).

Naaman (al-Nu'mān) 1

phylarchus 528

One of the commanders sent by Justinian to pursue Alamundarus (*PLRE* II, p. 41) after the murder of Arethas (the Kindite; *PLRE* II) in 528; his colleagues were the phylarchs Arethas (the Ghassānid) and Gnouphas, together with the *duces* of Phoenice and Euphratensis, Dionysius 1 and Ioannes 6, and the *tribunus* Sebastianus 1; they failed to catch Alamundarus but destroyed his camp and captured four Persian forts; Joh. Mal. 435. For the date, see Gnouphas. Although not specifically styled φύλαρχος, Naaman was presumably one of οἱ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν φύλαρχοι (Joh. Mal. 435, lines 3-4) whom Justinian ordered to pursue Alamundarus. He and Gnouphas were perhaps also Ghassānids.

Naaman (al-Nu'mān) 2 son of Alamundarus the Lakhmid 531

Son of Alamundarus (= al-Mundhir III; *PLRE* II, p. 40); he was killed while fighting for the Persians at the battle of Callinicum, on April 19, 531; Joh. Mal. 463.

Father of Alledja; *Hist. Nest.* II 27.

**Naamanes** (al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir) 3  
Ghassānid chief; MVM and phylarchus c. 581-582/584

Νααμάνης; *IGLS* iv 1550, Evagr., Nic. Call. Νααμάνης; Joh. Mosch. Nu'mān; Joh. Eph., *Chron.* 1234, Mich. Syr., Bar Hebr.

Son of the Ghassānid Alamundarus; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.42, 56, Evagr. *HE* vi 2, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiv, lxxvii, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 10, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82. He was the eldest of four brothers and also had a sister; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.42, cf. 40-1, Evagr. *HE* vi 2.

He was, like his father, a staunch monophysite; cf. below.

VIR GLORIOSISSIMVS, MVM (honorific) ET PHYLARCHVS; Νααμάν(ου) ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) (καί) στρ(ατη)λάτου (καί) φυλάρ(χου); *IGLS* iv 1550 Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (undated) (halfway between Apamea and Chalcis). He probably received honours from Tiberius in 580; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 4.39, 42 (cf. Alamundarus). Ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φυλάρχος; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 220 (155) (when Maurice was emperor).

After his father's arrest and imprisonment (in 581) he plundered the camp of Magnus 2 and mounted a series of raids in Palaestina and Phoenice, but took care not to kill anyone nor to destroy property; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.42, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiv, Evagr. *HE* vi 2, Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 220 (155), Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 10, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82. He rejected overtures from Magnus promising him the title of king; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.43 = Mich. Syr. x 19, Bar. Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiv.

After Maurice became emperor, Naamanes visited Constantinople and was promised that, if he would agree to fight against the Persians and would also accept the doctrines of Chalcedon, his father would be released; he rejected the second condition as a firm monophysite and was himself arrested and perhaps sent into exile to join his father in Sicily; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.56 = Mich. Syr. x 19, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii, cf. Evagr. *HE* vi 2 (held captive, though many people wanted his execution) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 10).

Described as more warlike even than his father; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 3.42. See also Noeldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, pp. 29ff.

**Naamanes** (al-Nu'mān) 4  
Lakhmid chief 580-c. 602  
Ruler of the Persian Arabs from c. 580 to c. 602, with his headquarters at al-Hīra; see Rothstein, pp. 23, 105ff., 128ff. Brother of Hind and Maria; *Hist. Nest.* ii 42, 65, Anon. Guidi, p. 17 = 16. Husband of Māwiyah; Anon. Guidi, pp. 19-20 = 18. Father of Hassan and Mundhir; *Hist. Nest.* ii 60, 65. He had a daughter, Hinada (Hind); Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* ii 24.

A pagan, he was miraculously cured of a demon through the prayers of eminent (Nestorian) Christians and accepted baptism; the date was early in the reign of Chosroes II Parwez; his sisters were already Christian and his sons received baptism a year after their father; *Hist. Nest.* ii 50, 60, 65, Anon. Guidi, p. 17 = 16, Evagr. *HE* vi 22 (τῶν ἐχθρῶν Σκηνητῶν φύλαρχος), Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 23, and see Rothstein, pp. 142-3. Described as a monophysite ruler of the Arabs when Hormisdas was king of Persia; Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* ii 24.

He had allegedly offended Chosroes at the time of his restoration (a. 590-591) and was subsequently imprisoned and put to death by him; *Hist. Nest.* ii 87, Anon. Guidi, pp. 19-20 = 18. On the date (c. 602), see Rothstein, p. 71.

Cf. also, for his relations with other Arabic tribes, Meir J. Kister, *Arabica* 15 (1968), pp. 143-69 and, more briefly, Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 45-8.

**Nabedes**

Persian notable 541-550

For the name, see Justi, p. 218.

Both Corippus and Procopius assert that he was the highest ranking Persian after the king himself; Coripp. *Ioh.* i 61 (Parthoque a rege secundus), Proc. *BP* ii 18.9 (ὅς δὴ μετὰ γε τὸν Χοσρόην αὐτὸν δόξη τε καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι δοκεῖ).

In 541 he was left to guard Nisibis with a large Persian force during Chosroes' absence in Lazica; Proc. *BP* ii 18.9. He led a sortie which routed Petrus (*PLRE* ii, p. 870) and Ioannes 36 Troglita but was then forced to retreat into Nisibis by Belisarius; Proc. *BP* ii 18.19, 18.22, *Anecd.* 2.28, Coripp. *Ioh.* i 60-7, and see Belisarius, p. 209 and Ioannes 36, p. 646.

In 543 he held the command in Persarmenia (ἐν Περσαρμενίῳ τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων ἀρχὴν); at a time when plague began to affect the Persian army and Chosroes therefore wanted peace, Nabedes sent envoys, including the bishop of Dubius (Dvin), to Valerianus 1, to hasten negotiations; Proc. *BP* ii 24.6. When the Romans subsequently invaded, he stationed his men in the stronghold of Anglon and defeated the Romans (cf. Martinus 2); Proc. *BP* ii 25.6-9.19.25.

In 549/550 he led troops into Lazica but succeeded only in taking hostages from the Abasgi (who had recently revolted from Rome) and capturing Theodora 3, the Roman wife of a member of the Lazian royal family, Opsites 1, and carrying her off to Persia; Proc. *BG* iv 9.6-7.

**Nachoragan**

Persian commander 555-556

Ναχοραγάν; Agath. Ναχόεργαν; Men. Prot. Cf. Justi, p. 219,

s.n. Nakh\*ārakān, no. 4, and Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21, n. 3.

A leading Persian; Agath. III 2.1. The Roman tradition represented in Agathias (which evidently admired his predecessor in Lazica, Mermeroēs) saw him as arrogant and over-confident; Agath. III 17.6 (ἀλαζῶν καὶ ὑπαγόρος), 19.7, 24.4–6, 28.3.

In 555 he was appointed by Chosroes to command the army in Lazica after the death of Mermeroēs; Agath. III 2.1–2 (ὡς ἂν δὲ τὰ ἐν Λαζικῇ στρατεύματα μὴ χηρεύσιν ἡγεμόνος, αὐτίκα ὁ γε (sc. Chosroes) στρατηγὸν τὸν Ναχοραγὰν ἀναδείκνυσιν, ἄνδρα τῶν σφόδρα λογίμων τε καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτων), Men. Prot. fr. 11. He proceeded to Iberia, intending to help the Persians under threat in Onoguris; Agath. III 6.1, and see Martinus 2. He wrote to Chosroes advising against going to war over Suania; Men. Prot. fr. 11, and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 303–4 and 509.

In spring 556 he arrived at Mocheresis and prepared for war; Agath. III 15.1. With sixty thousand troops he moved against the Romans under Martinus and Iustinus 4 at Nesus, en route losing many of his Dilimnitae (cf. Agath. III 17.7) in a futile action against Huns from the Roman army near Archaeopolis; Agath. III 17.4, 17.6, 18.11. At Nesus he tried in vain to induce Martinus to accept peace terms; Agath. III 19.1–6. He then left Nesus, crossing the river, to attack the city of Phasis; Agath. III 19.8, 20.1–5. He besieged the city but was outmanoeuvred by the Romans and suffered a heavy defeat; Agath. III 22.1–23.4, 24.4–27.7, and see Martinus. He fled back to the Persian camp with heavy losses; Agath. III 27.8–10. He made a show of continuing to fight, but winter was approaching (late 556) and his supplies were running short and he withdrew to Cotais and Mocheresis; Agath. III 28.6. He assembled his remaining forces there, appointed Vaphrizes (= Phabrizus) to command his much depleted cavalry and departed with a few men to winter in Iberia; Agath. III 28.10. There he was visited by envoys of the Misimiani to announce the murder of Soterichus 1; Agath. IV 12.2–7.

As soon as news of his defeat and flight at Phasis reached Chosroes, Nachoragan was summoned back from Iberia and executed with extreme cruelty by flaying; Agath. IV 23.2–3, 30.6.

Nadoes (Ναδῶης)

Persian envoy 576

On the name, see Justi, p. 219.

Envoy of Chosroes to Tiberius Caesar, in early 576, in reply to the embassy of Theodorus 33, to arrange for peace discussions if Tiberius so wished; in response Tiberius sent the embassy led by Theodorus 34; Men. Prot. fr. 46 (the embassy of Nadoes was a lesser embassy – τὴν λεγομένην μικρὰν... πρεσβείαν). Cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 68–9.

Namatius patricius and rector Provinciae; bishop of Vienne M VI

His epitaph is preserved; *MGH, AA* VI 2, App. VI (Titulorum Gallicanorum Liber), p. 189, no. XI (from Vienne).

Of noble ancestry; line 25 nobilis eloquiis et stemmate nobilis alto. Born in 485 (see below). He was a native of Provence, of which he became the governor, with the titles of *patricius* and *rector*; lines 11–13 qui cum iura daret commissis urbibus amplis, adiuncta pietate modis iustissima sanxit patricius, praesul patriae rectorque vocatus. Subsequently he entered the church and became bishop of Vienne; lines 14ff. Husband of Euphrasia.

He died at the age of seventy-three in the year 558; lines 28–30 huius si quaeras aevum finemque salutis, septies hic denos et tres compleverat annos, post fasces posuit vel cingula Symmacus alma iunior, et quintus decimus cum surgeret orbis, ad summos animam caelos emisit opimam. For the date, seventy-three years after 485, cf. Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, p. 65, n. 33.

He is alluded to in the *Chronicle* of Ado (*PL* 123, col. 109): hoc tempore (i.e. in the reign of Leovigild – an error) Namatius Viennensis ecclesiae episcopus floruit nobilis stemmate, sed nobilior vita et eloquio (perhaps derived from the epitaph).

He is probably identical with Namatius *vir illustris* who subscribed the second Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, p. 65 = Morin, *Caesarii Opera* II, p. 78 = *MGH, Leg.* III I, p. 54. Cf. Syagrius 1.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 255.

Nantechildis

queen of Dagobert M VI

Her name is variously given as Nantechildis and Nant(h)ildis.

One of the attendants on queen Gomatrudis (unam ex puellis de ministerio); in 628 Dagobert abandoned Gomatrudis and married her; Fredegar. IV 58. One of the three queens of Dagobert (see Berchildis and Wulfegundis); Fredegar. IV 60, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42. In 633 she bore him a son, the future Clovis II; Fredegar. IV 76, cf. Marini, *P. Dip.* 55 and 64 (wife of Dagobert and mother of Clovis). Sister of Landegiselus; *Gesta Dagoberti* 26.

She died in 641/642; Fredegar. IV 90.

Nantinus

comes (civitatis Ecolismensis) (c. 578/579–)580

Nephew of Maracharius; after his uncle's death he sought office as *comes* of Angoulême in order to avenge him (ob requirendam avunculi sui mortem comitatum in ipsa urbe expetiit); having obtained it (quo

accepto) he began a campaign of violence and abuse against bishop Heraclius and seized property left to the church by his uncle; he was twice excommunicated; after Heraclius died he was restored to communion, allegedly after bribing certain bishops, but fell ill a few months later and died (in 580) (Nantinus Ecolismensis comes exinanitus interit); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 36. Cf. Heraclius 1.

Narses 1 PSC ?537/538-554 (?558); ex consule; patricius M VI

A native of Persarmenia; Proc. *BP* I 15.31. He was a eunuch; Proc. *BP* I 25.24, *BG* II 13.16, III 13.21, IV 21.6, Agath. I, prooem. 31, I 7.8, I 16.1, Mar. Avent. s.a. 553, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 554, *Lib. Pont.* 61, 63, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* XVI 23, Zon. XIV 8, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13. He apparently grew up in the soft life of the imperial palace (ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τρυφερώτερον ἀνατρεφραμμένος); Agath. I 16.1.

A *cubicularius*<sup>(a)</sup>, he apparently served twice as *sacellarius*<sup>(b)(d)</sup>, first as *v.sp., primicerius sacri cubiculi*<sup>(b)</sup> and after an interval as *v.inl., praepositus sacri cubiculi*<sup>(d)</sup>. He was in between while a *spatharius*<sup>(c)</sup>. Later, he was honoured with the titles of honorary consul<sup>(e)</sup> and *patricius*<sup>(f)</sup>. For the title *chartularius*, cf. (e) below.

(a) CVBICVLARIVS a. (530-)531-552: *cubicularius* (ὁ κουβικουλάριος); in 531, Joh. Mal. 469; in 532, Joh. Mal. 476, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (both call him ὁ κουβικουλάριος καὶ σπαθάριος, cf. below), Theoph. AM 6024; in 535, *Liberat. Brev.* 20; in 538, Joh. Mal. 480; in 541/542, Joh. Mal. 481; in 551, Joh. Mal. 484, Theoph. AM 6043, Cedr. I 659, *Lib. Pont.* 61, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* XVI 23; in 552, Joh. Mal. 486, Theoph. AM 6044 (ὁ κουβικουλάριος καὶ ἑξαρχος Ῥωμαίων, cf. below).

(b) (V.SP., SACELLARIVS ET PRIMICERIVS SACRI CVBICVLI) a. 530-531; ὁ βασιλέως ταμίης; Proc. *BP* I 15.31 (a. 530). In 530 he welcomed his fellow-Persarmenians, Aratius and Narses 2, when they deserted to the Romans, giving them large gifts of money; Proc. *BP* I 15.31. In 531 he was sent to take possession of valuables captured from the Persians by Dorotheus 2 in a fortress, probably in Persarmenia; Joh. Mal. 469. For the identification of his office with that of *sacellarius*, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 84-5. For the association of the offices of *sacellarius* and *primicerius sacri cubiculi*, see Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 243-8. It should be noted, against Stein's reconstruction, that the post of *primicerius sacri cubiculi* was apparently tenable for two years only, being the highest post in the *cursus* of the *cubiculum* (the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* by contrast held office during the emperor's pleasure and, as the minister in charge, was not himself a member of the *cubiculum*); see *CJ* XII 5.2 (where the 'primus locus' alluded to is probably the post of *primicerius sacri cubiculi*; cf. also *CTh* XI 18.1) and Joh. Eph. V. SS. *Or.* 57 (the senior posts in the

*cubiculum* were tenable for two years; cf. also Theodorus 3). Narses was doubtless functioning as *sacellarius* when he rewarded Aratius and Narses 2 in 530, with funds presumably from the *sacellum*, and also in 531 when the captured valuables no doubt served to augment the *sacellum*; his two years in office were probably therefore in 530 and 531 (because of this his tenure was probably not continuous to 538; for contrary views, however, see Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 240 and *Bas-Emp.* II 357, and Jones, *LRE* II, 568).

(c) SPATHARIVS a. 532 (?535/536): Joh. Mal. 476, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (both cited under (a) above). In 532, on the last day of the Nika riot (Jan. 18), Narses bribed members of the Blue party to cheer Justinian; later he led one of the attacks on the crowd assembled in the hippodrome; Joh. Mal. 476, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532, Theoph. AM 6024, Cedr. I 647. For the *spatharius*, probably commander of the *spatharocubicularii*, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* I 297 (= pp. 445-6 of the German edition).

In June/July 535 Narses was sent by the empress Theodora to Alexandria to reinstate the deposed monophysite bishop Theodosius and exile Gaianus, his orthodox rival; this Narses did in the face of great opposition and for sixteen months, while Theodosius remained in Alexandria, he had to wage virtual civil war against the local opposition, at one stage setting fire to part of the city; in autumn 536 Theodosius abandoned the see because of the troubles and left for Constantinople, presumably accompanied by Narses; *Liberat. Brev.* 20. Probably Narses was still *spatharius*; cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 326-7 (Cosmas 3).

(d) VIR INLVSTRIS, (SACELLARIVS ET) PRAEPOSITVS SACRI CVBICVLI a. 537/538-554 (?558/559): ὁ βασιλέως ταμίης, in 538; Proc. *BG* II 18.3, cf. 18.28 (ὁ ἡμέτερος ταμίης, in a letter of Justinian). Τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίης, in 538; Proc. *BG* II 13.16. For the post of *sacellarius*, see (b) above. In 538 Narses had authority over military commanders of illustrious rank (see below); he was therefore himself a *vir illustris*; cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 242-3, *Bas-Emp.* II 358. By the end of Justinian's reign the post of *sacellarius* appears to have been combined with that of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (instead of *primicerius sacri cubiculi* as before); see Callinicus 2 and cf. Stein, *loc. cit.* Possibly therefore Narses was given this same combination of posts in 538, if not already in 537, perhaps in reward for his efforts in Alexandria. *Vir ill(ustris), praepositus sacri cubiculi*, on 13 Aug. 554; Just. *Nov. App.* 7. Ex *praeposito patricius* (cf. below); Vict. Tonn. s.a. 554. *Vir gloriosus Narses praepositus* (or ex *praeposito*) *sacri palatii*; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 14.3 (to be dated Sept./Oct. 558). *V(ir) glor(iosissimus), ex praeposito sacri palatii, ex cons(ule) atque patricius* (see below), in 565, *CIL* VI 1199 = D 832 = *ILCV* 77 (repairs to the bridge on the Via Salaria over the Anio). Ex *praeposito et*

patricius; Mar. Avent. s.a. 568. Ex *praeposito sacri cubiculi et patricius*; *CIL* XIV 4059 Fidenae (undated). The restoration of the title in Pelag. I, *Ep.* 14, is uncertain; however, in two letters of the following year Narses is called simply *patricius* (see below); he may therefore have been still only *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in autumn 558. The evidence of Vict. Tonn. s.a. 554 that he was a *patricius* but no longer *praepositus* in 554 must be discounted, since Victor is there recording events of 552 and the evidence of Just. *Nov. App.* 7 proves that he was still PSC in 554. Narses had certainly retired as *praepositus* by 565 and, if the evidence of the letters of Pelagius can be pressed, may have done so in late 558.

(e) In several sources, referring to the later stages of his career, Narses is styled 'chartularius'. 'Cum regis chartularius in palatio esset, antequam Romam iret'; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.39 (before 552; perhaps after 545, cf. below). Chartularius imperialis; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 1, cf. II 3 (formerly a *chartularius*, he was promoted 'propter virtutum merita' to *patricius*). Chartularius; Mar. Avent. s.a. 553, *Lib. Pont.* 61, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62. Stein (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 243-8) has demonstrated that the *sacellarius et primicerius sacri cubiculi* was officially one of the (three) *chartularii sacri cubiculi*; it would appear that the post of *sacellarius*, after its elevation to the status of *illustris*, continued to be known, perhaps unofficially, as the *chartularius* of the emperor. The evidence of John of Ephesus is proof that the use of the title is not an aberration of the western sources.

In 538 Narses was a confidant of the emperor (τῶν ἀπορρήτων βασιλεῖ κοινωνῶν); Proc. *BG* II 18.4. Cf. Rusticus 4. In 538 he was sent from Constantinople to Italy to help Belisarius in the war against the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 13.16, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, Joh. Mal. 480, Zon. XIV 8. He arrived in Picenum around midsummer 538 (cf. Belisarius) with a large army of five thousand troops, whose commanders included Iustinus 2 and Narses 2, and two thousand Heruli as well (see Visandus); Proc. *BG* II 13.16-18. He and Belisarius joined forces at Firmum; Proc. *BG* II 16.1. They discussed the problems caused by the siege of Ioannes 46 in Ariminum, and Narses, whom Procopius describes as a very close friend of Ioannes, urged the need to send relief to rescue him and the city for the Romans; Proc. *BG* II 16.5-13. He and Belisarius marched together to Ariminum via Urbs Salvia; Proc. *BG* II 16.24. They drove Vitigis and the Goths from Ariminum; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, and cf. Belisarius. After his relief, Ioannes gave the credit to Narses; Proc. *BG* II 18.3.

A rift now developed between Narses and Belisarius; Narses, urged on by his followers, began to assert his independence and to oppose proposals made by Belisarius; he proposed instead to occupy Aemilia

and threaten Ravenna; finally he refused to accept Belisarius as supreme commander in the war in Italy on the grounds that his plans were not in the interest of the state; Proc. *BG* II 18.3-29. Belisarius then marched to Vrbinum, and Narses and Ioannes followed him but camped on the opposite side of the city; Proc. *BG* II 19.1-2. As Belisarius prepared to besiege the city, the followers of Narses advised him that it was a waste of time and effort, since Ioannes 46 had already tried and failed, and that the recovery of Aemilia was more urgent; Narses therefore withdrew from Vrbinum during the night, in spite of the pleas of Belisarius, and hastened with all his army to Ariminum; Proc. *BG* II 19.8-10. After only a few days he heard, allegedly with surprise and dismay, that Vrbinum had fallen (in mid December; see Belisarius); Proc. *BG* II 19.18. He sent Ioannes 46 with all the available troops against Caesena, while himself remaining in Ariminum (for the winter); Proc. *BG* II 19.19, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (Narses remained in Ariminum while Belisarius went to Rome).

In early 539 (Feb./March; cf. Belisarius) Ioannes 46 and Iustinus 2 refused an order from Belisarius to join the Roman army at Milan unless the order was issued by Narses; Belisarius therefore wrote to Narses, who gave the order, but during the delay Milan fell to the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 21.16-42. Shortly afterwards Narses returned to Constantinople, taking with him only a few soldiers; he was recalled by Justinian because of the rift between him and Belisarius; the Heruli, who had gone to Italy with him, were unwilling to remain after his departure (cf. Visandus); Proc. *BG* II 22.4-5, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539, Zon. XIV 8 (his return to Constantinople).

In May 541 (for the date, cf. Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian) Narses and Marcellus 3 were sent by Theodora to Rufiniana with soldiers to eavesdrop on a conversation between Antonina and Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian and to kill Ioannes if he spoke in favour of revolution; they attacked him but he escaped in the confusion; Proc. *BP* I 25.24-9.

In late 541 or early 542 (during the fifth indiction, Sept. 541/Aug. 542, but apparently before the plague struck Constantinople) Narses was sent by Justinian to investigate disturbances among the people of Constantinople near the Golden Gate; he sent his men to the church of St Diomedes, around which the troubles were centred, and they reported that a prophetess was foretelling a great flood with many deaths in three days' time and this was agitating the crowds; Joh. Mal. 481 (news had recently arrived that many cities had suffered from floods and that there was plague in Alexandria and Egypt).

In late 545 Narses was sent to persuade the leaders of the Heruli to take part in the war in Italy; the majority, among them Philemuth,





agreed and accompanied him to winter quarters in Thrace, to join Belisarius in the following spring; Proc. *BG* III 13.21-2. En route they defeated a large force of raiding Sclaveni; Proc. *BG* III 13.24-5. At the same time Narses captured and unmasked one of the Antae who claimed to be the Roman general Chilbudius, and took him back with him to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 13.26, 14.35-6.

In 551 Narses was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition to Italy; Proc. *BG* IV 21.6 (αὐτὸν γὰρ - sc. Narses - τοῦδε αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐβούλευσεν), Agath. prooem. 31 (στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως γεγενημένος). Procopius reports a rumour that he was appointed because Ioannes 46 was not acceptable to the other generals involved; Proc. *BG* IV 21.7-9. Sent to Italy to make war on the Goths; Agath. prooem. 31, Joh. Mal. 484-5, Theoph. AM 6043, Cedr. I 659, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 13, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 23, *Hist. Lang.* II 1, *Lib. Pont.* 61, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 3 (= *MGH, AA* IX, p. 337).

Although supreme commander, Narses is not attested as *magister militum* by any formal document (see above and cf. Just. *Nov. App.* 7 and 8, Pelag. I, *Ep.* 14, 60, 90, *CIL* VI 1199 = D 832 = *ILCV* 77, *CIL* XIV 4059). Styled ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός or similar; Proc. *BG* IV 26.16 (ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδεικτο στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους), Agath. I 7.8, 8.1, 10.1, 12.4, 13.5, II 6.1. Ἐξαρχος Ῥωμαίων; Joh. Mal. 486, Theoph. AM 6044. Dux Italiae; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 20. Praefectus Italiae; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 36. Proconsul et praeses Italiae; *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5. These Latin titles have no technical value but indicate the supreme authority of Narses in Italy.

Narses probably left Constantinople in April 551; Theoph. AM 6043 (in this month ἐπέμφθη Ναρσῆς ὁ κουβικουλάρσιος εἰς Ῥώμην). He marched overland to join forces with Ioannes 46 at Salona, but was forced to remain for some time in Thrace because the way forward was blocked by an army of Huns; he waited in Philippopolis until the Huns moved away towards Thessalonica and Constantinople before proceeding; Proc. *BG* IV 21.21-2, 22.1. He perhaps delayed in Philippopolis partly to safeguard the great amount of money entrusted to him but probably employed the time also in adding fresh troops from the area to the expedition (cf. below). He presumably reached Salona late in 551 and wintered there.

On his appointment Narses had insisted that the expedition be large enough for its task and adequately equipped with men, money and arms; the emperor therefore gave him a great quantity of money for raising troops and meeting all the needs of the war; the force he assembled was very large; he took many soldiers with him from Constantinople and added many more from Thrace and Illyricum; at

Salona he was to join Ioannes (cf. also Proc. *BG* IV 21.6) who had both his own army and that of Germanus (*PLRE* II); in addition he was joined by Ioannes 64 (the Glutton) with a large number of Roman troops; he also had over five thousand, five hundred Lombards, sent by Audoin, over three thousand Heruli under Philemuth and others and another force of Heruli under Aruth, many Huns, Dagisthaeus and his followers, many Persians under Cabades, and four hundred Gepids under Asbadus; Proc. *BG* IV 21.20, 26.5-13, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 1 (he asked Alboin (error for Audoin) for help against Totila). Well known for his generosity, he attracted men who had previous experience of it and also men who hoped to benefit from it in the future; he had secured the loyalty especially of the Heruli and other barbarians; Proc. *BG* IV 26.14-17.

Probably in April 552 (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 601, n. 1) Narses set out from Salona with his whole army against Totila; Proc. *BG* IV 26.5. In Venetia his progress was blocked by the Franks who held the forts there and refused his request to be allowed to pass; he also learned that the Goths under Theia in Verona had cut off the road to Ravenna and had made the countryside around the Po impossible to cross; in this quandary Narses followed a suggestion from his friend Ioannes 46 and took the expedition along the coast using bridges of boats to traverse rivers and so arrived safely in Ravenna with his whole army; Proc. *BG* IV 26.18-25. He entered Ravenna on 6 June; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62 (et ingressus est Narsis chartularius Ravennam cum exercitu magno in praedicto mense, V feria) and see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 601 with n. 1. In Ravenna he was joined by Iustinus 2 and Valerianus 1; Proc. *BG* IV 28.1

He remained in Ravenna for nine days, until a challenging letter arrived from the Gothic commander in Ariminum, Vsdrilas; Narses allegedly professed to be amused by it, but immediately began preparations for departure; leaving a garrison in Ravenna under Iustinus, he marched to Ariminum, where he was briefly held up at the river crossing because the Goths had damaged the bridge and mounted a guard; however they retired into the city after the death of Vsdrilas and Narses was able to bridge the river and lead his army across unhindered; he continued past Ariminum, leaving it in Gothic hands, and proceeded apparently on the coastal route, bypassing the Via Flaminia which was blocked by the Gothic occupation of Petra Pertusa; his purpose is said to have been to meet Totila in battle as soon as possible; Proc. *BG* IV 28.2-13.

Totila, coming from Rome, made camp at Tadinum (Procopius calls the place Τάγινα) in the Apennines (in Umbria, on the Via Flaminia)

and shortly afterwards Narses also made camp in the Apennines near a place called Busta Gallorum, about thirteen miles distant from Totila; Proc. *BG* iv 29.3-6. Narses sent envoys urging Totila either to make peace, since his cause was hopeless, or else to name a day for battle; Totila proposed that they join battle in eight days, but Narses, not trusting him, made ready to fight on the next day, when indeed Totila arrived with his whole army; Proc. *BG* iv 29.6-10. During the following night, as a preliminary precaution, Narses sent fifty infantry to occupy a strategic hill nearby; one of these men, Paulus 16, who showed exceptional valour in defending this hill the next morning, was promptly appointed by Narses to his bodyguard; Proc. *BG* iv 29.13, 29.28. After exhorting his troops (Proc. *BG* iv 30.1-7), Narses arranged his forces in battle order; on the left wing he placed himself and Ioannes 46 with the best Roman troops, together with their own bodyguards and Hun followers; on the right wing were stationed Valerianus 1, Ioannes 64 and Dagisthaeus with the rest of the Roman troops, and in the centre Narses put the barbarian soldiers including the Lombards and Heruls, making them dismount to fight on foot; on either wing he stationed four thousand foot archers from the regular army, and on the far left, at a forward angle, fifteen hundred cavalry, of whom five hundred were ordered to help any Roman troops who retreated and the other thousand were to go to the rear of the Gothic infantry whenever they attacked and harass them from there; once the army was in battle order, Narses went along the line displaying the prizes to be awarded for valour and encouraging the troops; Proc. *BG* iv 31.2-9.

The start of the battle was delayed as each side waited for the other to begin; Proc. *BG* iv 31.10. During the interval Totila, who was waiting for reinforcements to arrive, proposed talks, a move which Narses rejected as a delaying tactic; Proc. *BG* iv 31.21. The Gothic army then withdrew, as if to eat, but Narses, distrusting them, kept his men under arms in battle-array, ordering them to take food where they were; meanwhile he moved the four thousand archers on each wing forward to form a crescent; he was therefore ready when the Goths began the battle; Proc. *BG* iv 32.3-5. For the battle, which ended in an overwhelming victory for the Romans, cf. Proc. *BG* iv 32.6-21. After the battle it was reported to Narses that Totila was dead, killed while fleeing; Proc. *BG* iv 32.32. He is said by Procopius to have attributed his victory to God; Proc. *BG* iv 33.1. The battle was probably fought in late June 552; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 601, n. 2. News of it reached Constantinople in August 552; Joh. Mal. 486, Theoph. AM 6044, Cedr. I 659 (and cf. below). The victory of Narses over the Goths at Busta Gallorum and the death of Totila are also recorded by Mar. Avent.

s.a. 553, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 554, *Lib. Pont.* 61, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* xvi 23, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 3, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62, Isid. *Chron.* 402 = Beda, *Chron.* 522, Agath. prooem. 31, Joh. Mal. 486, Theoph. AM 6044, Cedr. I 659.

His first act after the victory was to pay off his Lombard allies, whose behaviour was ungovernable, and send them home, escorted from Italy by Valerianus and Damianus 2; Proc. *BG* iv 33.2. He then ordered Valerianus to keep watch near the river Po and prevent the Goths from reassembling under Theia (at Ticinum), while he himself set out with all his army to march on Rome; Proc. *BG* iv 33.8. In Tuscany he took Narnia by surrender, left a garrison in Spoletium with orders to rebuild the walls, and sent men to occupy Perugia (cf. Meligedius); Proc. *BG* iv 33.9-12. He then attacked Rome and easily occupied the city, sending troops under Dagisthaeus over the wall at a point where there were no defenders; the last defenders in the Mausoleum of Hadrian quickly surrendered to him and Narses sent the keys of the city to the emperor; Proc. *BG* iv 33.13-27. The capture of Rome perhaps took place in July 552; Narses apparently sent news of the victory over Totila as well as of the capture of Rome from Rome itself, and it reached Constantinople in August (see above).

Narses remained in Rome to arrange matters there, but sent troops to lay siege to Cumae (about late July), where much of the Gothic treasure had been stored, and Centumcellae; Proc. *BG* iv 34.20. On hearing that Theia planned to relieve Cumae, he sent Ioannes 46 and Philemuth into Etruria to block his way; Proc. *BG* iv 34.22. When Theia circumvented them, however, Narses recalled Ioannes and Philemuth from Etruria and Valerianus from Petra Pertusa and set out himself with his whole army for Campania; Proc. *BG* iv 34.24. He encountered the Goths by the river Dracon near Nuceria and made camp on the opposite bank; there the two armies remained facing one another for two months, with only light skirmishing, until the Romans captured the Gothic supply ships and so made their position untenable; the Goths then withdrew to Mons Lactarius, a nearby mountain; Proc. *BG* iv 35.7-15. The battle of Mons Lactarius is described in Procopius, *BG* iv 35.16-32. During the battle, Theia was killed; Proc. *BG* iv 35.29. After two days of hard fighting Narses received Gothic envoys and on the advice of Ioannes accepted their proposal to end the battle and admit defeat on condition that they be allowed to withdraw peacefully from Italy; Proc. *BG* iv 35.33-6. According to Agathias, however, the Goths agreed to return to their homes and become subjects of the emperor; Agath. I 1.1. The date of the battle, given as October 1 by Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (in kal. Octubris), may have been October 30 (see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 604

with n. 1 for a possible emendation of Agnellus' text to resolve a chronological difficulty). The battle of Mons Lactarius and the death of Theia are also recorded in Agath. proem. 31, I 1.1, Mar. Avent. s.a. 554, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79.

Narses now planned to recover various fortresses in Etruria still held by the Goths, but first he marched against Cumae, hoping to capture it and the treasures stored there as quickly as possible; Agath. I 8.1-5. His forces were unable to take the fort by assault and, as time passed, Narses attempted to undermine the defences but without success; Agath. I 9-10. He apparently remained there through the winter and into the summer of 553. The siege of Cumae had lasted for about one year (Agath. I 11.5) when Narses heard that the Franks and Alamanni under Butilinus and Leutharis had invaded north Italy; he therefore left at Cumae a force adequate to continue the siege and marched northwards with the remainder; most of these troops he sent to the river Po under Ioannes 46, Valerianus 1, Artabanes and others, including the Heruli under Fulcaris whom he had recently made their leader after the death of Philemuth; he ordered them to prevent the enemy from advancing south or, if that proved impossible, to harass their advance; he himself with the rest of his army went to Etruria to take the remaining strongholds there; Agath. I 11.1-5. Most of the cities surrendered to him voluntarily; Agath. I 11.6 (they were Florentia, Centumcellae, Volaterrae, Luna and Pisa). Only Luca refused to submit; Narses had accepted hostages and granted the Lucans their request for a respite of thirty days, after which they promised to surrender if no help came from the Franks; the time elapsed and they still refused to surrender, so Narses began a siege (probably in September; see below); he is said by Agathias to have refused to execute the hostages but to have gone through the pretence of doing so, to alarm the Lucans, and then to have allowed the hostages to return safe and well to Luca, hoping that they would persuade the people to surrender; Agath. I 12.1-13.8.

During the siege he learnt that his northern army had retreated from Parma, after the death of Fulcaris, and gone to Faventia, to be nearer to Ravenna; his strategy, which was to retake Etruria while the northern army held up the Franks, was ruined by this and he was himself now exposed to the Franks; he nevertheless tightened the siege on Luca; Agath. I 15.10-11, 17.1-2, cf. 15.11, 16.3-10 (he vigorously maintained the morale of his troops before Luca). He sent one of his close associates, Stephanus 12, to reprimand the commanders at Faventia; Agath. I 17.3. Stephanus returned to tell him that the problem had been sorted out and the army was back at Parma, so that the Frankish threat was held at bay; Narses then resumed the siege of Luca with renewed vigour; Agath.

I 18.3-4. Meanwhile the former hostages were apparently winning support among the inhabitants of the city for submission to the Romans; Agath. I 18.5. Finally, after the whole siege had lasted for three months, the city surrendered to Narses in return for a promise that he would exact no reprisals; Agath. I 18.8. According to Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79, Narses apparently expelled the Goths from Luca in September (553), but the evidence of Agathias (I 19.1-2, see below) shows it to have been December; September probably marked the beginning of the siege; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 607, n. 1.

Leaving a strong garrison in Luca under Bonus 1, Narses made for Ravenna, planning to disperse his army into winter quarters; Agath. I 19.1. It was now mid December (ἀμφὶ τὰς χειμερινῶν τροπῶν); Agath. I 19.2. He distributed his army into winter quarters with orders to reassemble in Rome in the following spring (554) and himself proceeded to Ravenna accompanied by only four hundred of his own followers; Agath. I 19.3-5, cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (he went to Ravenna in triumph - cum victoria magna). He stayed at Classis, and while there received the submission of Aligernus with the keys of Cumae; Agath. I 20.5-6, cf. Proc. *BG* IV 35.38 (the fall of Cumae). He sent orders for part of the besieging army to occupy Cumae and guard the treasure and for the rest to go into winter quarters; Agath. I 20.7. Aligernus was sent to Caesena with instructions to reveal himself to the Franks, to see if this would induce them to abandon hopes of seizing the treasures of Cumae and so give up the war; Agath. I 20.9. At this time Narses appointed Sindual, in preference to Aruth, as leader of the Heruli, and sent them into winter quarters; Agath. I 20.8. He also left Ravenna briefly to visit Ariminum to meet Theudebaldus and the Varni, who had decided to join the Roman cause, and to reward them with money; Agath. I 21.1-3. While there he encountered a Frankish raiding party, some two thousand strong; by a feigned retreat he drew them from cover in disorderly pursuit, and killed over nine hundred infantrymen, although their cavalry escaped; Agath. I 21.4-22.7. He then returned to Ravenna and, after ordering matters there, proceeded to Rome for the remainder of the winter; Agath. I 22.8, cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (from Ravenna he went to Rome).

In spring (554) the armies assembled at Rome, where Narses put them through a vigorous programme of training and exercises, to restore their fighting skills and spirit; Agath. II 1.1-2. He was still in Rome after midsummer when Butilinus led his army north from Lucania and Bruttium into Campania and made camp near Capua close to the river Casilinum; the Franks had run short of food since Narses had apparently seized most of the supplies and they were also suffering from dysentery

but in this district they seem to have found adequate provisions; Agath. II 4.1-4, 6.3. At this time the army of Narses was eighteen thousand strong according to Agathias' figures, that of Butilinus thirty thousand; Agath. II 4.10. Narses led his army from Rome (probably autumn 554) and made his camp close to that of the Franks; Agath. II 6.1, cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (from Rome he went to Campania, near Cumae). The freedom with which the Franks were able to obtain supplies from neighbouring villages worried Narses and he sent Chanaranges to harass their supply trains; Agath. II 6.3-4. He now armed his forces and led them out for battle; Agath. II 7.1. Following an incident among the Heruli in which a Herul noble murdered an attendant, Narses, supposedly fearing to enter battle with the justice of his cause marred by an act of injustice, executed the Herul, although in consequence the Heruli refused to join in the battle; Agath. II 7.2-4. Narses none the less moved forward to do battle and the Heruli after a delay followed him; Agath. II 7.5-7. On reaching the site chosen for the battle Narses arranged his forces, placing his cavalry at either extremity; he himself and his own followers occupied the right wing, and he stationed Valerianus and Artabanus on the left with orders to conceal themselves among the trees and launch a surprise attack when the battle started; the infantry occupied the middle ground with the light skirmishers to the rear, and a gap was left in the very centre for the Heruli when they should come up; Agath. II 8.1-5. The battle ended in a total victory for the Romans, who supposedly lost only eighty men, while Butilinus and all of the Franks perished, except only five (if Agathias can be believed); Narses was acclaimed for his generalship; Agath. II 9.1-13. His victory over Butilinus is also recorded in Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 9, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2, *Lib. Pont.* 63, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* III 32 (in a garbled version he is said to have replaced Belisarius in Italy and then been defeated and expelled by Butilinus).

The army then returned to Rome, escorting Narses in triumph; Agath. II 10.7. He soon cut short the rejoicing, which he considered premature and a danger to the fighting efficiency of his troops; Agath. II 11.3-5, cf. 12.1-10 (a supposed speech to his troops warning against over-confidence). Probably late in 554 Narses took his full force out and laid siege to Compsa, in which seven thousand Goths had taken refuge under the command of Ragnaris; Agath. II 13.4. The siege lasted through the winter until the following spring (555) when Narses and Ragnaris met for talks; Narses rejected the demands of Ragnaris, and as they parted Ragnaris shot at him; he missed but was himself mortally wounded in return by the bodyguard of Narses; after his death the Goths surrendered themselves and the fort to Narses who promised them their

lives and then sent them all to the emperor in Constantinople; Agath. II 14.1-7.

Narses received two measures issued by Justinian to regulate matters in the newly recovered provinces; the pragmatic sanction, *Just. Nov. App.* 7, issued on 13 Aug. 554, was addressed to Narses (cf. (d) above) and the PPO Antiochus 2, and a measure on debtors in Italy and Sicily, *Just. Nov. App.* 8, probably issued in or soon after 555 (*nuper factam incursionem Francorum*), was addressed to Narses, Pamphronius and the senate.

He is said to have supported a petition from the Roman clergy to the emperor asking that pope Vigilius and the clergy in exile with him be allowed to return; *Lib. Pont.* 61. After the death of Vigilius (a. 555 June 7) and the arrival of Pelagius in Italy to succeed him, Narses protected Pelagius from popular hostility and was present at his consecration in St Peter's in Rome on April 16, 556, when Pelagius declared on oath his innocence with regard to Vigilius' death; *Lib. Pont.* 62. In Sept./Oct. 558 Pelagius alluded to arrangements made by Narses in the fourth indiction (Sept. 555/Aug. 556) for payments to clergy from church estates; Pelagius I, *Ep.* 14.3 (*secundum ordinationem filii nostri, viri gloriosi Narsae praepositi? sacri palatii*). Two letters from Pelagius to Narses survive. In one, written in March/April 559, Narses is urged to take strong measures against the schismatic bishops of Liguria, Venetia and Histria, who continued to adhere to the Three Chapters and refused to communicate with Pelagius; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 60 (the bishops - *quos idonea est excellentia vestra et ratione et potestate reprimere... nolite ergo dubitare huiusmodi homines principali vel iudiciaria auctoritate comprimere*). In the other, datable only between 556 and 561, Pelagius expressed a refusal to give to persons not in need; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 90 (Narses is styled 'excellentia vestra').

In November 562 Narses reported to Constantinople that he had captured the cities of Verona and Brixia from the Goths; he also sent the keys of the two cities; Joh. Mal. 492 (ἐπινίκια ἤλθον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀπὸ Ναρσοῦ τοῦ πατρικίου, ὡς ὅτι περ παρέλαβε πόλεις ὀχυρὰς τῶν Γότθων, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ Βεροῖαν καὶ Βρίγκας. ἐπέμψε καὶ τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν πόλεων κλεῖς μετὰ καὶ τῶν λαφύρων), cf. Theoph. AM 6055, Cedr. I 679 (with similar texts). According to Agnellus, the capture of Verona took place on 20 July, apparently in 561; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (after the death of Pelagius I, on 3 March 561, Narses patricius cum exercitu suo Romam perrexit; subsequently Verona was captured - *et pugnauerunt contra Veronenses cives et capta est Verona civitas a miliibus XX die mensis Iulii* - and strange sights were seen in the sky, on Monday 25 July 561; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 610 with 611, n. 1).

These events presumably formed part of the reconquest of north Italy by Narses from the Goths and Franks. A Goth called Widin (possibly at Verona; cf. Stein, *loc. cit.*) apparently rebelled against Narses; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2 (cited below). Perhaps while marching against him, Narses sought to cross the Franks and Romans, he asked the permission in effect between the Franks and Romans, he asked the permission of the Frankish *dux* Amingus ("Αμινγος) who was encamped on the other side; Amingus refused at any price to allow him to cross; Men. Prot. fr. 8. Subsequently Narses defeated the combined forces of Widin and Amingus, killing the latter and sending the former captive to Constantinople; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2 (Amingus vero dum Widin Gothorum comiti contra Narsetem rebellanti auxilium ferre conatus fuisset, utriusque a Narsete superati sunt), cf. *Lib. Pont.* 63 (Narses killed Amingus and filled Italy with rejoicing). The Franks may now have been finally driven from Italy; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 90 (expulsi sunt Franci de Italia per Narsetem patricium). Narses now controlled all the frontiers of Italy through Dagisthaeus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3 (Narsis patricius per Dagisteum magistrum militum . . . universos Italiae fines obtenuit).

It was possibly in 566, following the death of Justinian, that the Heruli in north Italy rebelled and proclaimed their leader Sindual as king; Narses crushed the revolt and executed Sindual; Mar. Avent. s.a. 566, *Exc. Sang.* 710 (?s.a. 567), *Lib. Pont.* 63, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13.

Apparently in the reign of Justin II, Narses exiled to Sicily the bishop of Altinum, Vitalis, who had fled to Aguontum (Stribach, near Lienz) in Frankish territory (presumably a schismatic bishop who fled when the Romans retook Venetia); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 4.

His victorious campaigns against the Goths and Franks and his recapture of Italy are alluded to in many sources; Mar. Avent. s.a. 568 (overthrew Totila, Theia, Butilinus and Sindual and restored Milan and other cities), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.39 (famous in the east for his victories in Italy), Evagr. IV 24, Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 9, *Lib. Pont.* 61, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* XVI 23, *Hist. Lang.* III 11, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 3 (= *MGH, AA* IX, p. 337), Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 90, Fredegar. III 43.

(f) PATRICIUS a. 559-?573: the earliest reliable evidence for his title 'patricius' is the letter to him from Pelagius I, written in March/April 559; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 60 (addressed 'Narsae patricio'). The titles 'ex praeposito patricius' recorded by Vict. Tonn. s.a. 554 are clearly erroneous, conflicting with other more reliable information (see (d) above). He probably retained the title until his death. Styled 'patricius';

Pelag. I, *Ep.* 90 (a. 556/561; addressed 'Narsae patricio'), Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 (in 561), Joh. Mal. 492, Theoph. AM 6055, Cedr. I 679 (all referring to 562), *CIL* VI 1199 = D 832 = *ILCV* 77 (in 565; cited above), *CIL* XIV 4059 (undated; cited above), Mar. Avent. s.a. 566, s.a. 568, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 90 (in 568), 95 (at his death), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.2, Greg. *Dial.* IV 27, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3, II 4, III 11, III 12. Possibly he was the *patricius* alluded to in Marini, *P. Dip.* 87, line 32 (undated). He may have become *patricius* in late 558 or early 559; cf. Pelag. I, *Ep.* 14 with *Ep.* 60, and cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3 (hic Narsis prius quidem chartularius fuit, deinde propter virtutum merita patriciatus honorem promeruit), and see (d) above.

(g) EX CONSULE a. 565: by 565 he had become honorary consul; *CIL* VI 1199 = D 832 = *ILCV* 77 (cited above). No other source records the title.

In 568 Narses was recalled to Constantinople by the emperor Justin: Mar. Avent. s.a. 568 (de ipsa Italia a supra scripto Augusto remotus est), Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 90 (de Ravenna evocitatus, in the third year of Justin II, after sixteen years in Italy), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 5 (succeeded by Longinus 5). According to later sources, the Italians envied him for his wealth and hated him as a eunuch and complained to Justin that his government was oppressive; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 5, *Lib. Pont.* 63, cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 95 (his rule impoverished the Italians - cum denudatione omnium Romanorum Italiae). They claim that after his recall he took his accumulated wealth and travelled to Naples where, fearing to return to Constantinople because of the hostility towards him of the empress Sophia, he wrote to Alboin, king of the Lombards, inviting him to invade Italy; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 5, *Lib. Pont.* 63, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 4. He then returned to Rome from Naples, at the urgent request of pope John III, and took up residence in the palace there; *Lib. Pont.* 63 (although wishing to return in order to answer the charges against him), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 11, *Exc. Sang.* 714 (in year 4 of Justin = 569, de Neapolim egressus Narsis ingressus Romam et deposuit palatii eius statuam et Capitolium (sic); cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 34, n. 17), Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 95 (cited below), cf. *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5 (in the third indiction = Sept. 569/Aug. 570, Alboin held Italy and Narses left Italy and went to Spain; this is certainly wrong). The story of his invitation to the Lombards is certainly a fiction; it is inconsistent with his past record and with his continued presence in Rome in peaceful retirement. Possibly the reason for his return to Rome was the reassurance given by his mere presence. He was perhaps in Naples preparing to embark for the east when news of the Lombard attack came and he yielded to

urgent entreaties brought by the pope to return. The legend of his quarrel with the empress and the invitation to the Lombards was repeated by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Adm. Imp.* 27, where however the empress is identified as Irene.

He died in the palace in Rome in his ninety-fifth year; Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 95 (Narsisque patricius obiit Romae; postquam gessit multas victorias in Italia cum denudatione omnium Romanorum Italiae, in palatio quieuit; nonagesimo quinto vitae suae anno mortuus est). The date of his death is uncertain, but it may have been 574. Agnellus, *loc. cit.*, uses the vague phrase 'in diebus illis' to date both the death of Narses and an Avar attack on Pannonia; there was such an attack in autumn 573 (cf. Theoph. AM 6066 and Stein, *Stud.*, p. 46 with p. 53, n. 11). His death perhaps occurred roughly in the same period as that of pope John III (eodem tempore), which was in July 574; *Lib. Pont.* 63. The argument in Stein, *Stud.*, p. 34, n. 17, that his funeral was not before late 574 since, according to Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.39, it was attended by more than one emperor ('reges') is not decisive, as 'reges' could denote Justin and Sophia. Nevertheless 573/574 seems the likely date. While the *Liber Pontificalis* 63 states that after going to Rome he died 'post multum temporis', Paul the Deacon, *Hist. Lang.* II 11 (probably derived from the *Lib. Pont.*), claims that, after going to Rome, 'ibidem non post multum tempus ex hac luce subtractus est', in flat contradiction.

His bones were taken back to the east and buried in the monastery which he himself had founded in Bithynia (see below) in a ceremony attended by the 'reges' who are said to have carried them themselves; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.39 (possibly, but not necessarily, Justin and Tiberius; cf. above). His body is said to have been conveyed back to Constantinople in a lead casket (in locello plumbeo) with all his riches; *Lib. Pont.* 63, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 11.

He is described as a pious man, a Catholic (in religione catholicus) (but see below), generous to the poor and active in restoring churches, who spent much time on prayer and vigils to which he owed his victories as much as to arms (vigillis et orationibus in tantum studens, ut plus supplicationibus ad Deum profusis quam armis bellicis victoriam obtineret); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3. His piety in general and his devotion to the Virgin Mary in particular were attested by his acquaintances (οἱ συγγενόμενοι τῷ Ναρσῆϊ; they claimed that he would not join battle without her approval; Evagr. IV 24 (ὡς οὕτως τὸ θεῖον λιταῖς τε καὶ ἄλλαις εὐσεβείαις ἐξωσιούτο τὰ εἰκότα γεραίρων καὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ θεοτόκον, ὡς ἀναφανδὸν αὐτὴν οἱ διακελεύεσθαι τὸν καιρὸν ὅτε πολεμεῖν δεοί, καὶ μὴ πρότερον χειρῶν ἄρχειν πρὶν ἂν ἐκείθεν τὸ

σύνθεμα λάβοι). After the battle of Busta Gallorum he attributed his victory to God (ἐπαναφέρων οὐκ ἀνίει ἐς τὸν Θεὸν ἅπαντα); Proc. *BG* IV 33.1. He was accused by the besieged in Luca in their distress of maintaining only a pretence of piety (τὴν δὲ τοῦ εὐσεβεῖν αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ θεῖον θεραπεύειν δόξαν ἄλλως αὐτῷ κεκομψεῦσθαι sc. λέγοντες); Agath. I 12.9. His action in executing the Herul noble before the battle of Casilinum (cf. above) perhaps indicates the depth of his pious concern; Agath. II 7.2-5 (but cf. the similar action by Belisarius on the eve of the Vandal expedition).

In spite of the assertion of Paul the Deacon that Narses was a Catholic, he probably held monophysite views. He is styled 'fidelis' by the monophysite John of Ephesus (*HE* III 2.46); he founded a monastery and staffed it with monophysite monks (see below); he is alluded to as a monophysite in Mich. Syr. X 5; and he was canvassed by, but rejected the views of, the Tritheites (who had developed their own version of monophysitism) — this was probably in the 560s; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 627 with n. 2 (Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.2). At some date before 552 (perhaps after 545, see below) Narses founded a monastery at a site in Bithynia, possibly near the hot springs of Pythia, apparently intending to retire there in due course and live as a monk; he staffed it with monophysite monks expelled from Cappadocia, bought estates for it, built a church and a hospice, and endowed it with revenues; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.39 ('monasterium igitur hoc Rupis a Narse aedificatum est, cum regis chartularius in palatio esset, antequam Romam iret, utpote qui a palatio discedere paratus esset et abire caput suum tonsurus et in eo habiturus. Monachos vero in eo constituit qui Cappadocia expulsi erant, cum praedia haud pauca ei emisset et ecclesiam mirabilem in eo aedificasset, et xenodochium in eo fecisset, et reditus haud paucos ei donasset'), III 2.46 (the Cappadocian monks found a suitable site 'cui nomen QRDWNY'N, thermis propinquum quae in suburbio transmarino meridiano urbis regiae sunt quae vocantur PTY', et cubicularius quidam fidelis (viz. Narses) eum eis emit, et in eo consederunt'). For Pythia, cf. Proc. *Aed.* V 3.16-20. These monks were allowed to reoccupy their original monastery in Cappadocia by Justin II some twenty years after they were expelled; cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.46. The foundation of the new monastery by Narses would seem datable therefore between 545 and 552 (i.e. twenty years before the period when Justin II sought reconciliation with the monophysites).

According to a tenth-century source, Narses also founded at Rome the monasterium Beati Pauli apostoli, known as Ad Aquas Salvias; *Benedicti S. Andreae Chronicon*, p. 32 with n. 6 (in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 55). The statement in the same source, that Narses collaborated with king

Rothari after the death of Alboin, is historically worthless; the two men were not even contemporaries.

Physically he was a small man whose way of life kept him lean; Agath. I 16.2. He was unusually brave and vigorous, especially for a eunuch; Proc. *BG* II 13.16 (μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' εὐνοῦχον δραστήριος), Agath. II 16.1 (δραστήριος), 16.2. Although he had received no formal education (παιδεία) nor training in rhetoric (τὰ τῆς εὐγλωττίας), he possessed great natural intelligence and was a capable speaker; Agath. I 16.1, cf. Proc. *BG* II 13.16 (δέξυς). He acted always with coolness and judgement, not in anger; Agath. I 12.4 (γνώμη γὰρ ἅπαντα ἔπρασσε καὶ οὐ λίαν τῆ ὀργῆ συνεχώρει), cf. 16.1 (ἔμφρων ἐς τὰ μάλιστα).

His generosity towards the needy was on a large scale and he certainly used it to secure loyalty towards himself; Proc. *BG* IV 26.14–16 (ἦν οὖν μεγαλοδωρότατος ὁ Ναρσῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους ὄξυς ἐσάγαν). His wealth became legendary and a story of the discovery by the emperor Tiberius of enormous treasures buried in his house at Constantinople was already current in the west before the sixth century ended; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 19, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 12 (from Gregory), cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 90 (he set off en route from Ravenna to the east in 568 'cum divitiis omnibus Italiae'; cf. above).

An anecdote related by pope Gregory, placed in Rome and dated 'patricii Narsae temporibus', mentions a Bulgar *spatharius* in his bodyguard; Greg. *Dial.* IV 27. His bodyguard is several times mentioned, e.g. Proc. *BG* II 18.16 (τοὺς δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστάς τοὺς αὐτοῦ), IV 31.3, Agath. II 14.4. His *maior domus* was Zandalas; Agath. I 19.5, II 8.2.

While Narses was in Italy the Frankish pretender Gundovald 2 served under him for a time; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 24, VII 36. Another who once served under him in Italy was Cours; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.28.

Possibly identical with the *vir excellentissimus* Narses named on an inscription of uncertain date; *CIL* X 8045, 14b = *ILCV* 77 note.

The assertion in Agath. I 4.1 that Theodebert planned to march east to make war on Thrace and Constantinople at a time when Narses and the Romans were in difficulties in Italy is confused, since Theodebert's plan, if it ever existed, was in the 540s when Narses was not in Italy.

Narses 2 military commander (East) 543

A native of Persian Armenia; Proc. *BP* I 15.31, 19.37, *BG* II 13.17. Brother of Aratius; Proc. *BP* I 15.31, *BG* II 13.17, 16.21, *BG* III 13.20. Also brother of Isaaciis I; Proc. *BP* I 15.32, *BP* II 24.14, 25.24, *BG* III 13.20. They were possibly members of the noble Armenian family of the Kamsarakan, to which three brothers bearing the same three names are

known to have belonged half a century earlier; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 292, n. 1, and see Justi, p. 223, s.n. NariyaPaha, no. 47.

In 527 Narses and Aratius, fighting for the Persians, defeated the Roman commanders Sittas and Belisarius in Persarmenia; Proc. *BP* I 12.21–2, 15.31.

In summer 530 both men deserted to the Romans; Proc. *BP* I 12.22, 15.31 (for the date), 19.37, *BG* II 13.17. They came accompanied by their mother and were welcomed and rewarded with a large sum of money by the eunuch Narses I, the imperial *sacellarius* and a fellow-Persarmenian; Proc. *BP* I 15.31.

?DVX THEBAIDIS c. a. 535: he was commander of the troops stationed at Philae (τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἀρχῶν), where, on orders from Justinian, he destroyed the pagan shrines of the Nobades and Blemmyes, imprisoned the priests, and sent to Constantinople the cult images; Proc. *BP* I 19.37. Both the date and the office which he held are uncertain. The date must be either 530/537 or 541/542 (see below); c. 535 is a likely date, cf. Maspero, *Rev. de l'hist. des rel.* LIX (1909), 301ff. and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 301, n. 1 (Maspero's argument against 541/542 is unsound, since it is not certain that Narses remained in Italy in those years; it is nevertheless unlikely that he became *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* at this point in his career, since his activities both before and after 541/542 were with the field army). As to his office, in view of his reputation and later career, he is more likely to have been *dux Thebaidis* than a *tribunus* with only a local command at Philae. It may be noted that his brother Aratius was *dux Palaestinae* in 535/536, and the careers of the two brothers would thus have been closely parallel.

?MVM OF COMES REI MILITARIS in Italy a. 538–540: in summer 538 he arrived in Picenum, one of several junior commanders who accompanied the eunuch Narses I with reinforcements from the east for the war with the Ostrogoths; Proc. *BG* II 13.16–17. Presumably he was present with all the other army commanders at the conference of Firmum; Proc. *BG* II 16.2. One of three commanders sent by Belisarius by sea to help raise the siege of Ariminum (the others were Herodianus I and Vliaris I, while Ildiger had overall command of the fleet); Proc. *BG* II 16.21. After the Gothic besiegers had fled at the sight of the approaching fleet, Ildiger and those with him occupied the Gothic camp first, before Belisarius and the land army could reach the scene; Proc. *BG* II 17.21–4, 18.1. Narses is several times mentioned as commanding troops in Italy; Proc. *BG* II 18.6 (in 538), II 26.3, 27.16 (at the siege of Auximum, in 539; he and his brother Aratius had Armenians under their command, also a Bessian called Burcentius), cf. *BP* I 12.22 (served in Italy with Belisarius). In 540 Narses, with Bessas, Ioannes 46 and Aratius, was sent away from



Ravenna by Belisarius, who distrusted them as supporters of the eunuch Narses; immediately afterwards Belisarius entered Ravenna (May 540); Proc. *BG* II 29.29–30. He was seemingly one of the commanders who remained in Italy after Belisarius returned to the east (late 540); Proc. *BG* II 30.2, III 1.1 (but cf. above).

?MVM OR COMES REI MILITARIS (East) a. 543: in 543 he commanded a force of Armenians and Heruli in the east and was present with Valerianus I at Theodosiopolis; Proc. *BP* II 24.12. When the Roman army invaded, heading towards Doubios (i.e. Dvin), it was heard (wrongly) that the Persian army had left the village of Anglon and Narses angrily rebuked his fellow-commanders for their slowness; Proc. *BP* II 24.19–21, 25.11. At the battle of Anglon shortly afterwards, Narses with his Heruli and some Romans was first into action; he drove the Persians back into the village but was then ambushed and fatally wounded; he was carried out of the fighting by his brother Isaac and died soon afterwards; Proc. *BP* II 25.20–4.

**Narses 3** patricius and praepositus (sacri cubiculi) 565/578

A eunuch, owner of a *domus* at Constantinople in the days of Justin II and Sophia, builder of a hospice, an infirmary for the aged and a church μέχρι τοῦ Ὁξυβαφείου; *Patr. Const.* III 94 (τὰ δὲ Ναρσοῦ οἶκος ἦν Ναρσοῦ πατρικίου καὶ πραιποσίτου εὐνοῦχου; on τὰ Ναρσοῦ, see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, 365–7, *Églises et monastères*<sup>2</sup>, 422–3 – it was ‘on the slope descending from the Bazaar to the Golden Horn’). Said also to have built a church dedicated to Sts Probus, Tarachus and Andronicus; *Patr. Const.* III 95 (ὁ αὐτὸς Ναρσῆς). He allegedly built a harbour with Troilus 2 at Justin’s request and was honoured with a statue there; *Patr. Const.* III 37 (Ναρσῆν τὸν πατρικίον καὶ πραιποσίτον). The same source also mentions a brother of Narses πατρικίος under Justin II and Tiberius; *Patr. Const.* III 116. The source is late and unreliable; the information may be partly invention, partly garbled confusion between Narses 1 and 4.

**Narses 4** sacellarius 565/574; spatharius 565–581

*Inscr.*) *Zbornik Rad. Viz. Inst.* 12 (Belgrade, 1970), 1–8 (an inscription on the Rhegion Gate at Istanbul).

Of Armenian origin, to judge by his name.

GLORIOSISSIMVS CVBICVLARIVS ET (?PROTO-) SPATHARIVS a. 565–581: bodyguard of Justin II in late 565, Coripp. *Iust.* III 220 (armiger interea, domini vestigia lustrans), 226–7. On Jan. 1, 566, he attended the emperor’s consular inauguration; Coripp. *Iust.* IV 368–9, cf. 366 ensipotens, and 373 terga tegens domini, claris fulgebat in armis. A favourite of Justin, he founded the so-called *domus* of Narses and the

monastery τῶν καθαρῶν at Constantinople; Theoph. AM 6063 (ὁ κουβικουλάριος καὶ πρωτοσπαθάριος) (= Cedr. I 684). For the title πρωτοσπαθάριος, cf. also Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.30 (cited below) and Stein, *Stud.*, p. 116, n. 10.

SACELLARIVS a. 565/574: he also held the post of *sacellarius* under Justin and Sophia, in which office he was responsible for the repair of a portion of the walls of Theodosius; *Inscr.* (δὴ Ναρσοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου σπαθαρήου καὶ σακαίλαρῆου; dated under Justin and Sophia and apparently before Tiberius became Caesar). For the combination of *spatharius* and *sacellarius*, cf. also Narses 1 (p. 913).

Possibly identical with Narses ὑποστράτηγος to Mauricius 4 in 577/578; see Narses 10.

Probably in autumn 581 he was sent by Tiberius as envoy to the Avars; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.30 (‘Narses magnus spatharius regius’, styled ‘gloriosus’). He went by sea up the Euxine coast, but the ship conveying most of the gold was lost and Narses fell ill and died after landing near the Danube; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.31 (‘gloriosus Narses spatharius’). See Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 112–13.

According to Corippus he was tall and handsome and cut a fine figure at the imperial court where he was highly regarded for his courage and honesty; *Iust.* III 220–7, IV 366–73.

**Nar(ses) 5**

patricius M/L VI

His daughter’s epitaph is partly preserved at Rome; *CIL* VI 32021 (hic requ[iescit...]/c.f., filia q(uon)d(am) [vir]i gloriosissimi?)/[p]atrici Nar[setis], quae vixit a(nnos)/[vi]nginti sex). The date of 571 is proposed for the epitaph by Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Christ.* IV 5 (1887), p. 70.

**Narses 6**

patricius M/L VI

A monophysite at Alexandria, mentioned by John of Sirimis to Justin II; Mich. Syr. x 5 (‘the patrician Narses’).

**Narses 7**

?honorary consul M/L VI

Ναρσοῦ ὑπάτω(?) ; Zacos 435 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (231) of Ναρσοῦ; rev.: square monogram (377), possibly of ὑπάτω, but this is very uncertain; Zacos compares this seal with Zacos 949 (Narses 13, below), but monogram 377 seems to have only the letters Π, Λ, Ν, V and Ω, with possibly Ι and Γ, out of which it is difficult to make sense).

**Narses 8**

Armenian noble L VI

An Armenian noble, member of the clan of the Vahewuni who rebelled against the Romans, probably in 595; they were defeated and

Narses was killed in the battle; Sepeos vii, pp. 33-4. See further Samuel Vahewuni and Heraclius 3.

## NARSES 9

comes (East) 595

Addressee of four letters from pope Gregory, sent to him at Constantinople between 590 and 597; Greg. *Ep.* i 6 (a. 590 Oct.), iii 63 (a. 593 Aug.), vi 14 (a. 595 Sept.), vii 27 (a. 597 June). Mentioned in a letter to Theodorus 44 (at Constantinople) in 595 June; *Ep.* v 46.

Possibly of western descent; see **Dominica 2**.

COMES a. 595: Greg. *Ep.* vi 14 (addressed 'Narsi comiti'), cf. *Ep.* i 6 ('Narsi'), iii 63 ('Narsae'), vii 27 ('Narsae religioso'; see below). He is styled 'caritas vestra' in *Ep.* iii 63, vi 14 and vii 27, and also 'vestra magnitudo' in *Ep.* vii 27, and is addressed as 'frater carissime' in *Ep.* i 6 and alluded to as 'filius meus' in *Ep.* v 46. The language of Gregory does not suggest that he was one of the great dignitaries at court.

He was involved in the dispute between Gregory and the patriarch of Constantinople, Ioannes, over two priests accused of heresy, Ioannes and Athanasius; Greg. *Ep.* i 6, iii 63 and vi 14. Evidently interested in religious matters, in 595 he sought Gregory's opinion on a document attacking Athanasius and elicited comments on the best texts to use of the acts of the council of Ephesus, and is credited with familiarity with the letters of St Paul; *Ep.* vi 14. He played an important part in the establishment of certain monasteries (per orationes et magisterium vestrum) and in 597 invited Gregory to compose a letter of exhortation for the monks and other persons; Greg. *Ep.* vii 27 (in the address he is now styled 'religiosus').

In 593 he was commended to the doctor Theodorus 44 and again in 595, when he was a patient of Theodorus; Greg. *Ep.* iii 63, v 46 (carissimum autem filium meum susceptum vestrum domnum Narsetem gloriae vestrae commendo). In 597 he was apparently failing in health and spirit (perhaps over the death of Hesychia, cf. below) and distressed by attacks from his enemies; *Ep.* vii 27 (a letter from him 'suas afflictiones et tribulationes spiritus indicat et adversitates malorum hominum manifestat'; Gregory concludes the letter with a prayer that God 'dulcissimam mihi caritatem vestram ab interioribus hostibus exterioribusque custodiat et, quando ei placuerit, ad caelestia vos regna perducatur'). The absence of further correspondence suggests that Narses may have died not long afterwards.

In letters to him Gregory asked for his greetings to be conveyed to Alexander 9, Theodorus 41, Marinus 3, Hesychia, Eudochia and Dominica 2; Greg. *Ep.* i 6 (in 590; domnum Alexandrum, domnum Theodorum, filium meum Marinum, domnam Esyciam, domnam

Eudochiam et domnam Dominicam mea peto vice salutari), iii 63 (omnes qui vobiscum sunt, naming only Dominica), vi 14 (vestros, qui nostri sunt), vii 27 (naming Dominica, Eudochia, Alexander and Theodorus; Hesychia had recently died). The relationship of Narses to these people is obscure; possibly Hesychia was his wife (cf. above) and the others, or some of them, their children. Eudochia and Dominica were possibly sisters (cf. *Ep.* vii 27 gloriosas autem filias meas); Alexander and Theodorus may have been sons, or perhaps sons-in-law of Narses, and Marinus (filium meum, in 590) perhaps a son; see the separate entries.

Narses was also acquainted with Gordia 1, Theoctista 1, Marinus 6 and Christodorus; Greg. *Ep.* vii 27.

## Narses 10

MVM per Orientem 591-603

His name suggests that he was a native of Armenia. Cf. Justi, p. 223, s.n. NariyaPaha, no. 48. His name is wrongly given as Anastasius in Mich. Syr. x 23, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85.

According to a late source, he was a *cubicularius* under Tiberius; Zon. xiv 11 (p. 290). This is not confirmed by earlier and more reliable evidence and may be an error, but cf. below.

A Narses was appointed by Tiberius (in late 577/early 578) as subordinate commander (ὑποστράτηγος) to Maurice 4 when a new army was formed for the war with Persia; he shared in the triumphs of Maurice during the campaigns from 578 to 582; Theoph. AM 6074, cf. Cedr. i 690, Zon. xiv 11. For the dates, see Maurice, p. 857. These passages may, however, refer not to this Narses but to Narses 4, who was a *cubicularius* but who died in 581; as a bodyguard of Justin II and a former *sacellarius* he may have played a role under Maurice in raising and training fresh troops, whether or not he took part in actual campaigning (contemporary accounts of Maurice's campaigns do not mention any Narses). Cf. also Stein, *Stud.*, p. 85, n. 15.

?MVM and DVX at Constantina (in Osrhoene): in late 587/early 588 Narses was in command of Constantina and was placed in command by Philippicus of the eastern army which had been entrusted to Heraclius 3; Theoph. Sim. iii 1.1 (τῷ Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως ἡγεμόνι), Theoph. AM 6079. He was presumably a *dux* stationed at Constantina; in addition he was probably a *magister militum* (honorific or *vacans*) equal to Heraclius in rank.

In late 590/early 591 he was a member of the bodyguard of the MVM per Orientem Comentiolus on the expedition to restore the Persian king Chosroes to his throne; then, probably in Jan. 591, Comentiolus was dismissed and Narses replaced him as commander of the expedition;

Theoph. Sim. v 2.8 (Maurice ἀποστράτηγον τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα καθόδου Κομεντίου ποιησάμενος Ναρσῆ, ὃς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ὑπαπιστῆς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐντίθησιν), Theoph. AM 6081. In the circumstances he could hardly have been a normal member of the bodyguard.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 591–603: ὁ τῶν ἐφῶν ταγμάτων ἡγούμενος (in early 591), Theoph. Sim. v 8.1, cf. Joh. Nik. 96.13 ('commander of the forces in the east'); ὁ στρατηγός (in early 591), Theoph. Sim. v 3.1, 5.3 (he was confirmed by Domitianus as στρατηγός τοῦ πολεμικοῦ, probably at Dara); described as 'στρατηλάτης' of Syria (in 591), Thomas Artsruni II 3, cf. Sebeos II, p. 16 ('the general Narses from Syria'); ὁ πολέμαρχος (at Dara, in 602), Theoph. Sim. VIII 15.4. A late Syriac source describes him, early in Phocas' reign, as 'patricius Syriae' and as 'dux exercitus'; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxv. The term *patricius* cannot be taken literally, cf. Sergius 43, but this source indicates that Narses was still in office at the end of Maurice's reign. Theophanes suggests that he was no longer in office when he rebelled against Phocas in 603 (cf. below), Theoph. AM 6095 (ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γενόμενος στρατηγός), but Sebeos on the other hand indicates that he was still in office, Sebeos XXI, p. 56 ('the general Narses, who held command in Syrian Mesopotamia'). Narses perhaps remained MVM *per Orientem* from 591 until 603.

After his appointment in 591 to replace Comentiolus (who continued to serve under him), Narses, accompanied by Chosroes, led the expedition via Mardin to Dara, where his appointment was officially confirmed by Domitianus (see above), and then to the river Mygdon and to the Tigris, where he awaited reinforcements from Armenia; Theoph. Sim. v 3. 1–3, 5.3–7. The subsequent campaign, leading to the defeat of Bahram and the restoration of Chosroes, is described in Theoph. Sim. v 5.8, 7.10, 8.1, 8.4–5, 8.9–10, 9.3 (joined by Ioannes 101 Mystacon), 9.6, 9.8, v 10 (battle of Blarathon, defeat of Bahram, cf. 10.9–11 Narses with Chosroes commanded the centre in this battle). After restoring Chosroes and warning him to remember Rome's help Narses returned home; Theoph. Sim. v 11.8–9. His part in the restoration of Chosroes to the Persian throne is recorded in several sources; Sebeos II, p. 16, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Theoph. AM 6081, Zon. XIV 12, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 20, Joh. Nik. 96.13, 15, 17–19, Mich. Syr. x 23, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 85.

In 601 an unnamed 'στρατηλάτης' besieged Nakhishevan (in Armenia) but withdrew at the approach of a Persian army; Sebeos XX, pp. 53–4. He is identified by Macler (*loc. cit.*) with Narses. Cf. also Atat Korkhoruni.

In 602 Narses was at Dara, from where he was removed and replaced with Germanus 13, supposedly following objections made against him by Chosroes to Maurice; Theoph. Sim. VIII 15.4 (cited under Germanus; the date was shortly before the fall of Maurice, Nov. 602). He was not removed from office, only from Dara.

Possibly in late 603 (after it became apparent that Chosroes would not recognise Phocas) Narses revolted against Phocas and seized Edessa; he sent to Chosroes for help, claiming, according to some sources, to have with him the surviving son of Maurice, Theodosius 13 (a pretender, according to Sebeos); in early 604 he was besieged by Germanus 13 in Edessa, until a Persian army arrived and defeated and killed Germanus; subsequently, while the Persians were occupied with Dara, a fresh army under Leontius 29 laid siege to him in Edessa and, although Edessa capitulated, Narses escaped to Hierapolis (in 605); following the death of Leontius, Phocas sent Domniziolus 2 to the east and he persuaded Narses to capitulate with promises of safety; however, once in Constantinople he was burnt alive by Phocas; Sebeos XXI, pp. 56–7, Theoph. AM 6095, 6096, 6097, Zon. XIV 14, Cedr. I 710, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 55, Mich. Syr. x 23, 25 (captured at Edessa by Ioannes 231), *Chron.* 1234, lxxxv (also mentions Ioannes), *Chron.* 819 s.a. 913, *Chron.* 846, p. 230 = p. 174, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 324 = p. 248. See further Stratos, vol. I, pp. 59–62.

While at Edessa he executed the Chalcedonian bishop Severus; Mich. Syr. x 23, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxv, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 913, *Chron.* 846, p. 230 = p. 174.

Described as an outstanding general destroyed by Phocas; Nic. Call. HE XVIII 55. Said to be greatly feared in Persia; Theoph. AM 6097, Cedr. I 710 (under year 3 of Phocas).

He is recorded, in a late source, as building the churches of St Panteleimon and of the Holy Martyrs and also founding a hospice; Zon. XIV 14.

In Cedr. I 710 (year 2 of Phocas) he has been confused with Leontius 29.

#### Narses 11

?PSC; bishop of Ascalon L VI/E VII

He is the subject of Sophronius, *Anacreontica* 17 Εἰς Ναρσῆν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀσκάλωνος καὶ περὶ δογματῶν. Son of Thomas, he was a native of the province of Asia and was born at Smyrna; lines 9–12, 35. He was a man of learning and rose to become head of the imperial household; lines 14–16 σοφίην δίωκε σῶφρων, διὸ καὶ δόμοις ἀνάκτων ἄγεται κρατεῖν δικαίως. This suggests that he was either PSC or *primicerius sacri cubiculi*,

or perhaps that he was the *curator* of a *domus divina*. Subsequently he was chosen by the emperor (identity unknown) as bishop of Ascalon; lines 19–22.

Narses 12 = Narses III, catholicus of Armenia 641–?661

His early career is recorded in Sebeos xxxv, p. 136: 'Native of Taykh, from the village called Ishkhan and brought up from childhood in the country of the Greeks; he had studied the language and literature of the Romans and had travelled in these countries devoting himself to the occupations of war; he was convinced by the doctrines of Chalcedon and the tome of Leo; he revealed his impious schemes to no one until after he reached the bishopric of his country and then the seat of the catholicosate; he was a man of virtuous conduct, fasting and praying'. On his career as *catholicus* see Sebeos xxxv, pp. 136–8, xxxviii, pp. 146–7, and cf. Dowsett, *Moses Dasxurançi*, p. 207 with nn. 3–4.

Narses 13 honorary consul VII

Ναρσοῦ ὑπάτου; Zacos 949a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2070, Zacos 949b (two seals; obv.: +NAP/CΘVΠ/ATOV (949b +NA/PCΘV/ΠATΘ); rev.: +ΔΘΛ/ΘTHCΘ/ΕΟΤΟ/ΚΘ). A third seal similar to 949a alluded to by Zacos is probably Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4381.

Narses 14 patricius VII

Ναρσῆ πατρικ(ίω); Zacos 950 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4477 (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΙ; rev.: NAP/CHΠA/TPIK). Cf. also Zacos 2210 (Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ναρσῆ πατρικίω καὶ στρατηγῶ assigned by Zacos to the mid/late seventh century).

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus  
Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon  
Anastasius Domninus Theodorus Callinicus

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion Hephaestus

Varaz Narses

Nazares 1 military commander 551

A native of Illyricum and well known, in 544 he was the commander of the troops in Illyricum but served in Italy under Vitalis 1 and fought

against the Goths in defence of Bononia at a time when the actual Illyrian troops there had left for home (cf. Vitalis); Proc. BG III 11.18 (Ναζάρης, ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, στρατιωτῶν τε τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀρχῶν). Nazares was certainly not MVM *per Illyricum*, a post held by Vitalis; he was presumably either *dux* or *comes rei militaris per Illyricum*.

In 551 he was one of the military commanders of an expedition sent under the overall command of Scholasticus 1 against the Slavs who were plundering the Balkan peninsula; Proc. BG III 40.34. For his colleagues and the date, see Aratius.

Nazar 2 patricius VII

Νάζαρ πατρικίου; Zacos 578 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.146 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (230) of (?) Νάζαρ; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

Fl. Neaptius (*P. Bon.* I 46) V/VI: PLRE II.

Nectarius brother of Ba(u)degiselus L VI

Brother of Baudegiselus and (second) husband of Domnola; Greg. Tur. HF VII 15, VIII 32, 43. In 584 in Paris, after Chilperic's death, he was accused by Fredegundis of stealing large quantities of hides and wine from the storehouses of Chilperic; his brother spoke up for him and king Guntram refused to act against him; Greg. Tur. HF VII 15. Evidently a person of consequence under Chilperic and Guntram.

Negrinus honorary consul M VI/M VII

Νεγρίνου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 2905 (seal; obv.: +NE/ΓPI/NOV; rev.: AΠO/VΠA/TΩN).

Fl. Nemesianus scholasticus (in Egypt) ?539

Σχολα(στικός); sent receipt for rent to Apollos son of Dioscorus through the προνοήτης Menas; *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67327, 31 Aphrodito (probably in 539).

Nemesion ex praefectis (at Alexandria) L VI/E VII

A rich man, one of οἱ ἐν τέλει λαμπροί at Alexandria, he had the dignity of ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν (he was οὐκ ἀξία μόνη κοσμούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλούτῳ γαυρούμενος); a nominal Christian, he was secretly a follower of those described as οἱ τὴν εἰσαρμένην εἰσάγοντες ἀλογίστως and

because of this, allegedly, was struck blind; after the most expensive doctors had failed, he was finally cured through saints Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 28 (PG 87.3. 3501-5). On εἰμαρμένη see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, pp. 416-17.

Neon (*Papers of the British School at Rome* 37 (1965), 98-9) V/VI:  
PLRE II.

'Cornelius Nepos': author V/VI; PLRE II.

NEPOTIANVS of senatorial descent (in Spain) M VI

A senator; husband of Proseria; he and his wife were cured by St Aemilianus of demonic possession; Braulio, *V. Aem.* 22 (de senatoribus Nepotiano et Proseria). The event occurred in Cantabria in the mid sixth century. These *senatores* were wealthy landowners of Roman descent, most, if not all, presumably with ancestors who once held senatorial rank; cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 115-16.

NEREIDA c.f. (in Sardinia) 598

Nereida clarissima femina; wife of Hortulanus; she was already a widow by 598 when she complained to pope Gregory that bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari was charging her for the burial of her daughter, unfairly, because Hortulanus had been a great benefactor of the church of Cagliari; Gregory ordered Ianuarius to desist; *Greg. Ep.* VIII 35 (a. 598 Aug.).

Nero (*BCTH* 1918, p. 184, n. 54) IV/VI: PLRE II.

Nero: Mag. Off. and honorary consul L V/VI; PLRE II. Cf. Clauss, p. 173.

Nicasia wife of Orientius M VI

Wife of Orientius; after his death she became a nun; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* IV 24.

Nicasius comes (civitatis, at Avallon) M VI

A comes, he entertained bishop Germanus of Paris (returning from St Symphorian's at Autun to Paris) at Avallon (Castellum Avallo) but refused his request for the release of prisoners; after they were released miraculously he visited Germanus in a distraught state and gave him his insignia of office as a gift, later buying them back from him (mox balteum quo cingebatur et spatam pro munere beato Germano

contradidit, quod ipse comes dato pretio post redemit); *Ven. Fort. V. S. Germ.* xxx 85-92. In 87 he is styled 'temporalis iudex'. Germanus was bishop from c. 556 to 576.

He is also mentioned in Ionas, *V. Ioannis Abbatis Reomaensis* 11 (ac deinceps famulus cuiusdam, cui nomen erat Nicasius, qui eo tempore curam rei publicae administrabat).

Nice daughter of Shahrbaraz E/M VII

Daughter of Sarbarus (Shahrbaraz); she married a son of Heraclius, Theodosius 44; *Nic. Brev.* 21. The date was presumably c. 629/30.

Nicephorus (*IGC* 335<sup>a</sup>) V/VI: PLRE II.

Nicephorus I ?PVC VI/VII

Named on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue D*, no. 4a (+NHKHΦOPOV). Possibly city prefect of Constantinople.

Nicephorus 2 honorary consul VII

Νικηφόρω ὑπάτῳ; *Zacos* 951 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2072 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΙ; rev.: +ΝΙΚ/ΗΦΟΡΩ/ΥΠΑΤΩ). Another specimen occurs in *Zacos*' series.

Nicephorus 3 MVM and (?) comes VII

Νικηφόρου στρατηλάτου (καί) [κό]μητ(ο)ς; Dumbarton Oaks seals 58.106.1673 and 58.106.3839 (two similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (234) of Θεοτόκε βοήθει Νικηφόρου; rev.: +/CTPA/THΛAT/ΔC..MH/TΩC).

Nicetas (*Just. Nov.* 30) E/M VI: PLRE II.

Nicetas I E VI

Father of Ioannes 32; *Proc. BP* I 13.21, II 19.36, 24.15. Not otherwise recorded. He is named by Procopius mainly to distinguish his son from homonyms. There is nothing to connect him with the Nicetas named in *Just. Nov.* 30 (= Nicetas 2, in PLRE II).

Nicetas 2 comes M VI/VII

Νικήτα κόμιτος; *Zacos* 666, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5276 (two seals, dated M VII/M VIII *Zacos*, M VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: eagle with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +NI/KHTA/KOMIT/OC+).

Nicetas 3 honorary consul M VI/VII

Νικήτας ὑπάτω; Zacos 667, Fogg Art Museum seal 847 (two seals, dated M VII/M VIII Zacos, M VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: eagle with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΝΙΚΗ/ΤΑΥΠ/ΑΤΩ).

Nicetas 4 chartularius VI/VII

Νικήτας ὁ χαρτουλάριος, recorded at Constantinople; Pseudo-Moschus, p. 154 (7). The date is unknown.

Nicetas 5 cubicularius VI/VII

Nicetae (or ?Stefani) κουβικουλαρίου κατὰ Ἀντίοχον; Zacos 498 (seal; obv.: square monogram (232) which may be read either Nicetae or Stefani, though neither is certain; rev.: +ΚΟ[V]/ΒΙΚΟΥΛΑ/ΡΙΟΥΚΑΤΑ/ΑΝΤΙΟΧ/ΟΝ). He was perhaps *cubicularius* of a private citizen called Antiochus, but may have been an imperial *cubicularius* connected with the *domus divina rerum Antiochi* (τὰ Ἀντιόχου). Possibly identical with Nicetas 6.

Nicetas? 6 cubicularius et imperialis chartularius VII

Nicetae (or ?Stefani) κουβικ(ου)λαρίου βασιλικ(οῦ) χαρτουλ(αρίου); Zacos 499 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.53 (seal; obv.: square monogram (232), perhaps reading either Nicetae or Stefani, identical with that on the seal of Nicetas 5; rev.: +/ΚΟΒΙΚ,/ΒΑCΙΑΙΚ,/ΧΑΡΤΩΛ,/+). A second, similar, seal occurs in Zacos' series. The similarity of the seals suggests that he is identical with Nicetas 5.

Nicetas 7 patricius; ?dux et augustalis Alexandriae 610?-617; comes excubitorum 612-613 (-?)

Son of Gregoras 3; Joh. Ant. fr. 218d, Nic. Brev. 3, Joh. Nik. 107.4 (p. 541 Zotenberg), Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, 6102, Cedr. I 711, Zon. xiv 14, 15, Nic. Call. HE xviii 55, Chron. 1234, xc, Hist. Nest. II 82, Agapius, pp. 449, 450. Father of Gregoria 3; Nic. Brev. 9, Zon. xiv 18. He was the adoptive brother of (the future patriarch) John the Almsgiver; Sophronius, V. Ioh. El. 4. Perhaps father also of Nicetas 8 and Gregorius 19.

He was in Africa in 609 with his father and Heraclius 3 (the elder) and supported the campaign to overthrow Phocas and put Heraclius 4 (the younger) on the throne; Joh. Ant. fr. 218d, Nic. Brev. 3-4, Theoph. AM 6100, 6101, Cedr. I 711, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. HE xviii 55, Chron. 1234, xc, Hist. Nest. II 82, Agapius, p. 449. He led the expedition which in 609

took Libya and in 609-610 Egypt; Joh. Nik. 107.4-12 (in Libya). 45-46 (at Alexandria) (pp. 541-7 Zotenberg), 108.2-11 (defeats Bonosus 2). 13-15, 109.3-14 (completes the military conquest of Egypt). 15-17 (exercises authority in Egypt), 110.1 (has Heraclius proclaimed emperor) (pp. 547-52 Zotenberg), cf. Theoph. AM 6102, Agapius, p. 450. In a number of sources he is represented as if racing against Heraclius to see who first could overthrow Phocas and become emperor; however, to judge by the chronology of events, the plan of the rebels was first to seize Egypt and only then would Heraclius set sail directly for Constantinople.

He was warmly received in Constantinople by Heraclius, probably in late summer 612 (cf. below); Nic. Brev. 5-6, cf. Zon. xiv 15.

PATRICIVS (?from 610) ET COMES EXCUBITORVM a. 612-613 (-?): according to the Chron. Pasch. s.a. 612 he succeeded Priscus 6 as *comes excubitorum* on Dec. 5, 612 (καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γέγονε κόμης ἐξκουβιτόρων Νικήτας ὁ πατρικίος). However the contemporary Life of St Theodore of Syceon records that Nicetas was miraculously cured by Theodore at Constantinople early in the reign of Heraclius, when the emperor was absent at Caesarea helping Priscus against the Persians; V. Theod. Syc. 154 (Νικήτας δὲ ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πατρικίος καὶ κόμης γενόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξκουβίτου; he is also styled ὁ πανεύφημος κόμης). This indicates a date between autumn 611 and late summer 612 (see Priscus) and is inconsistent with the Chron. Pasch.; perhaps the Life (written in 613) has anticipated and recorded his current title in narrating events which occurred before he received it. Nicetas seems to have gone to Constantinople during Heraclius' absence at Caesarea and after the birth of Heraclius Constantinus (May 3, 612); both the emperor and then Priscus travelled there to honour him (?late summer 612, after the end of the siege of Caesarea); cf. Nic. Brev. 5-6 (cf. above). Nicetas is styled *patricius* in several sources; Joh. Mosch. Pratum 60 (= Anast. Sin. Hod. 40), Chron. Pasch. s.a. 614, Nic. Brev. 6 and 9 (ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν πατρικίος), Sophronius, V. Ioh. El. 4, Leontius, V. Ioh. El. 12, 14, 15, 44B, Zon. xiv 18, Mich. Syr. x 26, Eutychius, Annales, col. 1084, Joh. Nik. 110.1 (p. 552 Zotenberg), and J. Phil. xxii, p. 271 (cited below). To judge by Sophronius, V. Ioh. El. 4, he perhaps acquired the title in late 610 (see below).

He was at Antioch in 613, engaged in the war against the Persians, and was joined there by Heraclius; V. Theod. Syc. 166 (παρόντος ἐκεῖσε καὶ Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου καὶ κόμητος). He was still in the same area in 614, when he sent to Constantinople the Holy Sponge (elevated at the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Constantinople on Sept. 14, 614) and later the Holy Lance (which arrived in Constantinople on Oct. 28, 614),

the latter having been sent to him by one of the followers of Shahrbaraz; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 614. According to a late source he defeated and routed the Persians after they had captured Antioch, Apamea, Emesa and Caesarea; Agapius, p. 450. This perhaps refers to a Persian setback at Caesarea in c. 614 when they begged for a truce and submitted; cf. Antiochus Strategos, trans. Conybeare, *EHR* 25 (1910), p. 503. It was perhaps on this occasion that statues were erected to him at Constantinople celebrating his exploits against the Persians; *Nic. Brev.* 9 (τὸν ἀνδριάντα κεχρυσωμένον καθύπερθε κίωνων ἔφιππον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φόρου λεγομένην ἀγορὰν ἀνέστησεν), *Anth. Gr.* xvi 46 (author unknown, no lemma; Νικήταν δορίτολμον ἀναξ, στρατός, ἄστεα, δῆμος στήσαν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων Μηδοφόνων καμάτων), cf. *Anth. Gr.* xvi 47 (author unknown, no lemma; τὸν μέγαν ἐν πολέμοισι, τὸν ἄτρομον ἡγεμονῆα, Νικήταν ἀρετῶν εἶνεκεν οἱ Πράσινοι).

?DVX ET AVGVSTALIS ALEXANDRIAE a. (?610–)617: one of his first acts after securing Egypt was to nominate John the Almsgiver as patriarch of Alexandria; Sophronius, *V. Ioh. El.* 4 (the allusion to Heraclius as emperor indicates a date not earlier than late 610). It is not clear whether or not Nicetas remained continuously in office in Egypt (whatever office that was) from 610 onwards. His visit to Constantinople and his military activities in the east may have been temporary absences from Egypt. He is attested at Alexandria in a position of authority in undated anecdotes from the patriarchate of John the Almsgiver; Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 12, 14 (both concern the raising of money by him for the emperor), 15 (he wanted to regulate trade in order to increase the revenues of the state). These suggest that, whatever his military responsibilities, he was exercising the same functions as the normal governor at Alexandria (the *dux et augustalis*). The *Vita* only calls him πατρίκιος, as does Eutychius ('patricius, qui Alexandriae praefuit') (see above). Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.* 1 50, calls him 'dux exercitus' and Michael the Syrian calls him once *patricius* and once general (*Mich. Syr.* x 26, 27).

In 615 and 616 he was active in bringing about a reconciliation between the monophysite churches of Antioch and Alexandria; *Mich. Syr.* x 26–7, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* 1 50, and cf. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, pp. 340–2.

Shortly before Alexandria fell to the Persians (late 617) Nicetas sailed from Alexandria with John the Almsgiver first to Cyprus and then on to join the emperor at Constantinople; at Rhodes he parted company with John (who returned to Cyprus and died shortly afterwards, on Nov. 11, 617); Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 44<sup>b</sup>, cf. Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1084 (the emperor was allegedly Phocas!).

What became of Nicetas thereafter is unknown and he may have died shortly after. The date of the anecdote in *Joh. Mosch. Pratum* 60 (cf. above) is uncertain but it hardly supports the assertion (in e.g. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 525, n. 5) that he went on to govern Africa; it probably refers to his time in Constantinople.

Nicetas was the owner of a *villa* at Constantinople near τὸ Κοσμίδιον; *V. Theod. Syc.* 154.

In a document from Apollinopolis Magna (in the Thebaid) he is named in an oath of loyalty to Heraclius on Jan. 3, 618; *J. Phil.* xxii, p. 271 (Νικήτα τοῦ πανευφήμου καὶ ὑπερφ[εστά]του πατρικίου).

#### Nicetas 8

patricius 639

Ὁ πατρίκιος Νικήτας, one of the highest dignitaries in the imperial procession to Hagia Sophia on Jan. 1, 639; *Const. Porph. de cer.* II 28 (after Heraclius and his two sons, both now Augusti, came five men wearing togas, viz. Nicetas, Ioannes 242, Anonymus 2, Domitius 3 and Eustathius 14, then οἱ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες who wore silken mantles – χλανίδια ὀλοσήρικα – and some of prefectorial rank, τινες τῶν ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων, who wore λώρους κατὰ ὑπατίας, presumably the consular dress).

Possibly a son of Nicetas 7.

#### Nicetas 9

patricius M VII

A Persian, son of Sarbarus (Shahrbaraz); *Nic. Brev.* 21, cf. *Mich. Syr.* xi 6, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94, *Chron.* 1234, cx, cxii (unnamed, son of Shahrbaraz).

Probably in 629/30 he was made *patricius* by Heraclius; *Nic. Brev.* 21 (Νικήταν υἱὸν Σαρβάρου πατρικίου ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησε).

After the murder of his father, he sought refuge with the Romans; *Mich. Syr.* xi 6, *Chron.* 1234, cx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94.

In 636 he held a military command in the east; he joined forces with Baanes and Theodorus 164 Trithyrius at Emesa and moved against the Arabs but met defeat at the Yarmuk (Aug. 20, 636); Nicetas survived the battle and was allowed to retire to Emesa, but then tried to make his peace with 'Umar, offering to subdue Persia to the Arabs; he was not trusted by 'Umar, who had him executed; *Mich. Syr.* xi 6, *Chron.* 1234, cx, cxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94.

#### Nicetas 10

chartularius VII

Νικήτα χαρτουλαρίῳ; Zacos 2847 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (233) of Νικήτα χαρτουλαρίῳ).

Nicetas 11 cubicularius VII

Νικήταρ κουβικουλαρίω; Zacos 1563 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.538 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΝΗΚΗ/ΤΑΚΟΝΒ/ΙΚΟΝΛΛΑ/ΡΙΩ+).

Nicetas 12 notarius VII

Νικήταρ νοταρίω; Zacos 958 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗΘ/ΗΤΩΔΟ/ΥΛΩCΔ; rev.: ΝΙΚΗΤ/ΑΝΟΤΑ/ΡΙΩ+).

Nicetas 13 patricius et praefectus VII

Νική(ταρ) πατρικίω (καί) ἐπά(ρ)χω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2078 (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΕΙ/ΝΙΚΗ...; rev.: ΠΑΤ/ΡΙΚΙΩ/ΙΕΠΑ/ΧΩ).

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Nicetius 1 bishop of Lyon 552-573

Probably born in Geneva in 513, son of Florentinus 1 and Artemia, of senatorial family; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 8.1. Brother of Gundulfus and uncle of Armentaria (he therefore had a sister who was the grandmother of Gregory of Tours); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 5, vi 11. Nephew of Sacerdos; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 8.3. See stemma 12.

At his mother's insistence he received a religious education; he became a priest at thirty (in 543) and succeeded his uncle Sacerdos (died a. 552 Sept. 11) as bishop of Lyon; he died on April 2, 573, aged about sixty, and was succeeded by Priscus 3; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 8.1-5, *HF* iv 36, *CIL* xiii 2400 (his epitaph), *V. Nicetii* (in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, 521ff.). Cf. Stroheker, no. 259.

Nicetius 2

comes civitatis Aquensis (Dax) 584-585; bishop of Dax 585

Brother of Rusticus (bishop of Vicus Iulii); he was comes of urbs Aquensis (i.e. Dax) in 584 when the bishop died and he secured from Chilperic an order allowing him to succeed to the see (Nicetius comes loci illius... praeeptionem ab Chilperico elicuerat, ut tonsoratus civitati illi sacerdos daretur); in the following year, however, Gundovaldus had the priest Faustianus consecrated instead; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 31. In October 585, at the second synod of Mâcon, Faustianus was deposed and Nicetius consecrated bishop in his place; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 20, cf. viii 7 (for the date).

Nicetius 3 patricius; rector Provinciae 587-588

Native of the Auvergne; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 43. Husband of Eusthenia (niece of Gregory of Tours); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14, *Mir. S. Mart.* iv 36. In 585 he was still a young man, described by Gregory as of acute discernment; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18 (cited below). Cf. Stroheker, no. 260.

In 576 he visited the court of Chilperic on business, was accused of spying for Merovech, and exiled for seven months; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 14.

COMES ARVERNORVM a. 585; in 585 he was dismissed from this post and succeeded by Eulalius 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18 (cited below).

DUX ARVERNORVM a. 585-?587; by bribery he secured the post of dux of Clermont, Rodez and Uzès and is said to have brought peace to the region; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18 (itaque Nicetius, per emissionem Eulalii a comitatu Arverno submotus, ducatum a rege expetiit, datis pro eo immensis muneribus. Et sic in urbe Arverna, Ruthena atque Ucetica dux ordinatus est, vir valde aetate iuvenis, sed acutus in sensu; fecitque pacem in regione Arverna et in reliquis ordinationis suae locis). In 585 he campaigned against the Visigoths in Septimania with the forces of king Guntram, leading the men from the Auvergne (dux cum Arvernis in hac expeditione commotus), and when later in the year Reccared entered Septimania he kept guard on the frontier (Arvernorum dux); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 30.

RECTOR MASSILIENSIS PROVINCIAE a. 587-588; in 587 he was appointed governor of Childebert's territories in and around Marseilles (Nicetius Arvernus rector Massiliensis Provinciae et reliquarum urbium, quae in illis partibus ad regnum regis ipsius pertinebant, est ordinatus); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 43. In 588 a complaint against him was taken to Childebert by bishop Theodorus of Marseilles but the king ignored it; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 22.

PATRICIUS in 588; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 22.

Nicolaus 1 doctor (in Burgundy) M/L VI

Executed with Donatus 1 in late 580 after the death of their patient, Austregildis, wife of Guntram; Mar. Avent. s.a. 581, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25 and see further Austregildis.

Nicolaus 2 scholasticus M/L VI

Νικολάου scholasticu; Zacos 436, Fogg Art Museum seal 3097 (two similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (236) of Νικολάου; rev.: SCHO/LAS/TICV).



?Nicolaus 3 PVC VI

A glass weight, Monneret de Villard, Catalogue B, no. 3a, reads + ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ and has a square monogram (235) which may be interpreted as ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ.

Nicolaus 4 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Νικολάω από ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 664a and b (two seals; obv.: eagle, with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: + ΝΙΚ/ΟΛΑΩΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩΝ). Three further specimens occur in Zacos' series and similar ones are in Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 296, Constantopoulos, *Stamoulis*, no. 28, and also Dumbarton Oaks seals 58.106.709 and 58.106.5407. They are dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides.

Nicolaus 5 honorary consul VII

Νικολάω ὑπάτω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3861 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (237) of Νικολάω with V-ΠΑ/Τ-Ω in the quarters).

Nico(laus?) 6 honorary consul and patricius VII

Νικο(λάω?- or -δήμω) ὑπάτω (καί) σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ πατρικίω; Fogg Art Museum seal 1511 (obv.: +/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗΘ/ΗΝΙΚΟ/...; rev.: VΠΑΤ/Ω/CVN/ΘΩΠΑΤ/ΡΙΚΙΩ).

Nicolaus 7 praefectus VII

Νικολάου ἐπαρχου; Zacos 1258a and b (two seals; obv.: St Nicholas; rev.: square monogram (238) of Νικολάου ἐπαρχου).

Nicon (?) excubitor VII

Νίκωνος ἐξκουβίτου (?); Fogg Art Museum seal 2883 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (378), of uncertain interpretation, possibly Νίκωνος ἐξκουβίτου, though there is no κ).

Nilammon pagarch (?in the Fayum) VI

Recorded in a papyrus probably from the Fayum, containing an order to pay him a quantity of hay; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1061, line 3 Νειλάμ(ωνι) παγάρχ(η).

Nilus 1 scholasticus and poet M VI

Author of two poems which were both probably included in the *Cycle*

of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* I 33 (εἰς εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου, sc. Michael), xvi 247 (εἰς εἰκόνα Σατύρου ἀπὸ ψηφίδος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ). Both poems are by Νεῖλος σχολαστικός. Cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 87 (1967), p. 131.

FL. NILVS 2 v.sp., comes (in Egypt) 586

Native and landowner of Arsinoe; brother of Fl. Stephanus 27; ὁ περίβλεπτος κόμης; *BGU* 303 Fayum, dated 586 June 2. See further Stephanus.

Nilus 3 PVC VI/VII

Named on a glass weight; Jungfleisch, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* 14 (1932), pp. 233-56, nos. 19-20, and cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 28 (1986), p. 125 with n. 35.

Noddilo Frankish noble E VII

Quidam procerum nomine Noddilo; recorded in Thuringia; *V. S. Arnulfi* 12 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 436).

Noddo dux (in Gaul) E VII

A *dux* in Thuringia, described as a villainous person; he was miraculously cured by Arnulf of Metz; *V. S. Arnulfi* 13, 25 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, pp. 437, 444).

Noesius (?Nysius) scholasticus (at Scythopolis) M VI

A mosaic in a monastery at Scythopolis records the building of the monastery in year 585 of the province (? = 536) and in indiction fifteen (536 Sept./537 Aug.), and apparently restoration work in September of the same year (? Sept. 537), perhaps by Noesius (Πρ(οσ)φ(ο)ρὰ Νοισίου σχολαστικοῦ. Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ήθησον) Ν(οισίω)); *Rev. Bibl.* 42, p. 557 Scythopolis (Beisān).

Nonna wealthy lady (?landowner) (Egypt) VI/VII

A papyrus of unknown provenance recorded a payment by her *notarius* (δ(ιὰ) Μηνᾶ νοταρ(ίου) κύρα Νόννης); *P. Lond.* v 1762, line 9. As a lady who employed a *notarius* she was presumably a lady of wealth, perhaps a landowner.

Gundeberga quae et Nonnica

Nonnichius comes Lemovicinae urbis 582

In 582 he arrested two men bearing letters critical of Chilperic and

written by bishop Charterius of Périgord and sent them to Chilperic (a Nonnichio Lemovicinae urbis comite); two months later he died of a stroke (Nonnichius 'comes, qui hoc scandalum seminaverat'); he died childless and the king divided his property between several persons; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 22.

Possibly identical with the 'inlustris' Nunnichius whose *domus* was once visited by bishop Germanus of Paris (a. 555-576) while returning from Nantes; his wife took a fragment of Germanus' cloak and later performed cures with it; Ven. Fort. *V. S. Germ.* LIX 158.

Nonnita (*AE* 1938, 30) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Nonnosus 1 envoy (to Caisus) 530/531

Son of Abramius (*PLRE* II, Abramius 2); like his father he was employed by Justinian as envoy to the Arabs and in late 530/early 531 was sent on a mission to the ruler of Ma'add, Caisus; this was probably part of a wider mission under Iulianus 8; he subsequently wrote an account of the embassies of himself and his father, which is now lost but was known to Photius; Nonnosus (= Phot. *Bibl.* 3 = *FHG* IV, p. 179). For the circumstances and the date, see I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 (1960), pp. 62ff. On the name, see I. Shahid (Kawar), *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 23 (1964), p. 116, n. 4 (a Syriac name).

Nonnosus 2 ?vir gloriosus (in Sicily) 591

Addressee of a letter from Gregory in 591 telling him that his claim to a property (*possessio*) would be judged by Maurentius 2; styled 'vestra gloria'; Greg. *Ep.* I 21 (a. 591 Feb.; addressed 'Nonnosus'). Probably a man of senatorial descent rather than an office holder. Cf. however Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 271 (possibly *scholasticus* of Maurentius).

NONNVS 1 comes et consularis (Cariae) (?536-) 538

In April/Aug. 538 he was *comes et consularis* of Caria for the third time; *IGC* 219 Miletus (ἄρχοντος Νόννου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτου) κόμη(τος) κ(αί) ὑπατ[ικ(οῦ)] τὸ γ'). The inscription, recording the construction of a gate, is dated in the twelfth year of Justinian and Theodora (April 538/April 539), in the consulship of Ioannes (538) and in indiction 1 (Sept. 537/Aug. 538), i.e. in April/Aug. 538. Nonnus was apparently in his third year in office at the time (this is probably the meaning of τὸ γ') and so presumably had governed Caria since 536. Cf. Ioannes 26.

Nonnus 2 military tribunus (in Africa) c. 540/544

He carried out the construction of fortifications at Cululis Theodo-

riana (in Byzacena) for Solomon 1 (cui paruit Nonnus, qui condidit ista, tribunus); Durliat, no. 15 = Pringle, no. 4 Ain Djelloula (Cululis Theodoriana). The date is after a Moorish defeat, and presumably therefore in Solomon's second prefecture, between 540 and 544; cf. Solomon, p. 1175.

Nonnus 3 ?v.c. (Egypt) 569

Recorded in a document from Antinoe, dated May 15, 569; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67023, lines 16-17 τῷ λαμπρο(τάτῳ) κυρίῳ Νόν[ν]ῳ.

Nonnus 4 scholasticus (at Antinoe) VI

Son of Epiphanius; his death is recorded in a document from Antinoe; *P. Ant.* II 96 ἀπέθανεν Νόννος ὁ σχολαστικός.

Nonnus 5 chartularius VI

Νόννου chaptulapiu; Zacos 2992 (seal; obv.: the letters of NONNΩ in the form of a cross; rev.: CHΛP/ΤΥΛΛ/ΠΙΥ).

Nonnus 6 domesticus VI/VII

Νόννου δομεστικός; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.987 (seal; obv.: monogram (239) of Νόννου; rev.: +ΔΟ/ΜΕCΤI/ΚΟV).

Nonnus 7 wealthy Libyan E VII

A wealthy Libyan, of distinguished family from Nicopolis, he was miraculously cured by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 50 (*PG* 87.3, 3608-12).

Nordulfus patricius 590(-595?)

Gloriosus Nordoulfus patricius; in summer 590 he returned to Italy and reassembled his followers in the emperor's service (omnes suos homines ad serviendum serenissimis nostris dominis recollegit); together with Osso and Roman troops and following advice from the exarch Romanus 7, he recaptured a number of towns (lost to the Lombards); *Ep. Austras.* 41 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 147) (a letter from Romanus to Childebert II, written in late 590, cf. Goubert, II i, pp. 201-2).

In 592 his army and that of Auctarit (cf. Authari) were with the *dux* of Spolegium Ariulfus; Ariulfus was at war with the Romans although he offered peace if the Romans would pay what was due to these troops; Greg. *Ep.* II 45 (a. 592 July; quia Ariulfus exercitum Auctarit et Nordulfi habens eorum sibi dari precaria desiderat).

In 595 pope Gregory complained to the emperor that the advice of Nordulf and Leo 6 had long been preferred to his own on Italian

matters, though they were not in touch with the current state of affairs; Greg. *Ep.* v 36 (a. 595 June; et dudum novi, quoniam Norduulfo plus est creditum quam mihi, Leoni amplius quam mihi, et nunc eis qui esse ad medium videntur plus quam meis assertionibus credulitas impenditur).

Nordulf was probably a Lombard noble who visited Constantinople in 590 and agreed to employ his own private following in Italy on the empire's behalf against the Lombards, no doubt in return for generous pay and subsidies. When the troops failed to receive their pay, they apparently deserted to Ariulf who then claimed it from the pope on their behalf. Nordulf, it would seem, returned to Constantinople and gave advice to Maurice on Italian affairs, although no longer living there. Cf. also Goubert, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-9.

Nouphas excubitor (Egypt) VII

Recorded in a papyrus from somewhere in the Fayum; he received a quantity of oil; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 924, line 1 Νουφᾶ ἐξκουβίτ(ορι).

Nuccio Lombard dux 574

In 574 Nuccio and Taloardus, *duces Langobardorum*, invaded the district around Sedunum (Sion) near the monastery of Agaunum; they were defeated and killed by Guntram's generals Wiolicus and Theudefred; Fredegar. III 68, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 574.

al-Nu'mān III Abū Qābūs: see Caboses.

al-Nu'man: see Naaman.

Nunninus tribunus (in Gaul) M VI

Nunninus quidam tribunus; he delivered tribute to queen Theodechildis (561/567) and returned from the Auvergne (ex Arverno de Francia) via Auxerre, which he visited for religious reasons (causa tantum religionis); he tried to take a souvenir from the tomb of St Germanus and was struck dumb and rigid, recovering only after vowing to celebrate the saint's festival regularly each year; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 41.

Nunnio ?adviser of king Childebert M VI

A man of influence with Childebert, he was later given responsibility for teaching Patroclus (future abbot); Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* IX 1 (qui quondam cum Childeberto Parisiorum rege magnus habebatur).

Nymphadius (Cass. *Var.* VIII 32) c. 527: *PLRE* II.

OCCILA tribunus Ydruntinae civitatis 599

Filius noster vir magnificus Occila tribunus Ydrontinae civitatis; he visited Rome and left a slave there belonging to Gregory's brother; Greg. *Ep.* IX 200 (a. 599 July). Addressee of a letter from Gregory congratulating him on reaching Hydruntum and asking him to correct 'iudiciaria emendatione' wrongs done by Viator 2, his predecessor; Greg. *Ep.* IX 205 (a. 599 July; addressed 'Occilani tribuno Ydrontino'; cognoscentes magnitudinem vestram de Ravennatibus partibus cum ordinatione excellentissimi filii nostri domini exarchi ad Ydrontinam civitatem feliciter remeasse grate suscepimus). He apparently received his appointment from the exarch at Ravenna early in 599 and travelled via Rome to take up his post as *tribunus* at Hydruntum; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 56-7 with nn. 34 and 35.

Ochus (Ὠχος) king of the Heruli M VI

King (ὀῆξ) of the Heruli around Singidunum, he was murdered by his own people shortly before 549; Proc. *BG* II 14.38, 15.27 and cf. 15.30 (for Singidunum). See also Aordus and Datius.

Octavianus: poet V/VI; *PLRE* II.

ODERIC(VS) v.c. (in Italy) M/L VI

Son of Boherda; witness to a deed of sale to Holdigernus at Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, lines 45 + Ego Oderiċ v.c., and 65 Oderiċ fil(ius) q(uon)d(am) Boherde. The document is dated 575/591 by Tjäder.

Odiacca (king of the Sueves): see Audeca.

Odonachus military commander (in Lazica) 550-551

Possibly identical with Adonachus.

COMMANDER in Lazica a. 550-551: one of the Roman commanders already in Lazica when Bessas arrived (in 550); Proc. *BG* IV 9.5 (the others were Babas, Benilus and Vligagus). In spring 551 he and Babas were in Archaeopolis in command of three thousand men, one quarter of all Roman troops in Lazica; Proc. *BG* IV 13.8 (ὤν Ὀδόναχος τε καὶ Βάβας ἦρχον). They successfully defended the place against the Persians

under Mermeroes and by a sudden sortie put them to flight; Proc. *BG* iv 14.1-44.

He and Babas are described as good soldiers (ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια); Proc. *BG* iv 13.8 (a stock phrase).

Ognaris (Ὀγναρίς) bodyguard of Martinus 556

One of the officers of the bodyguard of Martinus 2 (ἀνὴρ δέ τις... τῶν Μαρτίνου δορυφόρων); he fought in the Persian defeat at Phasis in 556; Agath. iii 27.1. Cf. Martinus, p. 846.

Ogyrus (Ὀγυρος) Arab phylarch 586

Possibly his Arab name was Hujr; cf. *PLRE* II, Ogarus.

In 586 he and Zogomus led Arab allies of Rome in the army of Philippicus; Theoph. Sim. II 2.5 (φύλαρχοι δ' οὗτοι τῆς συμμάχου τῶν Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως, οὓς Σαρακήνους εἴθιστο Λατίνοις ἀποκαλεῖν).

He was either a Kindite or a Ghassānid phylarch; see Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (forthcoming).

Oilas (Ὀϊλας) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; sent with three hundred mounted archers on one of the successful sallies against the Goths during the siege of Rome (in c. April 537); Proc. *BG* I 27.13-14. Cf. Belisarius, p. 200, and see Diogenes 2, Mundilas and Traianus 2.

Oligandus dux (of Childebert) 590

One of the twenty *duces* sent by Childebert II in 590 with Henus to help the Romans against the Lombards in Italy; he, Leudefredus 2 and Raudingus were sent by Henus to the exarch Romanus 7; *Ep. Austras.* 40 (*MGH, Epp.*, III, p. 146) (styled 'vir magnificus dux' by Romanus). Cf. Henus.

Olo dux (of Childebert) 590

One of the twenty *duces* sent by Childebert II to help the Romans in Italy against the Lombards; he died of wounds near Bellinzona (Bilitio) early in the campaign; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 31 (the leading *duces* were Olo, Audiovaldus and Cedinus, i.e. Henus), *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 8 (*MGH, AA* IX, p. 338) (wrongly given before Authari's marriage to Theodelinda in 589).

Cf. Vllō. Not to be confused with Oligandus.

Olybrius (*Anth. Lat.* I 772a) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

(Fl. O)lybrius I agens in rebus (East) 541  
[ΦΛ'Ο]λ[ύ]βριος μαγιστριανὸς τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων, υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς

λαμπρᾶς [μν]ήμης Κύρου; witness to a loan made at Constantinople on Jan. 7, 541; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67126, line 58. The document, found in Egypt, originated in Constantinople.

Olybrius 2 patricius (in Italy) M VI

He was in Rome when it fell to Totila on Dec. 17, 546; with other *patricii* he took refuge in St Peter's; Proc. *BG* III 20.18-19.

Possibly identical with Olybrius *consul* in 526 (= *PLRE* II, Olybrius 7; cf. Sundwall, *Abhandlungen*, p. 142).

Olybrius 3 vir gloriosissimus; large landowner (in Egypt) VI

Owner of properties at Ptolemais in the Upper Thebaid; *P. Flor.* III 377, lines 19-21 (payments made ἀπὸ τῶν γ' οὐσιῶν καὶ κτήματος Θμοῦν Παμοῦν διαφερ(όντων) Ὀλυβρίῳ τῷ τῆς ἐνδοξο(τάτης) μνήμης) καὶ διακειμ(ένων) ἐν Πτολεμαίδι; the estate of Θμοῦν Παμοῦν was (line 17) κατὰ τὴν ἄνω Θηβαΐδα). The provenance of the papyrus is unknown; its date was some time in the sixth century.

If Olybrius was an aristocrat owning estates in Egypt he could be identical with either the consul of 491 (the son of Anicia Juliana, cf. *PLRE* II, p. 795) or the consul of 526 (cf. Olybrius 2 and see *PLRE* II, p. 798).

Cf. also Theodorus 91 and Theodosius 19.

Olybrius 4 comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

A tax receipt, of sixth- or seventh-century date from the Hermopolite nome, was issued δ(ιὰ) Θεοδώρο(υ) στρατηλ(άτου) καὶ Ὀλυβρίου κόμε(τος); *P. Lond.* III, p. 249, no. 1083.

Olympiodorus: alchemist V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Olympiodorus: philosopher (at Alexandria) E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Olympiodorus philosopher ?M VI

He was a philosopher and a teacher of Stephanus 51; Agapius, p. 465 (*PO* 8). Possibly identical with Olympiodorus 5 in *PLRE* II.

Olympius (*MAMA* VII 129) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Olympius I agens in rebus 549/550

Sent to Justinian in 549/550 by the African bishops with a letter defending the Three Chapters and excommunicating pope Vigilius (for the *Iudicatum* of 548); Vict. Tonn. s.a. 550 (per Olympium magistranium).

Olympius 2 lawyer M VI

Native of Tralles and brother of Alexander 8 (doctor), Anthemius 2 (architect), Dioscorus 3 (doctor) and Metrodorus (grammaticus); he was an expert in the law with wide experience of the law courts (νόμων τε ἀσκήσει καὶ ἀγώνων δικαστικῶν ἐμπειρία προεσχηκότα); Agath. v 6.5.

Olympius 3 MVM VI/VII

Ὀλυμπίω στρατη(λ)άτῃ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2084 (seal; obv.: +Χ(ριστ)Ε/ΟΘ(εό)CBO/HΘΗ; rev.: ΟΛΥΜ/ΠΙΩCΤ/PATH/AT.)

Olymp(i)us 4 patricius M VI/M VII

Olimpus patricius; Zacos 1184 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3764 (seal; obv.: Virgin, standing; rev.: +ΟΛ/IMPVS/PATRI/CIVS).

Olympius 5 praefectus VI/E VII

Olympii praefecti; Zacos 959 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1876 (seal; obv.: ΟΛΥΜ/ΠΙ; rev.: PRAE/FECTI).

Olympius 6 honorary consul, patricius and PPO 615/616

Envoy of Heraclius to Chosroes, sent with Leontius 31 and a priest of Hagia Sophia, Anastasius 36, when the Persian general Shāhīn withdrew from Chalcedon; once inside Persia, they were arrested and imprisoned; all three died in captivity; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 615 (citing Heraclius' letter to Chosroes, which mentions Ὀλύμπιον τὸν ἐνδοξότατον ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, πατρικίον καὶ ἑπαρχὸν τῶν πραιτωρίων), *Nic. Brev.* 11-12, 20. The date was either 615 or shortly afterwards.

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Fl. Onophrius v.d., ex tribunis (at Syene) VI/VII

An inscription records the repair of walls at Syene ἐπὶ Φλαουίων Ὀνωφρίου τοῦ καθοσιωμένου ἀπὸ τριβούνων, ἐπικειμένου τῷ λιμίτῳ, διάγοντος ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων καὶ Λεοντίου πραιποσίτου (cf. Fl. Leontius 26) καὶ Ἡρακλείου πρίγκι(πος); *SEG* VIII 782 = *SB* 7800 Syene (not at Philae, see *Inscr. Philae* II, p. 295, n. 1 and p. 298). Onophrius apparently lived in the frontier area and exercised some sort of authority there, presumably under the command of the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis*; cf. also Menas 8 for a similar official.

Opilio: CSL (Italy) 527-528; *PLRE* II.

Opilio 1 vir industris (in Gaul) E/M VI

Opilio vir industris; one of the laymen who subscribed the Acts of the Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 65 = *MGH, Leg.* III I, p. 54. Cf. Syagrius 1.

OPILIO 2 v.c. (in Italy) c. 519-569

V.c.; he died in 569 aged about fifty and was buried on Dec. 29; apparently father of Deusdona; *CIL* X 1535 = *ILCV* 141 Catacombs of St Ianuarius (Naples). On the date, Dec. 29, 569, cf. Stein, *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales* II (1933-4), p. 871 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, p. 317).

Oppila 1 Visigothic envoy 584

Envoy from Spain in 584 sent by Leovigild to king Chilperic with many gifts; en route he spent Easter at Tours (on April 2, cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 72, n. 7) and engaged Gregory in a theological debate; from there he completed his mission to Chilperic and returned to Spain; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 40.

Perhaps an ancestor (?father or grandfather) of Oppila 2.

Oppila 2 wealthy Visigoth E VII

Of noble birth (*glorioso ortu natalium*), and great wealth (*opibus quippe pollens*), with a wife and children, he was killed during an attack by the Basques (a Vasconibus) on Sept. 12, 642, borne off home by his *clientes* and interred on October 10 at Cordova; he was aged forty-six; Vives, *Inscriptiones cristianas*, 287 Cordoba. Cf. Garcia Moreno, p. 64, no. 108.

Perhaps a descendent of Oppila 1.

Opsites 1 king of the Lazi E/M VI

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 233.

Husband of Theodora 3, uncle of Gubazes; he was at one time king of the Lazi (presumably earlier than 541, when Gubazes was king); *Proc. BG* IV 9.7.

Opsites 2 king of the Abasgi 550

In 549/550 the Abasgi rejected Roman rule and restored their own rulers and Opsites was made ruler of the eastern part of the country (the west was under Sceparnas); *Proc. BG* IV 9.11. He led the Abasgian forces in 550 against the Romans under Ioannes 44 *qui et Guzes* and Vligagus; *BG* IV 9.14. After the defeat of his army and the capture of the fort of

Trachea he escaped with a few followers to the Huns of the Caucasus but his family were all captured; *BG* IV 9.29-30.

Optaris (Ὀπταρίς) Goth 536

A Goth, sent by Vitigis in Dec. 536 to bring back Theodahad dead or alive; he had a personal grudge against Theodahad and killed him; Proc. *BG* I 11.6-7.

OPTATVS (v.c.), cornicularius (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and in 534 (cf. Anthianus, his predecessor) became *cornicularius*; Cass. *Var.* XI 19 (title: de corniculario qui accedit) et ideo supradictum (Optatum) assiduis laboribus comprobatum corniculariorum sumere censemus officium.

On completion of a year in office he would normally have retired and become *v.sp.*, *tribunus et notarius*; cf. Jones, *LRE* II 592 with n. 67.

Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes

consul ordinarius 530; patricius 546

Ruf. Genn. Prob. Orestes; *CIL* V 8120, 6 = XIII, p. 752 = D 1309 consular diptych (in Milan) (on this, cf. Cameron and Shauer, *JRS* 72 (1982), pp. 135-7 with n. 72 and 83). Orestes (or Fl. Orestes); *elsewhere*.

Possibly son of the consul of 502, Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus (*PLRE* II, pp. 192-3); cf. Sundwall, *Abhandlungen*, pp. 98 and 144.

CONSVL (West) posterior a. 530 with Lampadius: *Fasti*, diptych (v.c. et inl. cons. ord.), Rossi I 1023-37, *CIL* V 3896-7, 5411, 5428, 6742b, IX 1384, X 4497, XII 935, 937, 938, *Stud. Pal.* XX 139, 140, *SB* I 4663, *P. Cairo Masp.* I 67104, 67105, III 67301, *BGU* II 369, *Lib. Pont.* 56, *Joh. Mal.* 452, *ACOec.* IV II, p. 98. In the papyri his name precedes that of his colleague. See also Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 594-5.

PATRICIVS a. 546: he was in Rome when it fell to Totila on Dec. 17, 546, and with other *patricii* he took refuge in St Peter's; Proc. *BG* III 20.18-19.

Unable to escape from Rome, allegedly through the shortage of horses, he was captured and sent to Campania where in summer 547 he was liberated, with a few other senators and many senatorial ladies, by Ioannes 46 (p. 658) and sent for safety to Sicily; Proc. *BG* III 26.13-14 (ὁ Ῥωμαίων γεγωνὸς ὑπάτος).

Organas ?Ounogoundourian (Bulgar) chief E VII

On the name, see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*<sup>2</sup> II, p. 220.

Uncle of Koubratos; Nic. *Brev.* 24. Presumably a chieftain of the Ounogoundouri, i.e. the Bulgars; see Koubratos.

Orientius consiliarius of a Frankish king M VI

Known only from his epitaph, composed by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 24.

Husband of Nicasia; line 12. Formerly he was in high favour at the royal court and was a confidant of the king; lines 5-8 (clauditur his pollens Orientius ille sepultus, cui palatina prius mansit aperta domus; consiliis habilis regalique intimus aulae obtinuit celsum dignus in arce locum).

He died aged barely sixty; line 11.

Probably a Gallo-Roman, to judge by his name. The king under whom he served was perhaps Sigibert, at whose court Venantius may have made his acquaintance.

Origenes

(vir illustris) 532

A member of the senate of Constantinople (ἀνήρ ἐκ βουλῆς), in Jan. 532 he supported Hypatius (*PLRE* II, pp. 577-81) during the Nika riot; Proc. *BP* I 24.26-30. Membership of the senate was by this date limited to men of illustrious rank or higher; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 529 with n. 16.

Orion

vir gloriosissimus; dux Thebaidis 538(?-539)

Vir gloriosissimus; he held the same office as Ioannes 25, i.e. *dux Thebaidis*, and like him had sent all the corn required for Constantinople and Alexandria from the Thebaid to Alexandria before the end of October; Just. *Edict* 13. 24 (ὁ νῦν τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντεχόμενος, τουτέστιν Ὀρίων ὁ ἐνδοξότατος). He was in office when the Edict was issued, during the second indiction (probably late 538/early 539, cf. Rhodon), and the October must be October 538. Like Ioannes, he was a *vir gloriosissimus* and presumably also had some honorary title conferring on him that status.

Ortaias

Moorish chief M VI

Ὀρταίας; Proc. *Vartaia*; *Inscr.*

Ruler of a Moorish people who lived far to the west of the Aurès mountains, in 535 he allied himself to the Romans under Solomon I against Iaudas, whom he accused of conspiring with Mastinas (Mastigas) to expel himself and his people from their ancient homelands; Proc. *BV* II 13.19-20, 13.28-9 (a personal informant of Procopius). For the campaign, see Solomon, pp. 1171-2.

In 537 he joined Iaudas and other Moorish chiefs in accompanying Stotzas against the Romans; Proc. *BV* II 17.8-12, 17.31. See further Iaudas.

An inscription from Arris (in the Aurès mountains in Numidia) honouring the great Moorish chief Masties (*PLRE* II, p. 734) apparently names Ortaias as responsible; *REA* 46 (1944), 95 = *AE* 1945, 97 (*Vartaia hunc edificium... feci*). The words, however, are thought to be an addition, probably by the Romans, in mockery of Ortaias; see Carcopino, *REA* 46, pp. 111ff.

Fl. Ortalinus (Just. *Nov.* 166) c. 521/522 or 529; *PLRE* II.

Ose phylarchus (Egypt) VI/VII

Named in three papyri, all of unknown provenance; *BGU* III 795 (ἔχω ἐγὼ Σλὲ σοῦ Ὡσε φυλάρχου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια πέντε), 796-7 (similar texts) (= *Stud. Pal.* III 129, 130, 131).

Ossiarthe (*ILCV* 4433A) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Ossio vir gloriosus; ?MVM (in Italy) 590

In summer/autumn 590 he and Roman troops joined Nordulf under the exarch Romanus 7 and recaptured several towns in Italy from the Lombards; *Ep. Austras.* 41 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 147) (cum Ossone viro glorioso et Romano suo exercitu). See also Nordulfus.

His name is barbarian but he was a Roman military commander unlike Nordulf whose troops were, apparently, his own Lombard followers. He was probably, as a *vir gloriosus*, a *magister militum*.

Otto 1 referendarius (of Childebert II) 575/90

Formerly *referendarius* of Childebert II, he gave evidence at the trial of bishop Egidius of Reims in late 590 that his signature, appearing on documents which Egidius produced as proof that the king had given him certain estates, was a forgery; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 19 (requisitus Otto, qui tunc referendarius fuerat, cuius ibi subscriptio meditata tenebatur, adfuit, negat se subscripsisse: conficta enim erat manus eius, in huius praeceptionis scripto).

Otto 2 tutor of Sigibert III E/M VII

Son of Vro, he was tutor of Sigibert III (in Austrasia) (Otto quidam filius Vronis domestici, qui baiulus Sigiberti ad adolescentiam fuerat); *Fredegar.* IV 86. He opposed Grimoaldus, after Pippin died, and was murdered at Grimoald's instigation by Leutharis in 641/642 (anno decimo regni Sigiberti); *Fredegar.* IV 86, 88.

OVLIOR

v.c., tribunus (in Egypt) L VI

A document from Oxyrhynchus records *bucellarii* who came there μετὰ τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Οὐλιῶρ τριβού(ου); *P. Oxy.* XVI 2046, lines 1-2, 5, 13, 27, 35.

Pacurius army commander (Italy) 547-552

Son of Peranius; *Proc. BG* III 27.2, IV 26.4. He was therefore a prince of the Iberian royal family. See stemma 24. On the name, see Justi, p. 239, s.n. Πάκορος.

In autumn 547 he and Sergius 4 were sent to Italy by Justinian with a few troops to reinforce Belisarius; they joined the Roman army (probably in Calabria); *Proc. BG* III 27.2. Cf. Belisarius, p. 215, and Sergius.

In 552 Pacurius was commander of the Roman troops in Hydruntum (τῶν ἐν Δρυσῶντι Ῥωμαίων ἄρχων); he negotiated the surrender of Tarentum and Acherontia and their Gothic garrisons with their commanders Ragnaris and Moras, travelling to Constantinople to secure the emperor's approval; *Proc. BG* IV 26.4. He returned to inform Ragnaris that the emperor agreed but in autumn 552 (after the accession of Theia) was tricked into sending fifty of his men to Tarentum, supposedly to escort Ragnaris back to Hydruntum; Ragnaris imprisoned them and demanded the return of six Gothic hostages held by the Romans; Pacurius, leaving a small garrison at Hydruntum, marched against Ragnaris and defeated him; *Proc. BG* IV 34.9-15.

Pacurius had presumably served continuously in Italy from 547 to 552.

Paicion grammaticus (at Syene) 594

Ὁ λογιώτατος γραμματικός; mentioned in connection with an agreement made at Syene on Feb. 15, 594; *P. Monac.* 14, lines 29-30 and 39 Syene.

Paconius comes civitatis Autissiodorensis before 569

Father of Mummolus 2; a native of Auxerre, where he held the post of *comes* (Peonius vero huius municipii comitatum regebat); he sought reappointment and sent gifts to Guntram via his son, but Mummolus employed them to secure the post for himself and ousted his father; *Greg. Tur. HF* IV 42. For the date, cf. Mummolus.

Palatina 1 wife of Bodegisel M/L VI  
 Daughter of bishop Gallomagnus, wife of *dux* Bodegiselus 1; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 6 (a poem in her praise).

Palatina 2 *inlustris femina* (in Italy) L VI  
 Domna Palatina, widow of Vrbicus 2; in Campania in March 591, when Gregory ordered her to be paid twenty *solidi* and three hundred *modii* of corn; Greg. *Ep.* 137 (a. 591 March; to Anthemius *rector patrimonii* in Campania).

*Inlustris femina*; still in distress in July 591 when Gregory ordered Anthemius to pay her thirty *solidi* per annum; Greg. *Ep.* 157 (a. 591 July).

Palatinus *vir gloriosus, patricius* 600  
 Brother of pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* xi 4 (cited below), cf. ix 44 (*gloriosus frater noster*, ? = Palatinus). See further Gregorius 5.

Possibly PVR in 590; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 1, but see Germanus 7.  
 In 600 he read a letter of Leontius 11 about Libertinus and agreed with Gregory and Theodorus 45 in condemning Leontius' actions; Greg. *Ep.* xi 4 (a. 600 Sept.; a *glorioso fratre meo Palatino patricio*). He was evidently at Rome and closely associated with Gregory.

Also alluded to in Greg. *Ep.* 142 (a. 591) and ix 20 (a. 598).

PALES *vir magnificus, comes* (in Egypt) ?VI  
 Comes; son of Ammonius; named in financial accounts as making payments; *P. Lond.* v 1761, line 2 δ(ιὰ) το(ῦ) μεγαλ(ο)πρεπεστάτου κόμε(τος) Πά[λ]ο(υ) Ἀμμωνί(ου), and cf. verso. The document is probably from the Hermopolite nome, and of sixth-century date.

Palladius (*CIL* xi 1511) 531: *PLRE* II.

FL. PALLADIUS 1 *v.c.*, *comes sacri consistorii* (in Constantinople) 551  
 Φλ(αούιος) Παλλάδιος ὁ λαμπρότατος κόμης τοῦ θεοῦ κοινοστωρίου; son of Ioannes; native of Cappadocia (the name of the city, given in line 17 ἐκ τῆς Λεοντί' [... ]π[ό]λε[ως], is otherwise unrecorded) but resident in Constantinople; in 551 he and Epigonus made an agreement at Constantinople with Fl. Dioscorus 5 and others to visit Aphrodito in the Thebaid and to carry out the emperor's instructions concerning a lawsuit there; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67032, lines 14, 63, 86, 105, 118. The

document, drawn up in Constantinople and found at Aphrodito among Dioscorus' papers, was dated in 551, probably in June or July (τῇ πρὸ πέντε εἰδῶν Ἰουλίῳν or -ουλίῳν?). Palladius' role was that of ἐκβιβαστής (line 27, cf. line 70), i.e. *exsecutor litium*; cf. *CJ* III 2.3, 4, Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 11-12.

PALLADIUS 2 *?comes rei militaris* (in Italy) 552

In 552 he was in command of the troops garrisoning Croton (ὦν Παλλάδιος ἤρχε) during the Gothic siege; Proc. *BG* iv 25.24. They sent in vain to Sicily for help from Artabanes but the siege was eventually raised when reinforcements arrived from Thermopylae; Proc. *BG* iv 25.24-5, 26.1-2. Later that year he served as ταξιάρχος under Narses 1 and held a command, displaying outstanding vigour (στρατεύματός τε ἡγεῖτο Ῥωμαϊκοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ταξιάρχοις ἐτελεῖ); however he was shot (and presumably killed) by Aligernus while taking part in the siege of Cumae (late 552/553); Agath. 19.4. See Theodorus 21 for his title.

PALLADIUS 3 *comes Gabalitanæ civitatis* c. 570/572

Son of Britianus and Caesaria, and brother-in-law of Firminus 1; probably native of the Auvergne; he was appointed *comes Gabalitanæ civitatis* (comitatum in urbe Gabalitana... promeruit) by Sigibert, perhaps in 570 or 571; in the following year he was dismissed (semotus a comitatu), following quarrels with the bishop Parthenius, and returned to live in Clermont; there he committed suicide, in spite of the efforts of his mother and Firminus, after an encounter with Romanus 3 who deceived him into believing that the king wanted him killed; he was buried near the *monasterium Chrononense* (Cournon) in unconsecrated ground without religious ceremonies; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 39. The date of his death was probably 572 or 573, from the place of the story in Gregory's narrative.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 275.

Palladius 4 *wealthy Gallo-Roman* M VI

Builder of a church of St Stephen; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 13, lines 11-12 (hæc sacra Palladius Levitæ templa locavit, unde sibi sciat non peritura domus). He is not described as a cleric and was presumably a wealthy layman, a Gallo-Roman, to judge by his name. The location of the church is unknown, but it could have been at Bourges; see Leo, *MGH*, *AA* iv, index, p. 123, and cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* 131. If so, this man was possibly a member of the famous Gallo-Roman family of the Palladii, perhaps of Bourges; see *PLRE* II, p. 821.



Palladius 5 medical writer and teacher L VI

A medical writer and teacher at Alexandria, he lectured on Galen (εις Γαληνοῦ τὸ περὶ αἰρεσέως σχόλια ἀπὸ φωνῆς Παλλαδίου) and on Hippocrates (Σχόλια τῆς ἕκτης ἐπιδημίας ἀπὸ φωνῆς Παλλαδίου σοφιστοῦ, Σχόλια εἰς τὸ περὶ ἀγμῶν Ἰπποκράτους) and wrote works on fevers and diet (Περὶ πυρετῶν σύντομος σύνοψις, Περὶ βρωσέως καὶ πόσεως); much of these works is extant; see Braeutigam, *De Hippocratis Epidemiarum libri sexti commentaribus* (1908), Diller, *P-W* xviii 3, 211-14, and Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* II, p. 292. On ἀπὸ φωνῆς, see Richard, *Byz.* 20 (1950), pp. 204-5.

Palladius 6 vir excellentissimus (Egypt) VI

His heirs are recorded in a sixth-century papyrus from Antinoe; *P. Ant.* 110, line 4 τοῦ τ(ῆς) ὑπερφ(νεστάτης) μν(ήμης) Παλλαδίου. Cf. also Erythrius.

Palladius 7 bishop of Eauze 626

Father of Sidocus; bishop of Eauze (possibly co-bishop with his son); they were accused of involvement with a Gascon rebellion in 626 (cf. Aighyna) and exiled; Fredegar. iv 54.

Fl. Palmatus: consularis Cariae V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Pamphilus 1 ?philosopher VI

Commemorated by Iulianus 11 after his death by drowning at sea; *Anth. Gr.* vii 587, esp. lines 3-4 οὐχ ὡς ναυηγὸς δὲ βυθῷ θάνες, ἀλλ' ἵνα πάντων κλήροις ἀθανάτων, Πάμφιλε, κόσμον ἄγης. The *corrector Palatini* has: εἰς Πάμφιλον φιλόσοφον ἐν ναυαγίῳ τελευτήσαντα.

Pamphilus 2 demarch of a circus faction 607

Theoph. AM 6099, Joh. Ant. fr. 109. See Theophanes 3.

Pamphronius ?PVR c. 555; patricius c. 561-578

Addressee of an imperial constitution, jointly with Narses 1 and the senate, which regulated debts in the aftermath of the recent Frankish invasion of Italy; Just. *Nov. App.* 8 (addressed 'Narsi Panfronio et senatui'). The invasion was finally repelled in 554, cf. Narses 1, and so the constitution was issued in 555 or shortly afterwards. Pamphronius was evidently a high-ranking civilian official in Italy, presumably PPO or PVR and probably the latter in view of the subject matter of the constitution and the involvement of the senate and also his subsequent prominence in senatorial matters (see below).

PATRICIUS: attested in c. 561 and 578; Men. Prot. fr. 8 (c. 561; Παμφρόνιον, ὃς ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πατράσιν ἐτέλει), fr. 49 (a. 578; ἀξίωμα βασιλέως πατήρ).

In c. 561 (cf. Narses 1) he and Bonus 3 were sent by Narses to ask the Frank Amingus not to hinder the Roman army when it crossed the Adige; Men. Prot. fr. 8.

In 578 he travelled from Rome to Constantinople with three thousand pounds of gold to seek military assistance from Tiberius Caesar for Italy, overrun by the Lombards; Tiberius could spare no troops and the gold was returned to Pamphronius with instructions to use it to bribe Lombard leaders to enter Roman service or, if that failed, to purchase aid from the Franks; Men. Prot. fr. 49. This was doubtless an embassy sent by the senate, like the later one recorded in Men. Prot. fr. 62.

Pamphronius was evidently a leading figure in Italy in this period and probably a leading member of the senate, possibly by 578 (since he headed the mission) *caput senatus* (see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 106). Perhaps he was descended from the *vir illustris* Pamphronius, correspondent of Ennodius (*PLRE* II, p. 825).

Panaretus chartularius M VI/M VII

Παναρέτου χαρτουλαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3962 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (243) of Παναρέτου; rev.: cruciform monogram (360) of χαρτουλαρίου).

Pancratius 1 vir illustris (in Italy) 559

Joint addressee with Viator 1 of a letter from Pelagius I resolving their uncertainty about taking communion with schismatics; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 35 (a. 559 Feb./March; addressed 'Viatori et Pancratio illustribus'). The letter also alludes to a bishop Paulinus and their attitude to him; if this is Paulinus of Forum Sempronii, they perhaps lived there or nearby; cf. Pelag. I, *Ep.* 60, 69-71.

Pancratius 2 palatinus VI

Πανκρατίου παλατίνου (?); Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.3 (seal: obv.: square monogram (242) of Πανκρατίου; rev.: square monogram (379), perhaps, of παλατίνου, possibly of another name, Παυλίνου; if the latter, this is a seal with a double name).

Pantagathus 1 vir illustris; rector (Provinciae) E/M VI

Known only from his epitaph, preserved at Vaison-la-Romaine; *CIL* XII 1499 = *ILCV* 211 Vaison. Possibly a relation of Pantagathus 2.

Of distinguished ancestry, he was a *vir inlustris* at his death; lines 1-2 (*inlustris titulis meritisque haut dispar avorum Pantagatus*). He held

office with the title of *rector* over his native region and, according to his epitaph, governed justly and displayed all the appropriate qualities of thrift in his own life, generosity to his friends and loyalty to his overlords; lines 9-17 (*militiam si forte roges quam gesserit ille prestiturque boni positus in luce superna, quem sic Chr(ist)icolae celebrent post fata iacentem, inuenies quod iura dedit, iustissima sanxit arbitriis, nam custos patriae rectorque vocatus a patria, rexit quoniam promptissima cives libertate animi, parcus sibi, largus amicis et fidus dominis, primum quod postulat ordo vitae e(t) aeternum fama transmittit in orbem*). As Vaison was in Provincia, he was probably *rector Provinciae*; the date was probably not after the mid sixth century, since this post was generally held by a *patricius* thereafter, and the epitaph omits any hint of this title (though cf. Stroheker, p. 198, citing Ensslin for a contrary view).

He died aged between forty-five and forty-nine, apparently soon after retiring from office; lines 18-19 (*abstulit hunc rebus decimo mors invida lustro, namque senatoris posuit post cingula vitam*). The formula 'senatoris... post cingula' alludes to his official career, not to the consulship of Cassiodorus Senator in 514; cf. Felix Ennodius.

He was buried in the church of St Vincentius at Vaison; lines 3ff.

## Pantagathus 2

quaestor palatii (in Gaul); bishop of Vienne c. 534-before 549  
His career is recorded on his epitaph, preserved at Vienne; *MGH, AA vi 2*, p. 187 (= Appendix Aviti, Titulorum Gallicanorum Liber, no. ix).

Of noble family; line 10 (cited below). He apparently had two children, one who entered the church or a monastery, the other who married and had children; lines 17-18 (*hinc sobolem felix diviso munere vidit; pars sacrata Deo, pars genitura manet*).

He was a man of learning, a good orator and a poet; lines 13-14 (*ingenio sollers ingenti dogmate fulsit, orator magnus, vates et ipse fuit*). Through his learning he rapidly reached high position; lines 15-16 (*his igitur studiis primaevo flore iuventae inter summates esse prior studuit*). He achieved distinction in civil office and in the church; lines 7-8 (*cuius vita fuit gemino sublimis honore, fascibus insignis, religione potens*).

QVAESTOR PALATII before 534: line 9 (*arbitrio regum quaesturae cingula sumpsit*). He presumably held office in Burgundy where he later became bishop, under the last Burgundian kings Sigismund and Godomar (the plural 'regum' suggests this).

Possibly identical with Pantagathus *vir illustris* who was one of the laymen to subscribe the Acts of the Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 65 = *MGH, Leg.* III 1, p. 54. See Syagrius 1.

His time in office was marked by upright conduct, generosity and

charity; lines 10-12 (*stemmae praccipuus, plus probitate cluens; dans epulas primis et largo munere gazas pauperibusque dedit, caelica regna petens*).

Bishop of Vienne a. 538 (?c. 534-before 549): in his later years he became bishop of Vienne; lines 19-22 (*post matura viro quam cessit tempore vita, culmen apostolicum contulit alma fides. Sic linquens mundum, caelestem possidet arcem, qui sit praesidium, celsa Vienna, tibi*). He was present at the Council of Orléans in 538; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, pp. 127-8 = *MGH, Conc.* I 84ff. The date when he became bishop of Vienne coincides approximately with the subjugation of the Burgundian kingdom to Frankish rule and was perhaps a consequence of it. He was dead by 549, when the bishop of Vienne was Hesychius (*Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 157). He died aged sixty-five; lines 23-4 (*bis senum vitae complevit tramite lustrum, annis quinque super saecula nostra videns*).

## Pantaleo

PPO Africae 594

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory pressing for action against the Donatists; *Greg. Ep.* IV 32 (a. 594 July; addressed 'Pantaleoni praefecto praetorio Africae'; he is styled 'excellencia vestra'). He served under Gennadius 1.

## Pap Bagratid

Armenian noble L VI

Cf. *Iusti*, p. 241, s.n. Pāp, no. 5.

Son of Ashot the aspet; one of the pro-Persian Armenians honoured by king Chosroes in c. 596; *Sebeos*, XI, pp. 39-40. Cf. Gagik Mamikonian.

## Paphiscus

advocate (Egypt) VI

He was a *συνήγορος*, possibly at Hermopolis; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1028, line 2 (*παράσχου Παφίσκο συνηγορ[...]*). Provenance uncertain, possibly Hermopolis.

Papianilla: wife of Parthenius E VI; *PLRE* II.

## Papias

MVM VII

Παπία στρατηλάτη; *Zacos* 2907 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ; rev.: +ΠΑΠ/ΙΑCTP/ΑTHΛΛ/TH+).

## PAPIRIVS 1

comes and diocetes (in Egypt) L VI

His διοίκησις, at or near Oxyrhynchus, owed either arrears of taxation or possibly additional payments for an eleventh indiction ('Απολοιπασ(μὸς?) ια ινδ' μετὰ τὴν μεγάλ(ην) ἔχθεσιν οὕτως, διοικήσ(εως) τοῦ

κόμ(ετος) Παπυρίου); *P. Oxy.* 1147, lines 1-3. Papirius was *comes* and *dioecetes* probably of a division of some great estates (perhaps those of the Apions); cf. Hieremias, Ioannes 222, Fl. Iulius, Licinianus and Phoebammon 8. The μεγάλη ἔχθεσις (ἐκθεσις) was probably the main list of taxes (*canon*) due for the indiction and the document may refer to the additional payments (*extraordinaria* or *superindicta*) subsequently found to be necessary to meet all requirements by the state; cf. Jones, *LRE* 1, pp. 451-2.

## PAPIRIVS 2

vir spectabilis (Egypt) VI

Ὁ περιβλεπτός Παπύριος; in a list of accounts of the Apion estates his house is recorded as receiving a visit from a party of *bucellarii*, women and slaves, twenty-six in all; *PSI* viii 953 Oxyrhynchus. Presumably a wealthy local citizen at or near Oxyrhynchus.

Perhaps identical with Papirius 1.

## Papius

?governor of Caria M VI

Addressee of a pragmatic sanction of Justinian to control abuses of the public investments of the city of Aphrodisias; the order followed complaints by the *pater civitatis* Aristocrates and others; *Just. Nov.* 160 (undated; addressed Παπύριω). Papius was perhaps governor (*consularis*) of Caria.

## FL. (PAPN) VTHIVS

dux (?Arcadiae) ?VII

Φλ. [Παπν]ουθίω τῷ ἐκλεεστᾶτῳ δουκ[...]; received a guarantee from a *meizon*; *BGU* 1 323 Arsinoe (dated in Payni of a tenth indiction). He was possibly a *dux Arcadiae* and the date could be in the Arab period; cf. Anonymus 27, and, on the date, see Iustus 10.

## Pappus

cavalry commander (in Africa) 533

Probably a native of Thrace; *Proc. BV* 1 11.10.

Brother of Ioannes 36 (Troglita); *Proc. BV* 11 17.6, 28.45 (= Theoph. AM 6026, p. 215 ed. de Boor), *Coripp. Ioh.* 1 400. Therefore son of Evanthes; cf. *Coripp. Ioh.* viii 576.

In 533 he was one of the four cavalry commanders (στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἱππέων μὲν sc. ἄρχοντες) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; *Proc. BV* 1 11.7, cf. *Coripp. Ioh.* 1 390-1 (hoc ego, germano pariter comitante beato, castra loco tenui - words supposedly spoken by Ioannes at Caput Vada in 546, see below). For the others, see Rufinus 1. At the battle of Tricamarum in mid December he was one of the cavalry commanders on the right wing of the Roman army; *Proc. BV* 1 3.4 (cited under Aigan).

He seems to have died suddenly of natural causes while still quite young; *Coripp. Ioh.* 1 392-3 (o gaudia fratrum quanta rapit subito veniens mors saeva piorum), 397-8 (non belli rapuit fratrem fortuna potentem, cum totiens victor saevo remeasset ab hoste).

He is lamented in verses placed in his brother's mouth by Corippus on the occasion of Ioannes' arrival at Caput Vada in 546; they praise the courage of Pappus and his martial prowess; *Coripp. Ioh.* 1 390-404.

## Papulus

comes (at Sigibert's court) c. 567/568

In c. 567/568, shortly after Venantius Fortunatus arrived in Gaul, Papulus was asked by Gogo to provide Venantius with a boat for his journey and entertained him at Nauriacum until a suitable one could be found; Papulus is twice styled 'comes' (more probably a title than meaning 'companion'); *Ven. Fort. Carm.* vi 9, lines 39-50, esp. 39 dulcius alloquitur, sc. Gogo, comitem qui Papulus extat, and 50 felix vive vale, dulcis amice, comes.

Venantius travelled from Metz to Nauriacum, where he found the king and his court; cf. lines 7, 21-3, 33.

## Pardus 1

scrinarius Thraciae M VI/M VII

Πάρδου σκρ(ινιαρίου) Θρ(άκης); *Zacos* 2909 (seal; obv.: ΠΑΡ/ΔΟΥ; rev.: CKP/ΘΡ).

## Pardus 2

scholarius VII

Πάρδου σχολαρίου; *Zacos* 670 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΠΑΡΔΘ/ΧΧΟΛΛΑ/ΡΙΟΥ).

## P'arsman V (Pharasmanes)

ruler of Iberia 547/548-561/562

Son and successor of Bakur II, he ruled Iberia from 547/548 to 561/562; uncle of his successor, P'arsman VI; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), p. 36 with n. 35. Cf. also *Justi*, p. 91, s.n. Φαρσμανής, no. 8.

## P'arsman VI (Pharasmanes)

ruler of Iberia 561/562-?

Nephew and successor of P'arsman V, he ruled Iberia from 561/562; the length of his reign is unknown; his father was brother of P'arsman V; his son and successor was Bakur III; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), p. 36.

Parthenius: magister officiorum and patricius (in Gaul) 544; *PLRE* 11.

Parthenius (*CIL* xi 2588) V/VI: *PLRE* 11.

*PAS* magnificentissimus comes; topoteretes (in the Upper Thebaid)  
M VI/VII

The name is Egyptian.

Named in the dating of an inscription recording building work (new quarters for visiting troops) at Ombi in the time of the *dux Thebaidis* *Gabrielius* 3 – ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσίω(ν) χρόνων... Γαβριηλίου... καὶ τοῦ μεγαλ-(σπρεπεστάτου) κόμ(ητος) Πᾶ τοποτηρ(ητοῦ) κ(αί) Φοιβάμμοнос...; *SB* 7475 = *SEG* VIII 780 Ombi. He was a *magnificentissimus comes*, apparently sent by Gabriel to act for him at Ombi, if not in the Upper Thebais (the inscription fails to mention the civil governor of the Upper Thebais).

Pasagnathes (Theoph. AM 6143); see Theodorus 167.

*Pascasinus* vir magnificus (in Sicily) 599

Vir magnificus; he and Blanca complained to pope Gregory that bishop John of Syracuse wanted to collect revenues due to the Roman church from only two estates (non alibi nisi aut in suburbano civitatis aut in massa quae dicitur Gelas) and that this was ruining them; Gregory ordered John to strike a fairer balance and not inflict such losses on them (ut nec praedicti filii mei derelictis suburbanis sibi necessariis contristentur); *Greg. Ep.* IX 236 (a. 599 Aug.). They had presumably rented land owned by the Roman church near Syracuse.

*Paschalis* 1 v.d., palatinus sacrarum largitionum (in Italy) 572

Son of *Laurentius* 4; witness to a deed of sale of land to *Deusedit* 3 at Ravenna on June 3, 572; *Marini, P. Dip.* 120 = *P. Ital.* 35, lines 62 (*Paschalis* v.d. pal(atinus) s(a)c(rarum) l(argitionum)) and 91 (*Paschalis* pala(tinus) s(a)c(rarum) l(argitionum) et monitarius auri fil(ius) q(uon d(am) Laurenti monit(a)r(ii)). For the minting of gold by the *sacrae largitiones* at Ravenna, see *Jones, LRE* I, p. 437 with n. 68. *Paschalis* presumably followed his father's profession.

*PASCHALIS* 2 (?v.c.) (in Sicily) 603

Magnitudo vestra; addressee with *Consolantia* of a letter from Gregory to Sicily in 603; *Greg. Ep.* XIII 25. See further *Consolantia*. Possibly husband and wife.

*Paschalius* 3 MVM VII

Πασχα[λ]ίου στρατ(η)λάτου; *Zacos* 2848 (seal; obv.: eagle, with

cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΑΧΧ/Α.ΙΟΥC/ΤΡΑΤΙΑ/ΑΤΟΥ). The name could have been Πασχασίου.

*PASCHASIVS* praefectus annonae (in Italy) 533/537

Instructed by the PPO *Cassiodorus* Senator (in 533/537; *PLRE* II, p. 267) to allow Africans in certain cases to acquire lands to which no Italian heirs could be found; *Cass. Var.* XII 9 (addressed 'Paschasio praefecto annonae').

*Pasiphilus* adviser of *Guntharis* 545/546

He was a leader of rebels in Byzacena (probably with *Ioannes* 35 in 545) and in 545 joined the rebellion of *Guntharis*, of whom he became a close associate and adviser; after the murder of *Guntharis* he was executed with others of his followers; *Proc. BV* II 27.21. 36-8, 28.5.39.

*Passara*: wife of *Germanus E/M* VI; *PLRE* II.

*Passivus* ?person of rank (at Constantinople) I VI

Reprimanded by the emperor *Maurice* for spreading false rumours about *Rusticana* 2; *Greg. Ep.* II 27 (a. 592 April; to *Rusticana*). Probably a high-ranking person at Constantinople.

*Pastor* (*CIL* VI 33881) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

*PASTOR* 1 v.c., numerarius (at Rome) E VI

+ Hic requiescit in pace *Pastor* num(erarius) vir c(l)arissimus?; died aged fifteen years, eleven months, seven days, buried on Nov. 18, 528; *CIL* VI 32027 = *Rossi ICLR* I 1014 = *ILCV* 119 formerly in the floor of *San Martino ai Monti*, now lost. The letters after his name are: NVM VIR ÖL.

*Pastor* 2 advocate (at Naples) 536

He and *Asclepiodotus* 2, *advocati* (ρήτορες) in Naples in 536, actively championed the Gothic cause when *Belisarius* invaded Italy; *Proc. BG* I 8.22. See further *Asclepiodotus*.

When the city fell to *Belisarius*, *Pastor* collapsed and died; *Proc. BG* I 10.38. Subsequently the enraged mob, having already killed *Asclepiodotus*, took *Pastor's* body from his house and impaled it outside the city; *Proc. BG* I 10.47.

Pastor 3 served under an MVM L VI

Formerly a servant (or official) of the MVM Ionas, he was in bad health in 591 and unable to maintain his wife and slaves; Gregory ordered the *rector patrimonii* of Sicily, Petrus, to make him an annual allowance of barley and beans; Greg. *Ep.* 1 65 (a. 591 July; cf. Ionas).

PATERIA (c.f.) (in Italy) L VI

The maternal aunt of pope Gregory; she was in Campania in 591 when Gregory ordered the payment to her of forty *solidi* and four hundred *modii* of corn, apparently to provide shoes for her slaves (*volo autem ut domnae Pateriae, thiae meae, mox ut praesentem iussionem susceperis, offeras ad calciarium puerorum solidos quadraginta et tritici modios quadringentos*); Greg. *Ep.* 1 37 (a. 591 March; to Anthemius *rector patrimonii* in Campania). Gregory names his paternal aunts as Tarsilla, Gordiana and Aemiliana; *Hom. in Evang.* xxxviii 15, cf. *Dial.* iv 17. Pateria was therefore his mother Silvia's sister.

Cf. also Palatina 2 and Viviana.

Paternus 1 bishop of Avranches 551/552-564

A native of Poitiers, of noble family (*generosis parentibus exortus*), possibly born when his father held public office (in *administracione publica procreatus*; unless this means that he himself entered the public service), he was educated 'nobilissime' by his mother Iulita (a widow for about sixty years) and from childhood favoured a religious life; he entered the monastery at Enessio (St-Jouin-de-Marnes, dép. deux Sèvres); Ven. Fort. *V. S. Paterni* iii 9. He was born c. 482, was ordained to the priesthood in c. 511 by Leontianus of Coutances, became bishop of Avranches in April 551/April 552 and died, in his thirteenth year as bishop, during the night of Easter Monday, April 13, 564; for the chronology, see P. Grosjean, *Anal. Boll.* 67 (1949), pp. 386-7. He attended a council in Paris in 557/64; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 210.

Paternus 2 envoy of Dagobert 630

Envoy sent with Servatus by Dagobert to Heraclius; they returned in 630 with a peace treaty (*nunciantes pacem perpetuam cum Aeraclio firmasse*); Fredegar. iv 62. To judge by their names, both envoys were Gallo-Romans.

Patricia 1 gloriosissima femina (at Antaeopolis) M VI

In c. 553 she and Iulianus 13 were jointly the pagarchs of Antaeopolis; her duties were performed by her *diocetes* Menas 5; *P. Lond.* v 1660 Aphrodito. She is styled *ἐνδοξοτάτη Πατρικία*.

Patricia 2 ?c.f. (in Egypt) VI

Λαμπρ(οτάτη); *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 29 (the document records payments of barley by, among others, her heirs). Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Cf. Theodulus 1.

Patricia 3 gloriosissima femina (Egypt) VI

Recorded in a papyrus from the Fayum, a letter addressed to her from two ὑποδεκταὶ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐξουσίας; *BGU* III 798, lines 1-2 τῆ ἀγαθῆ μετὰ Θ(εὸν) δεσποίνῃ ἡμῶν τῆ ὑπερφουεστάτῃ θεοφυλάκτῳ Πατρικίᾳ.

PATRICIA 4 daughter of Mauricius M VI/VII

Daughter of Mauricius 6 and sister of Constantina 4; *BCTH* 1900, p. 146 = *AE* 1900, 51 = D 9217a = *ILCV* 234c = Pringle, no. 47 Rusguniae. See further Mauricius.

Patricia 5 landowner (near Oxyrhynchus) VI/VII

Her *domus* is recorded in a letter found at Oxyrhynchus (τοῦ οἴκου τῆς πανευφήμου Πατρικίας); *PSI* III 238 Oxyrhynchus. Cf. Menas 32.

Patricius: advocate, quaestor palatii (in Italy) 534-535; *PLRE* II.

Patricius (*Chron.* 724, pp. 147-8 = p. 114, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093-4): see Sergius 43.

PATRICIUS 1 comes Orientis 527

Native of Armenia; sent to Antioch in October 527 as *comes Orientis* and ordered to restore Palmyra, repairing churches and public buildings and establishing a military garrison there under the *dux* of Emesa; Joh. Mal. 425-6 (Justinian ἐπὶ τῆς ἕκτης ἐπιμελήσεως τῷ ὀκτωβρίῳ μηνὶ προηγάγετο κόμητα ἀνατολῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὀνόματι Πατρικίον, Ἀρμένιον), Theoph. AM 6020.

Patricius 2 primicerius exceptorum (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *primicerius exceptorum* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 25 (title: *de primicerio exceptorum*) Patricius exceptorum primicerium se a nobis noverit institutum, ut ad tale perductus officium placuisse suarum merita gaudeat actionum. On the *primicerius exceptorum* (fifth in rank of the *exceptores promoti*), cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 33.

- Patricius 3** PVC 536  
 PVC a. 536 March 18: Just. *Nov.* 22 epil. (ἔγγραφη τὸ ἰσότυπον Πατρικίῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως).
- Patricius 4** patricius 553  
 Gloriosissimus patricius, in Constantinople in May 553: *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 27-8 (present at the Council on May 8; he, with Belisarius and others, had twice failed to persuade pope Vigilius to attend), p. 186 (before May 26 he was sent with Cethegus and others to meet the western bishops).
- Patricius 5** honorary consul M VI  
 His tomb was at a site, Kara Douran, near Mount Cassius not far from Antioch; *IGLS* 1232 + τόπος/διαφέ/ροντ/τῷ ἐν/δοξ(οτάτῳ) (καί)/ὑπερ(φουεστάτῳ)/ἀπὸ ὑ/πάτ(ων)/Πατρι(κίῳ)/τοῦ κυρ(ίου)/Ἰουστιν/ανοῦ+. Apparently an honorary consul in the reign of Justinian.
- Patricius 6** Avaricus (?) VI  
 Πατρικίου τοῦ Ἀβαρικοῦ; *Zacos* 2817 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1460 (seal; obv.: square monogram (248) of Πατρικίου (it could also be interpreted as Παύλου πατρικίου); rev.: +TO/VABA/PIKX).
- Patricius 7** honorary consul VI  
 Πατρικίου ὑπάτου; *BCTH* 1925, p. xlvī, no. 7 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΔ; rev.: +V/ΠΑ/ΤΟV).
- Patricius 8** patricius VI  
 Πατρικίου πατρικίου; *Zacos* 441 (seal; obv. and rev.: square monogram (245) of Πατρικίου πατρικίου, or possibly Παύλου πατρικίου).
- Patricius 9** illustrius 605 or 607  
 Cousin (or ?nephew) of Domniziolus (Domentziolus 1); on June 7, 605 or 607, he was executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (ἰλλούστριος, ἀνεπιὸς Δομνιζιόλου κουράτορος γενομένου τῶν Ὁρμίσδου), *Theoph.* AM 6099. See further Theodorus 150.
- Patricius 10** ex praefectis VII  
 Πατρικίῳ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; *Zacos* 1573 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.543 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩΝ).
- Paucaris** soldier of Belisarius' bodyguard 536  
 An Isaurian, soldier of the bodyguard of Belisarius (ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου

ὑπασπισταῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντα), present in late 536 at the siege of Naples where he played an important part in breaking into the city via an aqueduct; *Proc. BG* i 9.17-21. See Belisarius, p. 196.

**PAVL.A** c.f. (in Spain) 520-544  
 Cl(ari)s(sim)a femina, famula Xp(ist)i; she died on 17 Jan., 544, aged twenty-four years, two months, and was buried at Seville; *Vives, Inscriptioes cristianas*, no. 110 = *ILCV* 186 Seville (dated in year 582 of the provincial era).

**Paulacis** v.d., miles numeri (at Ravenna) 639  
 V.d., miles numeri Arminiorum; son of Stephanus 61; in Nov. 639 at Ravenna he made a donation to the church of Ravenna; *Marini, P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, lines 3, 12-13, 20-1, 30, 39-40, cf. line 57 ego qui supra Paula(cis) v.d. mil. num. Arminiorum. The document also records (line 60) the payment to him of thirty-six *solidi*.

**Paulacius** (*AE* 1903, 230) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Paulina 1** inlustris femina (in Spain) 542  
 Inl(ustris) fem(ina); wife of (A)emilianus 1, mother of Principius 2; *Vives, Inscriptioes cristianas*, no. 145 = *ILCV* 222a Zahara (in Baetica). *Inlustris femina* presumably here denotes social rank, implying descent from a senatorial family, not an imperial dignity.

**Paulina 2** cubicularia ?VI  
 Ἡ μακαρία Παυλίνα κουβουκλαρία; buried at Odessus; *Beshevliev, Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 250, a and b (Odessus). Possibly a lady-in-waiting of an empress at Constantinople and therefore a lady of rank, but she may equally have served in some wealthy private household.

**Pa(ulinus)** (Ramsay, *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 165, n. 27) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

**(Decius) Paulinus 1** cos. ord. 534  
 Son of Venantius (= Basilius Venantius, cos. ord. in 508; *PLRE* II, Venantius 5); *Cass. Var.* IX 23. Member of the family of the Decii; *Cass. Var.* IX 22, 23. He had several brothers who had held consulships; *Cass. Var.* IX 23 (his father, 'qui tot meretur in filiis consulatus', is described as 'et fecunda prole gaudentem et tot consularibus patrem'). One was certainly the consul of 529, Decius 1. See *PLRE* II, stemma 26.

Paulinus was still a young man in 534; *Cass. Var.* IX 23 (cited below).

In late 533 his appointment as consul was announced in letters from Athalaric to him and to the senate; Cass. *Var.* IX 22 (addressed 'Paulino v.c. consuli'; per indictionem duodecimam sume insignia consulatus, honorem quidem arduum, sed familiae vestrae domesticum. Vos enim completis paginam consularem), 23 (to the senate; alumnus vestrum Paulinum aurea dignitate vestimus, ut iuventus eius, quae fulget meritis, trabea quoque resplendeat triumphali. Hunc honorem Deciorum familia non miratur, quia eorum plena sunt atria fascibus laureatis).

CONSVL ORDINARIVS (West) a. 534: *Fasti*, Rossi 1047-9 (1050-4 could be 498 or 534), *Coll. Avell.* 87, 90, Marcell. com. s.a. 534, Mar. Avent. s.a. 534, *P. Giss.* I 121, *CIL* III 2660, V 4118, 5211, 5214, 5232, 5419, 5431, 5685, 5692, 6269, 6403, 6467, 6469, 6813, 6855, 7416, 7417, VI 31937/8 = *ILCV* 247, X 786, 1346 (?a. 498), XII 1501, 1693, 2075-9, 2405, *AE* 1979, 46. In many of these dates he is called Paulinus iunior (to distinguish him from the consul of 498, cf. Cameron and Schauer, *JRS* 72 (1982), p. 127, n. 11). The eastern consul was Justinian, who is not recorded in the west; in the east the two are named together in *P. Giss.* I 121 and Marcell. com. s.a. 534. See also Bagnall and others, *Consuls*, pp. 602-3.

## PAVLINVS 2

v.c. (in Italy) 558/559

Vir clarissimus; he conveyed a query from the bishop of Volaterrae, Gaudentius, to Pelagius about the baptism of heretics wishing to return to the Catholic church; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 21 (a. 558 Sept./559 Feb. 2).

## Paulinus 3

sorcerer (at Constantinople) 583

A prominent citizen of Constantinople and well-educated, he became a practitioner of sorcery; in 583 he was found out, convicted and executed together with his son whom he had involved; Theoph. Sim. I 11.3-21 (esp. 3 ἀνήρ τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων τῆς πόλεως, πλείστης παιδείας μετεληφώς, ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν γοήτων βάραθρον τὴν ψύχην καταθήσας κατάφωρος γίνεταί), cf. Joh. Nik. 98.1-13 (pp. 533-5 Zotenberg), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 32 (described as of lowly origins, but this account is derived from Theophylact and so Nicephorus has made an error here). See also *V. Theod. Syn.* 42 for a similar anecdote.

Paulus (*CIG* 8824) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Paulus (Kraeling, *Ptolemis*, p. 211, no. 14) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Paulus (*CIL* XIII 1796) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Paulus (*CIG* 9157) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Paulus (*CIL* VI 32028) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Paulus (*CIL* VI 31971) L V or M VI: *PLRE* II.

## FL. PAVLVS 1

v.c., scholasticus; defensor of Antaeopolis 525-529/30

Φλ(αύσιος) Παῦλος ἑκδι[κος] τ[ῆ]ς Ἀντααιοπολιτῶν; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67254 Aphrodito (a. 525 Oct. 30). Fl(avius) Paulus schol(asticus) [et] defens(or) Antaeopol(itanorum) c.v. d(ixit); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67329, II 15 Aphrodito (a. 529/30).

## Paulus 2

vir strenuus (in Italy) 533/537

Sent to collect wine, wheat and meat for the (Gothic) army from Concordia, Aquileia and Forum Iulii, but then ordered by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to remit the wine and wheat because of shortages there and send only the meat, and to make up the wine by purchasing it in Histria, where there was an abundance; Cass. *Var.* XII 26 (addressed 'Paulo strenuo').

## PAVLVS 3

dux et praeses (Arabiae) 535

An inscription from Gerasa records the performance of the Maiuma in November 535 ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επειστάτου) καὶ ἐνδο(ξ)ι(οτάτου) ἡμῶν δοῦκος καὶ ἀρχ(οντος) Παύλλ(ου); Kraeling, *Gerasa*, pp. 470-1 = *AE* 1903, 331 Gerasa. Cf. ...soius. The epithet ἐνδοξότατος implies that he also had an (honorific) title (not recorded on the inscription) giving him the status of *gloriosissimus*. Perhaps he was an honorific MVM. Cf. also Summus (*PLRE* II, pp. 1038-9), and Anastasius 3 and 4.

## PAVLVS 4

?comes; infantry commander in Italy 535-537

In 535 he was one of four commanders of regular infantry units sent to the west under Belisarius to reconquer Italy (his three colleagues were Herodianus 1, Demetrius 3 and Vrsicinus 1); Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (καταλόγων... πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ Παῦλος... sc. ἄρχοντες).

In 537 he was present in Rome during the siege by the Goths; when they made their first major assault on the city, on the eighteenth day of the siege (perhaps March 10; cf. Belisarius), Paulus was on guard with his infantry unit at the Porta Pancratiana; Proc. *BG* I 23.1-2 (Παῦλος ἐνταῦθα φυλακὴν εἶχε, σὺν καταλόγῳ πεζικῶ οὐ αὐτὸς ἦρχεν).

His rank and office are uncertain, but his colleague, the cavalry commander Magnus 1, was a *comes*.

**Paulus 5** vir illustris; commander in Italy 537

VIR ILLUSTRIS a. 537: *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (cited under Conon 1; for the date, see below). In view of his rank, he may have been a *magister militum (vacans)*, but this is uncertain; cf. Conon.

In 537 Paulus and Conon were sent from Constantinople to Naples with three thousand Isaurians to reinforce Belisarius in Italy; Proc. *BG* II 5.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (they formed part of a relief army under the overall command of Ioannes 46). At Naples they were met by Ioannes and ordered to sail to Ostia with much needed supplies for Rome; Proc. *BG* II 5.3. On arrival at Ostia the Isaurians landed unopposed and dug a trench to defend the harbour; Proc. *BG* II 7.1-2, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (wrongly said to have camped at Portus; see Ioannes 46). After the supplies had been conveyed to Rome, most of the army transferred to Rome and the fleet sailed away but Paulus remained in Ostia with some Isaurians; Proc. *BG* II 7.12 (the date was around the winter solstice). Shortly afterwards the Gothic garrison which was holding Portus withdrew and Paulus with his Isaurians moved from Ostia and occupied it; Proc. *BG* II 7.16, 7.22.

**Paulus 6** ?citizen of Milan 538

During the siege of Milan he was sent by Mundilas to urge Martinus 2 and Vliaris 1 to help the city, and returned safely through the enemy lines with promises of speedy help; Proc. *BG* II 21.3-11. He is styled simply τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων (21.3) and may have been a citizen of Milan, not a soldier; cf. also 21.11 (his news encouraged τοὺς τε στρατιώτας καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, presumably soldiers and citizens).

He is not identical with Paulus 7, whom Procopius would probably have described in more specific terms.

**PAVLVS 7** commander in Italy 538-539

When in spring 538 Belisarius sent a thousand soldiers, Isaurians and Thracians, to Milan under the overall command of Mundilas, the Thracian troops were commanded by Paulus, the Isaurians by Ennes; Proc. *BG* II 12.26-7. After detachments had been left in other cities, Mundilas remained in Milan with three hundred soldiers together with Paulus and Ennes; Proc. *BG* II 12.40. Shortly afterwards the Goths under Vraias aided by the Burgundians laid siege to Milan; Proc. *BG* II 12.36-9, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (cuius nepos Oraio (= Vraias) Mediolanum longa inedia deterit, Mundilam Paulumque duces ibi positos cum suis milites (sic) obsidens). When the city finally fell (in spring 539, Proc. *BG* II 21.38-9, 22.1-2), Mundilas and Paulus were

carried away captive to Ravenna; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539 (Mundilam Paulumque duces abducunt Ravennam).

His office and rank are uncertain; the use of the word *duces* in *Marcell. com. Addit.* is not here technical. Paulus could be identical with either Paulus 4 or 5.

**PAVLVS 8** comes (military) (in Africa) 539/544

He constructed city walls at Calama under Solomon 1 (*ipsius iusso Paulus com(es) perfecit*); *CIL* VIII 5353 = *ILALg.* 1 277 = *ILCV* 803 = Durliat, no. 4 = Pringle, no. 19 Calama. The date is in the second prefecture of Solomon; cf. Solomon, p. 1175. Possibly identical with Paulus 28.

His name is perhaps to be restored on a Greek inscription from Bordj Hallal on which the name of Solomon is probably to be restored; *CIL* VIII 1259 + 14545 = *ILCV* 794 add. = Pringle, no. 15.

**Paulus 9** interpreter (with Chosroes) 540, 544

Thought to be of Roman origin, he grew up on Roman soil and went to school in Antioch; Proc. *BP* II 6.23. In 540 he accompanied Chosroes during the invasion of Osrhoene and Syria and acted as his interpreter and envoy in negotiations with various cities; Proc. *BP* II 6.22-3 (Hierapolis), 7.5 (Beroea), 8.4.7 (Antioch), 12.1 (Chalcis), 12.33 (Edessa). In 544 he played the same role during the siege of Edessa; *BP* II 26.14.24.25.

**PAVLVS 10** v.c., argentarius (at Ravenna) 540

Witness of a land purchase by Montanus; the document was drawn up at Ravenna on Jan. 4, 540; Marini, *P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. II, lines 1, 13-14 (Paulus v.c. arg(entariu)s, or similar). At this date Ravenna was the Ostrogothic capital and under siege by Belisarius.

**Paulus 11** honorary consul 541

Native of Galatia; an honorary consul, he was one of four notables sent to Cyzicus (perhaps as *iudices pedanei*) in late 541 to question Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian about the murder of the bishop of Cyzicus, Eusebius; Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (*Exc. de ins.*, p. 173) (Παῦλον τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπάτων τὸν Γαλάτην). His colleagues were Florus 1, Phocas (*PLRE* II, p. 882) and Thomas 9. They are described as ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρες, Proc. *BP* I 25.40; and as τινες τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὑπατικῶν, Joh. Mal. fr. 47. For the result of their enquiry, see Ioannes 11.

**Paulus 12** Roman officer (in Africa) 547

He fought under Ioannes 36 Troglita in summer 547 at the Roman





defeat of Marta; sent by Ioannes with Amantius 1 to assist the Moorish allies of Rome; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 598 (called 'Paulus sapiens').

Presumably the Paulus who was badly wounded in the defeat of the Moors in winter 546/7 is a different person; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 195.

Paulus 13 cavalry officer 549-550

Native of Cilicia; he was at one time head of the household of Belisarius (ὅς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐφειστήκει τῇ Βελισσαρίου οἰκίᾳ; possibly his *maior domus*); later he became commander of a regular cavalry unit (ὑστερον δὲ καταλόγου ἵππικῶν ἄρχων) and served in Italy, where he and Diogenes 2 were put in command of the garrison in Rome (by Belisarius, in late 548/early 549; Proc. *BG* iii 36.1); Proc. *BG* iii 36.16.

When Rome fell to Totila (on Jan. 16, 550; see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 593, n. 2), Paulus took refuge with four hundred cavalry in the Mausoleum of Hadrian, at the same time securing control of the Pons Aelius; after two days without food they prepared to die fighting, but most then accepted a peace offer from Totila and entered service with the Goths; only Paulus and an Isaurian called Mindes took up his alternative offer, to give up their horses and arms, swear not to fight against the Goths again, and so return safely to Constantinople; both had wives and children at home; Totila gave them money for the journey and an escort on their way; Proc. *BG* iii 36.17-28.

Possibly identical with Paulus 18.

PAVLVS 14 v.c., tribunus (East) 550

On June 17, 550, Paulus and Hypatius 1 were among those present at the synod of Mopsuestia; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 118 (Hypatio et Paulo clarissimis tribunis).

Paulus 15 praefectianus and defensor (of Mopsuestia) 550

PRAEFECTIANVS; VIR HONESTVS, DEFENSOR; present at the synod of Mopsuestia on June 17, 550, before which he produced some of the older leading laymen living in Mopsuestia (cf. Eumolpius) to testify; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 118 (vir honestus, defensor), p. 119 (eius defensor honestus vir), p. 121 (Paulus praefectianus et defensor dixit: Iussus a vestra sanctitate quos potui invenire vere seniores in laicis constitutos clarissimos et honestissimos viros produxi).

Paulus 16 bodyguard of Narses 1 552

He was a regular infantry soldier in Italy in 552, one of fifty selected by Narses 1 to occupy a particular strategic hill just before the battle of Busta Gallorum; during the fighting he displayed such valour that

Narses chose him to serve in his bodyguard; Proc. *BG* iv 29.13 (one of πεντήκοντα ἐκ καταλόγου πεζούς), 29.22-8 (διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπαπιστήν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Ναρσῆς τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσατο).

Paulus 17 PPO Africae 552

Addressee of Just. *Nov. App.* 6, issued 'Paulo pp. Africae' on Sept. 6, 552.

Paulus 18 suboptio of Belisarius 562

Ὁ ὑποπτίῳν Βελισσαρίου; Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal., fr. 49 (*Exc. de ins.*, pp. 174-5) (on p. 174 called ὁ ὀπτίῳν). Ὁ κουράτωρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Βελισσαρίου; Theoph. AM 6055. He was presumably an official of Belisarius' household responsible for the pay of his *bucellarii*; cf. Proc. *BV* i 17.1.

In November 562 Paulus was accused by Sergius 6 of complicity in a plot to assassinate Justinian; under examination by Procopius 3 and other high officials, he incriminated Belisarius himself; this evidence was read out in a *silentium* on Dec. 5; Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal., fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055.

Paulus 19 envoy to the Turks 571/576

Native of Cilicia; envoy to the Turks between 571 and 576; on his return he was accompanied by some Turks, who subsequently went back home in 576 with Valentinus 3; Men. Prot. fr. 43 (ἄμα Παύλῳ τῷ Κίλικι). Cf. Anancastes, Eutychius 2 and Herodianus 2.

Paulus 20 cancellarius (? of a PPO) M VI

Son of Domninus; subject of panegyrical verses by Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* ii 67185 verso (B) = Heitsch XLII 20, 1 Εἰς Πα[ύ]λο[ν] Δομνίνο(υ) καγκελλάρ(ιον) τῶν ἐπάρχ(ων).

Paulus 21 silentiarius; poet M VI

Grandson of Florus 1, son of Cyrus 4, he came from a prominent and wealthy family; a man of learning, famous for his poems, among them a description of Hagia Sophia, he held a leading position among the *silentiarii*; Agath. v 9.7 (τὰ Παύλῳ τῷ Κύρου τοῦ Φλώρου ἐν ἐξαμέτροις πεπονημένα (sc. about Hagia Sophia), ὅς δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα σιγῆς ἐπιστάταις γένους τε κοσμούμενος δόξη καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφθονον ἐκ προγόνων διαδεξάμενος, ὅμως παιδεία γε αὐτῷ καὶ λόγων ἄσκησις διεσπούδαστο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μᾶλλον ἤϋχει καὶ ἐσεμνύετο. καὶ τοίνυν πεπονηταὶ οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὡς πλεῖστα ποιήματα μνήμης τε ἄξια καὶ ἐπαίνου, δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ νεῷ εἰρημένα μείζονός

τε πόνου καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀνάπλεα καθεστάναι, ὅσῳ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις θαυμασιωτέρα), cf. *Anth. Gr.* ix 443 (son of Cyrus).

He was a *silentiarius* (cf. below) and reached the first position among the *silentiarii*, i.e. as *primicerius* (rather than *decurio*).

He was a contemporary of Agathias; Suid. A 112, and cf. *Anth. Gr.* v 292-3. Still alive in 566/7; *Anth. Gr.* ix 658 (see *Domninus*). Probably dead by 580, since Agathias (cited above) writes of him in the past tense (and cf. *JHS* 89 (1969), p. 94). According to the lemmata of *Anth. Gr.* vii 604 and ix 770 he had one daughter called Macedonia and another called Aniceteia; nothing in the poems supports this, and cf. also Macedonia.

Numerous poems by him were included in the *Cycle* of Agathias, all Παύλου σιλεντιαρίου; *Anth. Gr.* v 217, 219, 221, 226, 228, 230, 232, 234, 236, 239, 241, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 254ff., 258ff., 262, 264, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274ff., 279, 281, 283, 286, 288, 290ff., 293, 300ff.; vi 54, 57, 64ff., 71, 75, 81ff., 84, 168; vii 4, 307, 560, 563, 588, 600, 604, 606, 609; ix 396, 443ff., 620, 651, 658, 663ff., 764ff., 766-9, 770, 782; x 15, 74, 76; xi 60; xvi 57, 77, 118, 277ff.

His extant description (*Ekphrasis*) of Hagia Sophia was composed to celebrate the rededication of the church, at Epiphany, 563.

Paulus 22 doctor; bishop of Emerita M/L VI

A Greek and a doctor, he left the east to live in Emerita where he acquired enormous wealth after saving the life of a very wealthy noble; in the course of time, he was chosen as bishop; he was succeeded as bishop by his nephew Fidelis; *V. Patr. Emer.* iv (sanctum virum nomine Paulum, natione Graecum, arte medicum, de Orientis partibus in Emeritensem urbem advenisse), v-vi.

Paulus 23 father of the emperor Maurice M/L VI

Presumably a native of Arabissus in Cappadocia; see *Mauricius* 4.

Father of the emperor Maurice; *Agath.* iv 29.8, *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18, *Men. Prot. fr.* 47, fr. 58, *Theoph. Sim.* i 10.1, *Theoph. AM* 6075, 6085, *Cedr.* i 698, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi. Father also of *Petrus* 55 and of two daughters (*Gordia* 2 and *Theoctista* 2); *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18.

Summoned to court on his son's accession; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18 (already elderly). It was his first ever visit to Constantinople; *Theoph. Sim.* i 10.1. He attended his son's wedding; *Theoph. AM* 6075.

The vast wealth of *Marcellus* 5 (brother of the emperor *Justin*) was divided between him and his son *Petrus*; in addition he and his wife were given a house in Constantinople convenient for both the palace and the church; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi.

PROTOPATRICIVS and CAPVT SENATVS ?a. 582-593: he was apparently made πρωτοπατρικίος and πρῶτος τῆς συγκλήτου (probably the same thing) by his son; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18 ('suum ipsius patrem vero etiam toti senatui praefecit, principem omnium patriciorum'), *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi. Presumably he kept the position until his death; cf. *Stein, Bas-Emp.* ii 788-9. On *protopatricius*, cf. *Oikonomides, Listes*, p. 295, and see *Apion* 3.

He died at Constantinople, apparently in 593, and his tomb was placed among those of the emperors; *Theoph. AM* 6085, *Cedr.* i 698.

Addressee of a letter from *Childebert II* in 587, one of a group to high dignitaries in the east seeking to establish a friendly relationship between Byzantium and the Franks; *Ep. Austras.* 37 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 144) (addressed 'viro glorioso atque praecelso Paulo, hoc est patrem imperatorem (sic)').

PAVLVS 24 v.c., tribunus (Egypt) VI

In a letter to *Fl. Strategius* 5 the writer hopes that *Strategius'* orders will be carried out when *Paulus* comes to *Oxyrhynchus*; *P. Oxy.* 1829 (τοῦ λαμπροτάτου τριβούνου Παύλου). Cf. *Cyra*.

Paulus 25 man of wealth (at Constantinople) L VI

Under the influence of *Narses* 9 he had founded monasteries in the east, perhaps at Constantinople; *Greg. Ep.* vii 27 (a. 597 June; to *Narses*; monasteriis quae per orationes et magisterium vestrum a filio nostro domno Paulo instituta sunt). The use of *domnus* implies that he was a person of rank.

PAVLVS 26 (dux et augustalis Alexandriae) L VI

A native of Alexandria, he succeeded *Ioannes* 169 as 'prefect' of Alexandria under *Maurice* ('préfet d'Alexandrie'; *Zotenberg*); he was very quickly replaced by *Ioannes* again; *Joh. Nik.* 97.8 (pp. 530-1 *Zotenberg*). His post was probably that of *dux et augustalis* of Alexandria.

Paulus 27 vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI

Ἐνδοξ(ό)τατος; *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 26 (the document records payments of barley by, among others, his heirs). Presumably a landowner in the *Oxyrhynchite nome*. Cf. *Theodulus* 1.

PAVLVS 28 comes (in Africa) VI

Named in a fragment of an inscription recording the construction of fortifications at *Vaga* at an unknown date; the style of the surviving text does not resemble that of the inscriptions recording construction work

from the time of Solomon 1; *CIL* viii 14399 = *ILT* 1227 = Durliat, no. 31 = Pringle, no. 1 Vaga (lines 4-5 .mu]nimen imminentem Paulum com[.../...]arium domus dibine[...]). It is not certain that Paulus was the official of the *domus divina* recorded in the last line, nor is it certain what the title of that official was; cf. Durliat, pp. 79-80. Possibly identical with Paulus 8.

**Paulus 29** illustrius (Egypt) VI

Recorded in a papyrus from somewhere in the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1052 Fayum (line 1 + ]π(αρὰ) Παύλου ἰλλ(ουστρίου); ordered meat for a μειζότερος called Ὠρ).

**Paulus 30** vir gloriosissimus, comes (Egypt) VI

A letter written by one *scholasticus* (Victor 10) to another alludes to a time when Paulus was apparently in office (ὡς καὶ ἐποίησα ἄλλοτε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμιτος Παύλου); *P. Oxy.* 1165, line 10. As Oxyrhynchus was in Arcadia, Paulus was probably governor of Arcadia; the epithet ἐνδοξότατος suggests that he was the *dux et augustalis*.

**PAVLVS 31** tribunus (Egypt) ?VI

Τριβ(ούνος); mentioned in a papyrus recording a sale of property; *SB* 4755. 30 provenance unknown.

**Paulus 32** ?PPO ?VI

A string of names at the beginning of an inscription recording the publication of an imperial edict (θεόπεμπτον ἐδίκτ(ον)) at Ephesus by the *proconsul* Ioannes 118 reads as follows: Φλ. Σωτηρ...αρ( ) Φλα. Πατρ( ) Ἰωανν( ) Ἰωανν( ) Μην( ) Θεο( ) Δομε( ) Παυλ( ); *IK* 14, 1336. These may be the names of the current praetorian prefect or prefects (it was usual practice for such communications to go out under the names of all the current PPOs). Possibly they were: Fl. Soter(ichus) .ar( ); Fl. Patr(icius) Ioann(es); and Fl. Ioann(es) Men(as) Theo(dorus) Dome(tius) Paul(us). This is very uncertain and the names do not seem to fit any known group of PPOs.

**Paulus 33** chartularius VI

Παύλου χαρτουλαρίου; *Zacos* 444 (seal; obv.: square monogram (255) of Παύλου; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΟΝΑ/ΑΡ...).

**Paulus 34** chartularius VI

Παύλου χαρτουλαρίου; *Zacos* 445 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.293 (seal; obv.: square monogram (257) of Παύλου; rev.: cruciform monogram (364) of χαρτουλαρίου).

**Paulus 35** illustrius VI

Παύλου ἰλλουστρίου; *Zacos* 448 (seal; obv.: square monogram (256) of Παύλου; rev.: square monogram (147) of ἰλλουστρίου).

**Paulus 36** illustrius M/L VI

Παύλου illustrii; *Zacos* 449 = Fogg Art Museum seal 880 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (261) of Παύλου; rev.: +ILL/ΥΥΤ/ΥΙΥ).

**Paulus 37** MVM VI

Παύλου στρατηλάτου; Fogg Art Museum seal 1297 (seal; obv.: +/ΠΑΥ/ΛΟΥ; rev.: ΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΑ/ΤΟΥ).

**Paulus 38** scribo M/L VI

Παύλου σκρίβονος; *Zacos* 675 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3512 (seal; obv.: eagle, with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram (260) of Παύλου; rev.: cruciform monogram (300) of σκρίβονος).

**Paulus 39** magister or magistrianus (Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus listing expenses of the Arion estates; *PSI* 953, line 50...Παύλω μαγίστρ(ω or -ιανῶ) ἐλθόντ[...]. Possibly the same man appears also in *PSI* 956, line 45 Παύλω μαγίστρ(ω or -ιανῶ) (also from Oxyrhynchus). He was probably a *magister*, a relatively minor tax official; see Ioannes 176.

**Paulus 40** scholasticus and iudex pedaneus VI

Recorded on the tombstone of two persons, perhaps his children, at Megara; *IG* vii 175 = *CRAI* 1867, p. 248 = *BCH* 1878, p. 167 κμητήριον διάφερον Λουκά και Κυριακή Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ τὴν λογίαν μνήμ(ην) σχο(λαστικοῦ) και θείου δικαστοῦ γεναμένου. Lucas died on Nov. 11 of a seventh indiction.

The interpretation is not certain. Lucas and Cyriace were perhaps Paulus' children (?adopted), rather than students of his. Paulus, already dead when the inscription was put up, was evidently a prominent lawyer.

**Paulus 41** (vir gloriosus); scholasticus (in Sicily) 590-603

In Sicily in 590, when Gregory wrote to him commending the new *rector patrimonii* in Sicily, Petrus; he was apparently an associate of Leo 5, since Gregory assumed that he would not remain in Sicily now that Leo was coming to Rome and advised him to accompany Maurentius 2

on his journey to Rome for safety's sake; Greg. *Ep.* 13 (a. 590 Sept.; addressed 'Paulo scolastico'). In 603 Gregory wrote praising him for settling his quarrel with bishop Leo of Catania; Greg. *Ep.* xiv 1 (a. 603 Sept.; addressed 'Paulo scolastico Siciliae'). In both letters he is styled 'gloria vestra'.

Paulus 42 deacon and argentarius M VI/M VII

Παύλου διακόνου καὶ ἀργυροπράτου; Zacos 962 (seal; obv.: ΠΑΥ/ΛΘΔΙ/ΑΚ'; rev.: ΣΑΡ/ΓΥΡΟ/ΠΡ'). For a similar specimen, see Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 440 = Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 244.

Paulus 43 candidatus M VI/M VII

Παύλου κανδιδάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3739 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (260) of Παύλου; rev.: cruciform monogram (179) of κανδιδάτου).

Paulus 44 chartularius M VI/M VII

Παύλου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2951a and b (two seals; obv.: the Annunciation; rev.: cruciform monogram (262) of Παύλου χαρτουλαρίου).

Paulus 45 illustrius M VI/M VII

Παύλου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 963 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3961 (seal; obv.: ΠΑΥ/ΛΟΝ; rev.: ΙΛΛ/ΤΡΙΘ).

Paulus 46 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Παύλου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 673 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.698 (seal, dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: eagle, with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram (259) of Παύλου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩ/Ν). The same man perhaps owned another seal, Zacos 674 (obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΑΛ/ΘΑΠ./ΕΠΧΟ.).

Paulus 47 scribo M VI/M VII

Παύλου σκρίβωνος; Zacos 1385 (seal; obv.: square monogram (264), possibly of Παύλου σκρίβωνος - the interpretation is uncertain; rev.: +ΔΘ/ΛΘΤΗΘ/ΘΕΟΤΟΚ/ΟΝ).

Paulus 48 candidatus L VI/E VII

Son of Maria; he and his mother were the addressees of verses by Sophronius cast in the form of a dialogue between Paul and Maria; Sophronius, *Anacreontica* 22 Εἰς τὸν κύριον Παῦλον τὸν κανδιδάτον καὶ Μαρῖαν τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ.

Paulus 49 son of Maurice L VI/E VII

Son of the emperor Maurice; with his father he fled from Phocas on Nov. 22, 602, and was captured and killed at Chalcedon on Nov. 27; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1, and cf. Mauricius 4.

PAVLVS 50 comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Named in *SB* 5299, line 4 (τοῦ κόμ(ι)τος Παύλου [...] provenance unknown. See further Cyrus 15.

Paulus 51 candidatus (East) VI/VII

Son of Maria 11 (ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυροῦ Παύλου τοῦ κανδιδάτου); Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 266 (185).

Paulus 52 ex praefectis VI/VII

+/Παύλο(υ)/ἀπὸ ἐπ/άρχων; *Rev. Arch.* 1903, II, p. 73, n. 9 and *BCAR* 34 (1906), p. 351 two identical seals from Carthage. On the reverse are monograms of Θεοτόκε βοήθει.

(Flavius) Paulus 53 ?v.c. (Egypt); riparius VI/VII

Addressee of an agreement; *Stud. Pal.* III 343, 1 ([Φλ](αίω) Παύλω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ῥιπαρίῳ υἱῷ τοῦ μακαρίου [.....:14.....]) (Heraclaeopolis, VI/VII).

Paulus 54 pagarch of Sebennytos 609/610

Appointed by Phocas as pagarch of Sebennytos (in Aegyptus); Joh. Nik. 107.26 (p. 544 Zotenberg) ('the prefect of the city of Samnūd' ('préfet de la ville de Semnoud'; Zotenberg); for the title 'pagarch', see Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*, p. 60, n. 2 and Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 74). He remained loyal to Phocas during the revolt of Heraclius and joined Bonosus 2 to defeat Bonākis near Manūf; he then led Bonosus' ships in the attack on Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 107.26.28.33.36.48 (pp. 544-7 Zotenberg). After the defeat of Bonosus he remained with the ships and was rejoined by Bonosus, but was finally arrested and pardoned by Nicetas 7; Joh. Nik. 108.15, 109.15 (pp. 548, 550 Zotenberg).

Fl. Paulus 55 pagarch of Arsinoe VII

Addressee of a document found at Arsinoe; *P. Flor.* III 336 verso εἰς Φλ(άουιον) Παῦλον τὸν σοφώτ(ατον) (καὶ) εὐκλε[έ]στατον..., recto, lines 1-2 Φλ(αουίω) [Παύλω τῷ σο]φωτ[ά]τῳ καὶ εὐκλ[ε]στάτῳ....//καὶ παγάρχῳ ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως. The epithet σοφώτατος implies that he was a man of learning (perhaps

*scholasticus*), while εὐκλεέστατος indicates very high rank. The missing part of his title may have been something honorific, e.g. ἀπὸ ὑπάτων or στρατηλάτη.

Paulus 56 (of Aegina) medical writer VII

He was a native of Aegina and author of a book on medicine; Cougny III, iii 188: τοῦνομα μοι Παῦλος, πατρὶς Αἴγινα· πολλὰ μογήσας πᾶσαν ἀκεστορίην βίβλον ἔτευξα μίαν. The lemma reads: εἰς τὴν ἰατρικὴν βίβλον Παύλου Αἰγινήτου.

He was author of a medical work in seven books ('Ἐπιτομῆς ἰατρικῆς βιβλία ζ'), published in *CMG* IX, ed. Heiberg, 1921, 1924, and of another work (Περὶ οὔρων), still in manuscript; see Christ-Schmid-Stählin VII ii 2, p. 1099, and Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* II, p. 302.

He worked in Alexandria in the early seventh century and was still there when it came under Arab rule in 642.

Paulus (?) 57 honorary consul VII

Παύλῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.435 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of κύριε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (263), here of uncertain interpretation, possibly Παύλῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, possibly Ἰωάννου ὑπάτου (Nesbitt). Cf. also monograms 174 and 412.

Paulus 58 honorary consul and genicus logothetes VII

Παύλου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ γενικοῦ λογοθέτου; Zacos 961 (seal; obv.: +ΠΑΥ[Λ]/ΟΝΑΠ[Ο]/ΝΠΑΤ/ΩΝ; rev.: ΓΓΕ/ΝΙΚΟΝ/ΛΟΓΟΘΕ/ΤΟΝ+).

Paulus 59 cubicularius et imperialis chartularius VII

Παύλου κουβικουλαρίου (καὶ) βασιλικῶν χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 446 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.176 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (260) of Παύλου; rev.: [Κ]ΟΝΒΙ/ΚΟΝΛΑΡΙ./ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩ/ΧΑΡΤΟΝ/ΛΑΡΙΩ).

Paulus 60 dioecetes VII

Παύλου διοικητοῦ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2455 and 2463 (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΑΥ/ΛΟΝΔΙ/ΟΙΚΗ/ΤΟΝ).

Paulus 61 imperialis mandator VII

Παύλου μανδάτορος βασιλικῶν; Zacos 964 (seal; obv.: +ΠΑ/ΥΛΟΝ/ΜΑΝΔΑ/ΤΟΡΟΣ; rev.: +ΒΑΣ/ΙΛΙΚ/ΟΝ), and cf. also Zacos 965 (obv.: ΠΑΥ/ΛΟΝ; rev.: ΒΑΣΙ/ΛΙΚΟΝ/ΜΑΝΔΑ/ΤΟΡ'; dated VII Zacos). Two more specimens of 965 occur in Zacos' series. On the

*basilicos mandator*, see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 298 with n. 69, Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 113.

Paulus 62

MVM VII

Παύλῳ στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 1577 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΑΥ/ΛΩΣΤΡ/ΑΤΗΛΛΑ/ΤΗ+).

Paulus 63

patricius and magister (officiorum) VII

Παύλῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ μαγίστρῳ; Zacos 966a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2087, Zacos 966b (two seals; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/[Ο]ΚΕΒΟΗ/[Θ]ΙΠΑΥ/ΛΩ(a), +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΙ/ΠΑΥΛ/Ω(b); rev.: [Π]ΑΤ[Ρ]/ΙΚΙΩ/Μ/ΑΓΙΣΤ/ΡΩ+(a), +[Π]ΑΤ/ΡΙΚΙΩ[Σ]/ΜΑΓΙΣΤ/ΡΩ(b)). For a similar specimen, see Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 410c.

Paulus 64

patricius VII

Παύλῳ πατρικίῳ; Zacos 1187a and b (two seals; obv.: Virgin and child, with [ΘΕΟΤΟΚ]ΕΒΟΗΘ[Η]; rev.: square monogram (258) of Παύλῳ, with the word ΠΑΤ/ΡΙ/ΚΙΩ around three sides).

Paulus 65

ex praefectis VII

Παύλου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 960a and b (two seals; obv.: +ΠΑΥ/ΛΟΝΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ+ (on both seals); rev.: +ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΝΤΗΣ/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ (a), +ΔΟ/ΥΛΟΝΤ/ΗΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΣ (b)). Another specimen similar to (a) occurs in Zacos' series, and three more in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, viz. 58.106.971, 58.106.1487 and 58.106.4357.

Paulus 66

scholarius VII

Παύλου σχολαρίου; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 260, no. 113 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΠΑΥΛΟΝ ΣΧΟΛΑΡΙΟΝ).

Paulus: named in Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3 as successor to the Lombard king Authari in 590; the successor of Authari was Agilulfus. Gregory's information came via Lombard envoys to the court of king Guntram, but would seem to have reached him in garbled form.

Paulus (*IGLS* 530 = *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III, p. 91, n. 75): see Bacchus 3.

(Fl.) Petrus Paulus Ioannes

Pegasus 1

doctor (in Africa) 544

A doctor in Laribus in Africa; a friend of Solomon 2 whom he rescued

from captivity among the Moors by purchasing him for fifty *solidi*; subsequently while accompanying Solomon from Laribus to Carthage he was killed by Solomon after rebuking him for some act of injustice; Proc. *BV* II 22.14-16, *Anecd.* 5.33-5.

Solomon was acquitted of murder by Justinian and Theodora on the grounds that Pegasus was a traitor to the Roman cause (ἀτε προδότην... τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς); Proc. *Anecd.* 5.36. There is nothing in the narrative of Procopius to suggest that such an allegation had any basis in fact.

Pegasus 2 citizen of Heliopolis M VI

A pagan from Heliopolis, questioned with his sons during the first persecution of pagans under Justinian, in 529/530; Theoph. *AM* 6022. On Heliopolis, a city still inhabited by many pagans in 580, cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.27, and also Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 53 (47) (= *PG* 87, 2901).

Peiragastus (Πειράγαστος) Slav leader 594

An ally of the khan of the Avars, in 594 with a Slav cavalry force he ambushed the Roman army under Petrus 55 at a river-crossing somewhere near the Danube; after initially inflicting heavy losses, the Slavs retreated after Peiragast was mortally wounded; Theoph. *Sim.* VII 4.13 (Φύλαρχος δὲ οὗτος τῆς πληθύος ἐκείνης τῶν βαρβάρων), 5.4 (ὁ τούτων ταξίαρχος), Theoph. *AM* 6089 (ὁ ἕξαρχος τῶν Σκλαυινῶν; derived from Theophylact).

Pelagia mother of Aredius M VI

Mother of Aredius (St Yrieix) and one other son; after the death of her husband and Aredius' brother, she was given the management of the family estates, in order to free Aredius to pursue the religious life; she also supported the monastery founded by him at Limoges; Greg. *Tur.* *HF* X 29. Her death is described in Greg. *Tur.* *Glor. Conf.* 104. Her husband was Iocundus; *V. Aridii* 3.

Pelagius 1 army commander (in Tripolitana) 544

Commander of troops in Tripolitana, he joined Solomon 1 in 544 for the campaign against Antalas and the Moorish rebels; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 409-10 (qui Tripolis tunc ductor erat, convenit et audax Pelagius). He apparently brought with him as allies two Moorish tribes, the pagan Mecales and the Ifuraces, who proved false; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 410-12 (the text is uncertain and the interpretation obscure). Since the *dux Tripolitanae* at this date was Sergius 4, Pelagius was perhaps Sergius' deputy, *vicarius ducis*, in Tripolitana.

Pelagius 2 royal official (at Tours) 586

In 586 he lived at Tours where he had authority over the keepers of the royal horses; his crimes and misdeeds are noted by Gregory of Tours, who found him incorrigible and indifferent to the judicial authorities, confident in his post in the royal service (pro eo quod iumentorum fiscalium custodes sub eius potestate consisterent); he died of fever in July 586 shortly after denying on oath the theft of church property, which was subsequently found in his treasury; Greg. *Tur.* *HF* VIII 40.

Peltradius man of property, ?at Messana L VI

Father of Faustinus 3; he bequeathed property to the church at Messana 'sepulturae suae gratia', property which, according to his son, was not his to give; he died before Sept. 597; Greg. *Ep.* VIII 3 (a. 597 Sept.).

Peranivus ?MVM vacans 535-544

On the name (= Piran), cf. Justi, pp. 246 and 252.

Native of Iberia; Proc. *BP* II 28.1, *BG* I 5.3. He was the eldest son (or possibly brother) of the Iberian king Gurgenes (*PLRE* II); Proc. *BP* I 12.11, cf. *BG* I 5.3 (of the royal Iberian family - γενόμενος τῶν ἐκ βασιλείως Ἰβήρων). Father of Pacurius; Proc. *BG* III 27.2, IV 26.4. Uncle of Phazas; Proc. *BG* III 6.10. See stemma 24.

In c. 526/527 (or possibly 522; cf. Toumanoff, *Traditio* VII, pp. 483-5) he fled to Lazica with his parents and other members of the Iberian royal family and with all the Iberian notables to escape from Persian attacks; Proc. *BP* I 12.11. Later described as deserting to the Romans (αὐτόματος... ἐς Ῥωμαίους) through hatred of the Persians; Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (this probably refers to 532; in the peace between Rome and Persia, the Iberians were given the freedom to return home or remain in Constantinople; cf. Proc. *BP* I 22.16).

?MVM VACANS (in Italy) a. 535-539: one of three ἀρχοντες λόγιμοι sent under Belisarius to reconquer Sicily and Italy in 535; Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (the other two were Bessas (*PLRE* II) and Constantinus 3; they are distinguished from the officers who commanded units of cavalry and infantry and were probably *magistri militum vacantes*).

He was in Rome during the siege by the Goths. In spring 537, shortly after the siege began, he and Bessas were stationed at the Porta Praenestina near the Vivarium when the Goths began an attack; they called Belisarius to their aid and finally drove off the enemy; Proc. *BG* I 23.13. On a later occasion he led a sally from the Porta Salaria; Proc. *BG* II 1.11. After the siege ended, Peranivus was sent by Belisarius in late

surrender 538 with a large army to besiege Urbs Vetus (Orvieto); Proc. *BG* II 19.1. In December 538 he persuaded Belisarius himself to come and help with the siege; Proc. *BG* II 20.4. The city apparently fell in the spring of 539; cf. Proc. *BG* II 20.4 with 14-15.

?MVM VACANS (in the East) a. 543-544: in 543 he was one of the Roman commanders (οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες) on the eastern front; before the campaign he camped at Phison near Martyropolis with Domnentiolus, Iustus 2, Ioannes 32 and Ioannes 64; Proc. *BP* II 24.15-16. They crossed the Persian frontier at the nearest point when they heard that the other Roman generals had invaded (cf. Petrus (*PLRE* II, pp. 870-1), Philemuth, Verus, Martinus 2 and Valerianus 1) but failed to unite with them; Proc. *BP* II 24.20. They invaded the district of Taraunitis, took a small amount of plunder, and then withdrew to Roman territory; Proc. *BP* II 25.35.

In 544 Peranius was with Martinus and Petrus in Edessa when the Persians laid siege to it; Proc. *BP* II 26.25. During negotiations, Chosroes demanded the surrender of Peranius and Petrus on the grounds that they were his hereditary slaves (δοῦλοι ὄντες πατρῷοι); Proc. *BP* II 26.38. When an assault by the Persians under Azarethes threatened to break into the city through one of the gates, Peranius led reinforcements of soldiers and citizens to the spot and averted the danger; Proc. *BP* II 27.42.

Soon after the end of the siege, Peranius was injured in a fall from his horse while out hunting and died; Proc. *BP* II 28.1. Justinian appointed the MVM Constantianus 1 to succeed him; Proc. *BP* II 28.2.

Peredeo

Lombard assassin 572

A Lombard, attendant of king Alboin; he conspired with Rosimunda and Hilmegis to murder Alboin at Verona in 572; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5 (per consilium Peritheo), *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5 (consilio Peredei cubicularii sui, i.e. of Alboin), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 28. According to Paul he then fled with Rosimunda and Hilmegis to Ravenna and was sent by Longinus 5 to Constantinople; there he killed a lion in the games before the emperor, who in alarm ordered his eyes put out; in revenge he subsequently gained entry to the palace with concealed knives and killed two patricians; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 30 (presumably a legend).

Pergamius (*SB* 8262) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Pericleia

?mother of Agathias E/M VI

Wife of Memnonius; she died leaving a three-year old child and was buried near the Bosphorus; *Anth. Gr.* VII 552 (a poem of Agathias, cited

under Memnonius). The *corrector Palatini* identifies her as τὴν ἰδίαν μητέρα κειμένην ἐν Βυζαντίῳ; this is not confirmed by the contents of the poem, but the coincidence of the name Memnonius and his origin in Asia, and the authorship of Agathias, suggest that the lemma is probably correct.

Perigenes 1

v.d., memorialis 535

Memorialis, at Constantinople in 535; formerly assistant of Tribonianus 1 'in legum confectione'; Just. *Nov.* 35 (a. 535 May 23). See further Theodosius 2.

Perigenes 2

ex praefectis VII

Περιγέν(ει) ἀπὸ ἐ(πάρχων); Zacos 1578 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΠΕΡΙ/ΓΕΝΗ/ΑΠΘ<sup>Ε</sup>). Another similar seal occurs in Zacos' series.

Perittius (!)

?Persian general E VII

A late and unreliable source describes Perittius as ὁ καστροφύλαξ of the Persian-held fortress of Scrapion, also called Rhegium, who attacked Chalcedon with a large army (seventy thousand men!) at the instigation of a heretic priest, after the death of (the emperor) Marcian; he carried statues of the sun-god back to Persia; *Patr. Const.* II 89a. The circumstances seem to suit the aftermath of the death of Maurice better than that of Marcian (one MS of the *Patria* in fact gives Maurice's name and puts the events after Maurice's murder), but the whole story is probably fiction, inspired by tales of Persian triumphs in the wars against Phocas and Heraclius.

Perozes

Persian commander 530

He was commander-in-chief of the Persian army which was defeated at the battle of Dara in June 530; he allegedly held the high-ranking dignity of *mirhan* and is regularly styled ὁ Μιρράνης by Procopius; Proc. *BP* I 13.16 (στρατηγὸς δὲ εἰς ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, μιρράνης μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα (οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλοῦσι Πέρσαι), Περόζης δὲ ὄνομα). 17, 14.1-20.29-32.44, Theoph. AM 6022. On his return to Persia after the defeat he was disgraced by Cavades; Proc. *BP* I 17.26-9. See further Belisarius, p. 184. 'Mirhan' was in fact the name of one of the leading families in Persia; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 103ff., p. 105, n. 3 and cf. Justi, p. 248, s.n. Pēroč, no. 19.

Perhaps to be identified with Mirranes ὁ Περσῶν στρατηγός who attempted briefly to lay siege to the city of Dara during the reign of Cavades; Proc. *Aed.* II 2.19.

Petechon ?vir magnificentissimus (in Egypt) VI

He received a letter from Tzance reminding him about a troublesome monk; *P. Fouad* 86, line 8 πρὸς τὸν [με]γαλοπ[ρ]ε(πέστατον) Πετέχωντα. The provenance is unknown. His name is Coptic. The epithet would be consistent with (among other offices) the post of *tribunus*; see Tzance (possibly his superior officer; but the circumstances are unclear).

Petronas 1 chartularius M VI/M VII

Πετροῦ χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 466 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (265) of Πετρονα; rev.: cruciform monogram (360) of χαρτουλαριου).

Petronas 2 curator (in Thrace) VI/VII

Named on a boundary marker, set up ἐπὶ Πετροῦ κουράτορος; Feissel, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 465, n. 2 (now in the museum at Edirne, formerly Adrianople). Possibly a *curator divinae domus*.

PETRONELLA (c.f.) (in Lucania); nun (in Sicily) 593

Of noble family in Lucania (nobilem mulierem de provincia Lucania), she became a nun at the urging of bishop Agnellus and donated all her property to her convent; later she fled to Sicily to escape the Lombard invasion and was seduced by Agnellus' son, also called Agnellus, who removed her from her convent with her property; Gregory ordered that she and her property be restored to the convent; Greg. *Ep.* iv 6 (a. 593 Sept.).

Petronia (CIL x 664) V/VI: PLRE II.

Petronia confidante of the empress Constantina E VII

She secretly carried messages between Maurice's widow, Constantina I, and Germanus II, but then betrayed them to Phocas; Theoph. AM 6099. See Constantina for the date (605 or 607).

Petronius (CIL vi 32049) 450-528: PLRE II.

Petronius I wealthy citizen of Philadelphia M VI

A native of Philadelphia in Lydia, of good family, wealthy and well-educated, he inherited a considerable fortune but fell victim to Ioannes IO 'Maxilloplumacius', who had him arrested and maltreated, in spite of protests from the bishop, clergy and people, until he surrendered his wealth; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 59. The events occurred during the prefecture of John the Cappadocian (Ioannes II), i.e. 531/541.

Petronius 2 honorary consul (West) L VI/E VII

Native of Campania and father of pope Honorius (a. 625-638); *Lib. Pont.* 72 (Honorius was 'natione Campanus, ex patre Petronio consule'). Cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 24, 137. See Honorius 7.

Petronius 3 (v.c.), exceptor (Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a letter from an *ordinarius* in Nilopolis; *P. Oxy.* 942, line 6 + ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ δεσπό(τη) τῷ πά(ν)τ(ων) λαμπρο(τάτῳ) εὐδοκ(ιμωτάτῳ) πά(ν)των φιλ(τάτῳ) ἀδελφ(ῶ) Πετρονίῳ ἕξκ(έπτορι). *Exceptor* is more probable than *excubitor* (proposed by Wilcken); Petronius presumably served at Oxyrhynchus in the *officium* of the *dux* of Arcadia. Cf. also Martyrius and Mebis.

Petrus (CIL v 1602-3) V/VI: PLRE II.

Petrus (CIL x 664) V/VI: PLRE II

Petrus (PSI 891, 7) V/VI: PLRE II.

Petrus: MVM (vacans) c. 526/527-544; PLRE II.

Petrus I v.inl., curator divinae domus Augustae 531

V.INL., CVRATOR DIVINAE DOMVS SERENISSIMAE AVGVSTAE a. 531 Nov. 27: joint addressee with Florus I and Macedonius 2 of CJ VII 37.3 (a. 531 Nov. 27). The post was probably of recent creation; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 423.

Petrus 2 infantry commander (at Callinicum) 531

Bodyguard of the emperor Justinian (τῶν τις δορυφόρων Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως); he commanded the infantry in Belisarius' army in the campaign of 531 which ended in the battle of Callinicum; Proc. *BP* I 18.6. During the battle he and his men held out until nightfall against the Persian cavalry; Proc. *BP* I 18.42-9. The date of the battle was April 19, 531; Joh. Mal. 463, Proc. *BP* I 18.15. It is not clear whether or not Petrus survived the battle.

PETRVS 3 v.c., erogator opsoniorum (at Rome) 533/537

Appointed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (PLRE II) to distribute *opsonia* to the people of Rome (opsonia Romano populo distribuenda ab illa indictione propitia tibi divinitate concedimus, ut sine aliqua imminutione percipere possit quod regia largitate promeruit); Cass. *Var.*



xii 11 (a. 533/537; addressed 'Petro ῥ.ε. erogatori opsoniorum'). *Opsonia* appear to have been rations of pork; cf. *CTh* xiv 4.10 (a. 419), Val. iii, *Nov.* 36 (a. 452). They were apparently free (*regia largitate*) but their distribution was open to abuse (cf. Cass. *Var.* xii 11.1 *probatae debet esse conscientiae, qui principalia beneficia praeponitur erogare*).

**PETRVS 4** v.c., arcarius of the PPO Italiae 536  
Addressee of Cass. *Var.* xii 20 (a. 536) with Thomas 7. See further Thomas.

**PETRVS 5** v.c., comes E/M VI  
V.c., comis (sic); he died in 549 aged about sixty-four and was buried at Capua on Dec. 4; *CIL* x 4500 = *ILCV* 114 Capua.

**Petrus 6** Mag. Off. 539-565; patricius; ex consule M VI  
A native of Solachon, a district close to Dara in Mesopotamia; Theoph. Sim. ii 3.13, and cf. Theodorus 34. He was born however at Thessalonica; Proc. *BG* i 3.30 ('Ἰλλυριὸν γένος, ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ὀρωμένον). Father of Theodorus 34; Coripp. *Iust.* i 25 (successorque boni recidivaque gloria Petri), Men. Prot. fr. 46, Theoph. AM 6053, 6054. Possibly related to (?uncle of) Petrus 17; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 2.11.

He studied law and then practised as an advocate at Constantinople; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* ii 26 (τοὺς δὲ νόμους εἰδὼς εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, οἷς ἐξ ἀπόλων ὀνύχων ἐνετράφη, συνηγορῶν τοῖς δεομένοις), Men. Prot. fr. 11 (ἀποχρώντως ἔχων τῆς τε ἄλλης παιδείας καὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων), Proc. *BG* i 3.30 (ἕνα μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥητόρων), cf. Proc. *BG* i 6.26, Suid. E 958, Π 1406 (ὁ ῥήτωρ). He was an advocate in 534; Proc. *BG* i 3.30, 6.26, cf. Cass. *Var.* x 19.4, 23.1 (*vir eloquentissimus*), 22.1 (*vir disertissimus*), 24.1 (*vir sapientissimus*) (all in 535).

In late 534 (perhaps November, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 338, n. 2 from 337) Petrus was sent on an embassy to Italy; Proc. *BG* i 3.30, *Anecd.* 16.2, Cass. *Var.* x 19-20, 22-4. He was sent ostensibly to discuss the seizure of Lilybaeum and other matters but had instructions to enter into secret talks with Amalasuintha and Theodahad; Proc. *BG* i 4.17-19. He is said to have received secret instructions from Theodora to arrange the murder of Amalasuintha; Proc. *Anecd.* 16.4. En route he encountered envoys of Amalasuintha with news of the death of Athalaric and the elevation of Theodahad, and then, at Aulona, further envoys of Theodahad (Liberius and Opilio, both in *PLRE* II) with news of the overthrow and imprisonment of Amalasuintha; he reported the new situation to Justinian and remained at Aulona for further instructions; these came in the form of a letter for Amalasuintha and orders to make

the emperor's support for her widely known among the Goths; Proc. *BG* 14.20-2. However when Petrus reached Italy Amalasuintha was already dead; he therefore protested vigorously and threatened war in consequence; Proc. *BG* i 4.25.30. He then apparently returned to Constantinople with messages from Theodahad protesting his innocence in the murder; Cass. *Var.* x 20.4 (*vester legatus harum portitor*), 22.1, Proc. *BG* i 40.31, and cf. Bury, *LRE* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 168, n., and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 341, n. 2. He may have delivered letters from Theodahad (Cass. *Var.* x 19-20) to Justinian and Theodora. Later (probably in late 535) he was sent back to Italy, following Roman military successes in Dalmatia and Sicily (cf. Mundus and Belisarius), and put further pressure on Theodahad who agreed first to surrender Sicily and acknowledge Justinian as his superior and then, recalling Petrus who had already reached Albanum on the way home, offered to surrender the whole of Italy; with this message Petrus returned to Constantinople accompanied by the priest Rusticus 1, Theodahad's envoy; Proc. *BG* i 6.1-14. In early 536 he returned to Italy with Athanasius 1 with instructions to accept the offer of Theodahad and to arrange the surrender of Italy to Belisarius; Proc. *BG* i 6.25-6, 7.24. In the meantime however (*BG* i 7.1) the Goths had a military success in Dalmatia, Theodahad changed his mind and the envoys were treated with scorn by him on their arrival and were finally placed under strict guard; Proc. *BG* i 7.11-25.

They remained in detention in Italy for three years (536-539) and were only released in summer 539 when Belisarius refused to allow the envoys of Vitigis to return until Petrus and Athanasius were released; they then returned to Constantinople, where the emperor conferred great honours on them and appointed Petrus *magister officiorum* (Πέτρῳ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου ἀρχὴν παρασχόμενος); Proc. *BG* ii 22.23-4.

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM a. 539-565: appointed on his return from Italy; Proc. *BG* ii 22.24 (cited above), cf. *Anecd.* 16.5 (alleged to have been appointed through Theodora's influence as reward for his role in the murder of Amalasuintha - καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ τε τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἦλθε καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δυνάμεως τε καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν - for the text, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 726, n. 5) and 24.23. His predecessor Basilides is last attested on June 25, 539 (*Just. Nov.* 85). In office a. 542 Dec. 18, *Just. Nov.* 117 (addressed 'Petro magistro officiorum et patricio'; cf. *Just. Nov.* (ed. Schoell and Kroll), p. 551, app. crit. on line 13); a. 546 May 1, *Just. Nov.* 123 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μαγίστρῳ τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων; a copy was also sent to the PPO Petrus 9); a. 550, Proc. *BG* iv 11.2 (Πέτρον μὲν ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα); a. 552 Jan. 28, *Vigilius, Ep.* i (ed. Schwartz) (Petrus ex consule patricius

atque magister); a. 553 May 8, *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 27-8 (Petrus gloriosissimus patricius et magister officiorum); a. 553, mid May, *ACOec.* iv i, p. 186 (Petrum gloriosissimum patricium et magistrum officiorum); a. 553/554, *Zach. HE* xii 6 ('μάγιστρος'); a. 554/555, *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* ii 26 (in office when this book of the *de mag.* was written; for the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 839-40); a. 560 Sept., *Theoph. AM* 6053 (ὁ μάγιστρος); a. 561, *Men. Prot. fr.* 11 (= *Exc. Rom.*, ed. de Boor, fr. 3, p. 171) (ὁ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν ταγματῶν ἡγεῖτο), (p. 176) (ὁ μάγιστρος τῶν Ῥωμαίων), (p. 179) (ὁ τῶν περὶ βασιλέα καταλόγων ἡγεμῶν), and similarly fr. 15 (= de Boor, fr. 5, p. 188); a. 562 March, *Theoph. AM* 6054 (ὁ μάγιστρος); a. 562, ?July, *Theoph. AM* 6055; last attested a. 565 March 26, *Just. Nov.* 137 (addressed Πέτρῳ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ μαγίστρῳ τῶν θείων ὀφφικίων). Also styled ὁ μάγιστρος; *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἀκόναϊ (cited below), *Suid.* E 958, Π 1406, 1408, and cf. *Proc. Anecd.* 24.22 (τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡνίκα τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου καλουμένου εἶχεν ἀρχήν).

**PATRICIUS:** already *patricius* on Dec. 18, 542, *Just. Nov.* 117 (cited above). The honour was perhaps conferred in 539 on his return from Italy; cf. *Proc. BG* ii 22.24 (οὗς δὴ, sc. Petrus and Athanasius, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος γερῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν μεγίστων ἡξίωσεν — certainly referring to the *magisterium officiorum* but not excluding other honours, such as the patriciate and the honorary consulate). *Patricius*; *Proc. BG* iv 11.2 (a. 550, cited above), *Vigilius, Ep.* 1 (a. 552, cited above), *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 27-8, 186 (a. 553, cited above), *Steph. Byz. s.v.* Ἀκόναϊ (cited below), *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 2.11, *Patr. Const.* iii 97.

**HONORARY CONSVL:** attested as *ex consule* on Jan. 28, 552; *Vigilius, Ep.* 1 (cited above). He possibly held the honour since 539; its absence from his titles in *Just. Nov.* 117 and 123 is not decisive against this.

In early 548 Petrus was involved in the discussions in Constantinople with western bishops on the Three Chapters controversy and is recorded as having allowed Facundus a delay of seven days to make up his mind; Facundus, *pro def. trium capit.*, praef. 3 (unnamed *magister officiorum*).

In 550, when the five-year truce with Persia expired, Petrus was sent to negotiate a peace throughout the east with Chosroes; Chosroes sent him back to Constantinople with the promise that a Persian envoy (Isdigousnas) would soon follow; *Proc. BG* iv 11.2-4.

In August/September 551 he was one of the 'memorati iudices' who persuaded pope Vigilius to return to the palace of Placidia; later he was among the 'gloriosi iudices' who on Jan. 28, 552, failed to persuade Vigilius to return to Constantinople; *Vigilius, Ep.* 1 (ed. Schwartz), pp. 1-2 (cf. *Belisarius*, p. 217). On May 1, 553, Petrus, *Belisarius* and others twice failed to persuade Vigilius to attend the Council of Constantinople;

he attended the Council himself on May 8, 553; *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 27-8. Between May 8 and 26 he was sent with Constantinus 4 and others to meet the western bishops; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 186.

In Sept. 553/Aug. 554 (the second indiction) he was in the east and visited Amida where he protected some monophysite monks from persecution by the *dux Mesopotamiae* 'Wdn'; *Zach. HE* xii 6.

In 561 Petrus was again sent to the east to negotiate a peace treaty with Chosroes; *Men. Prot. fr.* 11. For the date, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 28, n. 3, *Bas-Emp.* ii 518, n. 2. Among his colleagues was Eusebius 3. He himself wrote a detailed account of the negotiations and this was later used extensively by the historian Menander; *Men. Prot., Exc. de sent.* fr. 11, pp. 19ff. He met the representative of Chosroes, Iesdegousnaph (Isdigousnas), at Dara for the discussions; *Men. Prot. fr.* 11 (= de Boor, p. 171). His speech is recorded in de Boor, pp. 171-4. They reached agreement concerning Lazica and Armenia, de Boor, pp. 175-6; they then turned to a discussion on Suania, p. 178; finding agreement impossible, they decided that Petrus should discuss the matter with Chosroes himself, together with the subject of Ambros ('Amr'), p. 179; the terms of a fifty-years peace were agreed, leaving unresolved the questions of Suania and Ambros, pp. 179-80; Isdigousnas now returned to Persia, while Petrus remained at Dara in order to celebrate Christmas and Epiphany, p. 183; he then (in early 562) went to Persia and met Chosroes at Bitharmais where they discussed Suania and Ambros, without success, pp. 183-8. He probably returned to Constantinople in July 562; *Theoph. AM* 6055 (in July 563, but cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 518, n. 2). His role in negotiating the fifty-years peace is recorded in *Men. Prot. fr.* 13, fr. 15, *Theoph. AM* 6055. The embassy is mentioned in *Men. Prot. fr.* 15 (= de Boor, pp. 189, 190), and cf. fr. 47 (= de Boor, p. 468) (Petrus is said to have been tricked over Suania by Isdigousnas).

Petrus was accused by Procopius of shamelessly robbing the *scholarii* ever since he became *magister officiorum*; although a gentle person and inoffensive he was the greatest thief alive and inordinately mean; *Proc. Anecd.* 24.22-3 (written in 550) (= *Suid.* Π 1408). On the other hand he is praised highly by John Lydus, who describes him as second to none for excellence; he is said to have preserved the imperial court and restored the magnificence due to the name of Rome, which his predecessors had through their folly almost destroyed (this presumably alludes to Petrus' role in restoring and preserving court ceremonial, cf. below); he conducted himself with a dignity worthy of his office and showed himself a shrewd and fair-minded administrator of justice; he was affable and kindly and well-disposed towards petitioners but very stern in rejecting any requests which were against the law; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* ii 26 (and see

further below). In the *Wars* Procopius calls him clever, kindly and persuasive (ἐς τὸ πείθειν ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα); Proc. *BG* 1 3.30.

According to Men. Prot. fr. 13 he died shortly after negotiating the fifty-years peace. He was still alive in March 565 (Just. *Nov.* 137, cited above) but probably died soon afterwards, since first Anastasius 14 and then his son Theodorus 34 succeeded him in office at the start of the reign of Justin II; cf. Coripp. *Iust.* 1 25-6.

Already famous for his learning in 535; Cass. *Var.* x 19 (doctrina summus). He would never waste a moment but after devoting his days to business would spend the nights studying his books and even when travelling to and from work would devote his time to discussions with scholars; his knowledge and learning were so great that he would baffle the experts with his questions so that they allegedly feared to meet him; John Lydus knew him and admired him greatly but found him rather alarming; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* 11 26. His learning is also recorded in Men. Prot., fr. 11 (= de Boor, p. 171, p. 185), fr. 15 (= de Boor, p. 190).

He himself wrote three works, none of which survives except in fragments. He composed a history of the Roman empire, which may have ended with the death of Constantius II; cf. Petr. Patr. fragments, in *FHG* iv 184-91, and cf. Suid. Π 1406 (ἱστορικός; ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν), Stein, *Bas-Emp.* 11 727-8 with 728, n. 1. He also wrote a history of the office of the *magister officiorum* from Constantine to Justinian, which not only included a complete list of all office-holders but also cited many documents describing imperial accessions and other ceremonies (preserved in Const. Porph. *de cer.*); Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* 11 25 (Πέτρος ὁ πάντα μεγαλόφρων καὶ τῆς καθολοῦ ἱστορίας ἀσφαλῆς διδάσκαλος δι' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου μαγιστερίου ἀνεγράψατο), Suid. Π 1406 (περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως) and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* 11 728 with n. 3. Finally he wrote a description of his diplomatic mission to Persia in 561 and 562, used by Menander Protector (see above, and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* 11 729).

He owned an island called Ἀκόναι near Chalcedon; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκόναι (οὕτω γὰρ τις νῆσος διαφέρουσα μὲν τῷ πανευφύμῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ τὰ πάντα σοφωτάτῳ μαγίστρῳ Πέτρῳ, κειμένη δὲ καταντικρῶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος πόλεως Χαλκηδόνος). Possibly owner of the house at Constantinople later called τὰ Πέτρον; *Patr. Const.* 111 97 (but this Petrus is not identified specifically as the *magister officiorum*).

See also Clausen, pp. 181-2, and Hunger, *Prof. Lit.*, 1, pp. 300-3.

Petrus 7

bodyguard of Solomon M VI

Native of Thrace; formerly a bodyguard of Solomon 1; in early 546 he was at the banquet in Carthage at which Guntharis 2 was killed, and shared the first couch with Guntharis himself, Athanasius 1 and

Artabanus 2; Proc. *BV* 11 28.3 (δορυφόρος δὲ Σολόμωνος γενόμενος πρότερον), Theoph. AM 6026 (p. 214 ed. de Boor). He was evidently held in high regard by Guntharis. Although not privy to the assassination plot, he supported it and helped Artabanus to dispose of the usurper's remaining bodyguards, using Guntharis' own sword; Proc. *BV* 11 28.24-33.

There is no reason to identify him with the Petrus who served in Africa in 548; Corippus, *Ioh.* vii 431-3. This man was under the command of the *tribunus Liberatus*.

Petrus 8

son of Ioannes Troglita M VI

Son of Ioannes 36; Coripp. *Ioh.* 1 197-207, 305-6, v 410, vii 209-18, viii 577. Therefore grandson of Evanthes and nephew of Pappus. His mother was a king's daughter (*filia regis*) and so presumably of a barbarian royal family; Coripp. *Ioh.* 1 202.

Still apparently a young boy in 546/548; cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* 1 199, vii 213, 218.

In 546 he sailed from Constantinople with his father's expedition to Africa; Coripp. *Ioh.* 1 197-207. In winter 546/547, when the Romans defeated the Moors, he apparently remained in Carthage; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 410. He was also there in winter 547/548, when he is described as urging speed on the messengers carrying orders from his father for rebuilding the Roman army; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 209-11.

Petrus qui et Barsymes 9

patricius; honorary consul; PPO (II) Orientis 555-562

Full names; Joh. Eph. *HE* 111 5.18 ('patricii Petri qui vocabatur Barsumae'), Proc. *Anecd.* 22.3 (Πέτρον ὀνόματι ... ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησὶν Βαρσύμην ἐκάλου), 25.20 (Πέτρον οὖν τὸν Βαρσύμην ἐπὶ κλησὶν), cf. Suid. Δ 233, Θ 141 (both passages based on Procopius). Barsymes; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.22.25, Joh. Mal. 491 (Βαρσύμιος), *Patr. Const.* 111 151 (Πέτρος ... ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν Βαρσυνιανὸν (sic) τὸν Σύρον). Petrus; *elsewhere*.

A native of Syria; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.3, *Patr. Const.* 111 151.

He was a banker (ἀργυραμοιβός) who, according to Procopius, made dishonest gains by sharp practice; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.3-4 (= Suid. Δ 233 and Θ 141). He obtained a position on the staff of the praetorian prefecture (ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὑπάρχων στρατιώταις καταλεχθεῖς), where, so Procopius alleges, he so attracted the attention of the empress Theodora by his ruthlessness that she employed his aid in overcoming difficulties in the way of her own schemes; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.5 (= Suid. Θ 141). According to Procopius, this earned him promotion to the post of PPO in succession to Theodotus 3 (Proc. *Anecd.* 22.6), but he was in fact CSL

(cf. below) before becoming PPO. His financial background and skills and his later activities as CSL and PPO suggest that he held a financial post in the praetorian prefecture; his career may be compared with those of Ioannes and Marinus under Anastasius (*PLRE* II, Ioannes 45 and Marinus 7), both of whom were *tractatores* in the *scrinium Orientis* before promotion to high office.

He held the posts of CSL and PPO twice each; cf. Just., *Ed.* 7.6 (a. 542), *Ed.* 11 (a. 559), and *Anth. Gr.* xvi 37 (all cited below).

CSL, HONORARY CONSVL and PATRICIVS a. 542 March 1: Just., *Ed.* 7.6 (Πέτρον τὸν ἐνδοξότατον κόμητα τῶν θείων ἡμῶν λαργιτιῶνων, ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίων). For the identity of this man with Peter Barsymes, and a suggestion that he had already held this post for some time, perhaps in succession to Strategius (*PLRE* II, p. 1034), see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 762 with n. 2. Cf. also Victor 3. Also recorded as honorary consul in 559 in Just. *Ed.* 11 (cited below); and as *patricius* in Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18 (cited above).

PPO ORIENTIS a. 543 July 16–546 May 1: successor of Theodotus 3; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.6 (= Suid. Θ 141). In office a. 543 July 16, Just. *Nov.* 118 (addressed Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς ἑω πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro* pp.); 543 Oct. 15, Just. *Nov.* 125 (Πέτρῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; cf. *Novellae*, ed. Schoell, p. 630, app. crit.); 544 Jan. 20, Just. *Nov.* 119 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro gloriosissimo praefecto sacrorum per Orientem praetoriorum*); 544 May 9, Just. *Nov.* 120 (Πέτρῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro* pp.); 544 June 15, Just. *Nov.* 124 (Πέτρῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro* pp.); 545 March 1, Just. *Nov.* 130 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro* pp.); 545 March 18, Just. *Nov.* 131 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro* pp.); 545 June 6, Just. *Nov.* 128 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων; *Auth. Petro* pp.); 546 May 1, Just. *Nov.* 123 subscr. (a copy was sent to Petrus – κατεπέμφθη Πέτρῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων, and cf. *Novellae*, ed. Schoell, p. 593, app. crit.). His conduct as PPO is described in hostile terms by Procopius in the *Anecdota*; he was allegedly appointed because Justinian and Theodora considered him a suitable instrument for their schemes, *Anecd.* 22.5–6; he unashamedly deprived soldiers on campaign of their pay and conducted the sale of offices with no regard for the interests of the subjects, *Anecd.* 22.7–8 (= Suid. Σ 1623); described as a licensed brigand, *Anecd.* 22.9; during a time of corn shortage, he purchased grain in Bithynia, Phrygia and Thrace and forced the inhabitants of those parts to transport it to Constantinople themselves, rewarding them so poorly for their trouble and risk that they sustained great losses, *Anecd.* 22.17–18; following discontent provoked by these measures and by

disorders in Constantinople due to soldiers who had not received their pay, as well as by rumours that he had embezzled huge sums of public money, he was retained in office only at Theodora's insistence, *Anecd.* 22.19–22.26.32; finally Justinian removed him from office, *Anecd.* 22.33.

CSL (II) a. 547/548–550: soon after his dismissal as PPO, he was reappointed CSL under pressure from Theodora, in succession to Ioannes 39 (οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἄρχοντα τῶν θησαυρῶν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο); Proc. *Anecd.* 22.33. Procopius, still hostile, describes him as resuming his disastrous courses; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.36 (θησαυρῶν τε τῶν βασιλικῶν προὔστη καὶ ξυμφορῶν αὐθις μεγάλων αἰτιώτατος ἅπασι γέγονεν). He greatly reduced the annual expenditure by the state on pensions, while himself embezzling taxes and forwarding to the emperor only a small portion of them; he is also said to have depreciated the gold coinage; *Anecd.* 22.37–8. He established a state monopoly on trade in silk and made for himself a great personal profit thereby; Proc. *Anecd.* 25.20–6. He was still in this office when Procopius was writing the *Anecdota*; cf. Proc. *Anecd.* 25.23 with 18.33, 23.1 and 24.29. Petrus may have remained CSL until Justinian appointed him PPO for the second time; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 769.

PPO (II) ORIENTIS a. 555 June 1–562 May: in office a. 555 June 1, Just. *Nov.* 159 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων τὸ β'; *Auth. Petro* pp. secundo); 556 May 1, Just. *Nov.* 134 (*Auth. Petro* pp.); 559 Dec. 27, Just. *Ed.* 11 (Πέτρῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὸ κομητῶν τῶν θείων λαργιτιῶνων τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων); 562 May, Joh. Mal. 491 (the Blues burnt the house of Barsymes, τότε διανύοντος τὴν τῶν ἐπάρχων ἀρχήν; on the date, 562 not 559, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 799–800). He issued an edict (not extant) during one of his prefectures; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνέκδοτα*, pp. 258ff., no. 35 (ἴδικτον Πέτρον τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἐπάρχου πραιτωρίων; it is known only from the index of the collection of prefectorial edicts in the Codex Marcianus 179).

He was honoured with a golden statue, on which were inscribed verses by Leontius 6 *scholasticus* recording his career; *Anth. Gr.* xvi 37 Πέτρον ὄρῃς χρυσεῖσιν ἐν εἴμασιν· αἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν/ἀρχαὶ ἀμοιβαίων μάρτυρες εἰσι πόνων· ἀντολίης πρώτη καὶ διχθαδίη μετὰ τήνδε/κόχλου πορφυρέης καὶ πάλιν ἀντολίης. The allusion to the two prefectures of the East is clear; the allusion to the 'double office of the purple shell' is perhaps to be interpreted as a reference to the post of CSL, a minister whose duties included oversight of the purple dye industry (cf. *CTh* x 20.14–18, 21.3, = *CJ* xi 8.11–13, 15, 9.4–5, Proc. *Anecd.* 25.21), rather than to the consulship (as in *JHS* 1966, p. 15). The word διχθαδίη seems inapplicable to the consulship in this context; Petrus did not hold any

eponymous consulates, and the dignity of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, the honorary consulate, which he already held in 542, was held for life (and not conferred on several occasions). The title of δισύπατος (to which this passage might be taken as referring) is not attested before the ninth century; cf. Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 295, and Guillard, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, pp. 79–81.

He built himself a palatial residence at Constantinople, which was later given by the emperor Maurice to his (Maurice's) sister; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18 ('domum magnam novam et ingentem dedit, quae ipsa etiam patricii Petri qui vocabatur Barsumae fuit, qui eam nuper aedificaverat, in qua est urbs iusta'). Perhaps this was built to replace the house which was burnt in 562; Joh. Mal. 491 (see above). In later times the house was identified with that known as τὸ Πέτρι(ο)ν; *Patr. Const.* III 151 (ed. Preger, II 264). The latter already existed, however, in 518, and so had no connection with Petrus Barsymes; cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.* 375–6 and *ACOec.* III 69.

According to Procopius, Petrus was deeply interested in sorcerers and demons and was a determined champion of the Manichees; *Proc. Anecd.* 22.25.

PETRVS 10 referendarius 552

Vir magnificus Petrus referendarius; he delivered letters from Justinian to pope Vigilius at St Euphemia in Chalcedon on Jan. 31 and Feb. 4, 552; Vigilius, *Ep.* I (Schwartz), pp. 3, 9. Also in 552 he was sent by Justinian to detain Eutychius so that he could be made patriarch; Eustrat. *V. Eutych.* 23 (*PG* 86. 2301) (ἐπιτρέπει τινὶ τῶν ἐντίμων ῥεφερενδάρων – Πέτρος δὲ οὗτος ἦν).

Petrus 11 rhetor (?scholasticus) M VI

Commemorated by Leontius 6 *scholasticus* after his death in a theatre accident; praised by Leontius as a friend and as an advocate; *Anth. Gr.* VII 579, vv. 1–2 Πέτρου ὀρθῶς ῥητήρος αἰεὶ γελώωσαν ὀπωπῆν, ἐξόχου εἰν ἀγοραῖς, ἐξόχου ἐν φιλίῃ. On his proposed identification with the *magister officiorum* Petrus 6 (to be rejected) see McCail, *JHS* 89 (1969), pp. 91–2.

Petrus 12 brother of Gregory of Tours M VI

Elder brother of Gregory of Tours; *Greg. Tur. HF* v 5, *Mir. S. Iul.* 24. He was therefore son of Florentius 2 and Armentaria and brother of Anonyma 4. See stemma 12.

A deacon in the church of Langres when Tetricus (his great-uncle) was bishop; accused in 572/3 (probably 572) of killing Silvester by witchcraft (maleficiis), he denied his guilt on oath before a court of

bishops and laymen at Lyon presided over by the bishop, his great-uncle Nicetius (died on April 2, 573); two years later (c. 574) he was murdered by Silvester's son; his body was interred in Dijon next to his great-grandfather Gregorius (= Gregorius Attalus, *PLRE* II, pp. 179–80); *Greg. Tur. HF* v 5.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 299.

PETRVS 13 proconsul (Africae) M VI

Recorded on one side of a bronze tablet from Carthage; *BCTH* 1918, p. 183, n. 50 (Petri/proc(onsulis)); the reverse records: Atana/si pref(ecti). Athanasius I was PPO Africae from 545 to 548 and probably later still).

Petrus 14 CRP 566

CRP a. 566 Jan. 1: Justin II, *Nov.* 3 (= Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* I, *Coll.* I, *Nov.* III) (addressed Πέτρῳ κόμητι τοῦ θεοῦ ταμείου). He was possibly recorded among Justin's officials near the beginning of Coripp. *Iust.* I, in a passage now lost (after *Iust.* I 27).

PETRVS 15 v.c. et spectabilis, scriniarius (Egypt) c. 570

Mentioned in a papyrus from Antinoopolis dating from about 570; *P. Lond.* v 1676, line 31 Πέτρῳ τῷ λαμπρο(τάτῳ) καὶ περιβλέπτῳ [[κόμ(ε)τι]] σκρινιαρί[ω]. He undertook to pay the taxes due from a property which he acquired, but sought on the vendor's death to transfer the responsibility to the vendor's heir. He therefore lived at or near Antinoopolis.

Petrus 16 notarius (at Grado) 571/586

Petrus notarius votum solvit; *AE* 1975, 416p on a mosaic pavement in the cathedral at Grado, from the time of bishop Elias (a. 571/586). He was perhaps an ecclesiastical official.

Petrus 17

honorary consul; curator Augustae and envoy to Persia 576

A member of the family of the emperor Anastasius (like his fellow-envoy in 576, Ioannes 90); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.12 ('de genere Anastasii regis'). He was also a member of the family of Petrus *patricius* (Petrus 6) (like another fellow-envoy, Theodorus 34); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 ('qui ipse generis domus Petri patricii erat').

HONORARY CONSVL: *Men. Prot. fr.* 46 (cited under Ioannes 90) (in 576), cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 (in 571/572), 4.35, 6.12 (in 576). He and two of his fellow-envoys (Theodorus and Ioannes; see below) were

συγκλητικοί; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.12. As members of the senate they now ranked as *gloriosissimi*; cf. Stein, *La Disparition du Sénat (Bull. de la Classe des Lettres de l'Acad. de Belg. xxv)*, p. 316, n. 1 (= *Op. Min. Sel.*, p. 394).  
 ?PATRICIVS: styled πατρικίος in Theoph. Sim. III 15.6, but see Ioannes 90 on this passage.

A monophysite, he stood firm during Justin's persecution (in 571/572) and resumed his career in high office after it ceased; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11, and see further Ioannes 90. He supported bishop Paul of Antioch in his quarrel with Jacob Baradaeus; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.35.  
 CVRATOR AVGVSTAE a. 576: 'reginae curator (κουράτωρ)' in 576, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11 (= Mich. Syr. x 7).

Sent as envoy to Persia in 576 with Theodorus 34, Ioannes 90 and Zacharias 2; Men. Prot. fr. 46, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.11, 4.35, 6.12, Theoph. Sim. III 15.6, and see the entries of his fellow-envoys.

PETRVS 18 v.c., argentarius (at Ravenna) 581

V.c., argentarius; father of Georgius 9 (also v.c., *argentarius*, who died aged seventeen in 581); *CIL* XI 350 originally in the floor of the church of St Zacharias, ten miles from Ravenna.

PETRVS 19 v.c. (at Ravenna) 591

V.c.; he was witness to a deed of sale by Rusticiana 1 on March 10, 591; Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, line 84.

Petrus 20 man of wealth (in Sardinia) L VI

Dead by Sept. 593, he left money for a monastery to be founded in his house; Gregory asked bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari to check that it was sufficient; Greg. *Ep.* IV 9 (a. 593 Sept.). Presumably a wealthy and devout citizen of Cagliari.

Petrus Charax 21 wealthy citizen (in Palestine) ?L VI

A wealthy citizen (γένει δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήσει γαυρούμενος) from the town of Charagmata in Palaestina Tertia (? = Characmoba, cf. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, p. 547); styled ἐπίδοξος; cured by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 58 (*PG* 87.3.3629).

PETRVS 22 (vir gloriosus) (in Sicily) L VI

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory commending to him the *defensor Romanus*; styled 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* IX 33 (a. 598 Oct.); addressed 'Petro Siciliae'.

Petrus 23 man of wealth (at Palermo) L VI

Dead by October 598; he had established a *xenodochium*, named after

St Theodorus, at Palermo; Greg. *Ep.* IX 35 (a. 598 Oct.). Cf. also Isidorus 8.

PETRVS 24 v.c. 598/599

In the service of Rusticiana 2, in 598 he conveyed ten pounds of gold from Constantinople to Rome for use in ransoming captives; he impressed Gregory as wise beyond his years; Greg. *Ep.* VIII 22 (a. 598 May); to Rusticiana; 'filium meum Petrum hominem vestrum'). In 598/599 he conducted a case for Rusticiana involving allegations that her possessions had been illegally seized by agents of bishop John of Syracuse; he wrote to Gregory (?from Sicily) accusing John's representative Marcianus 8 of procrastination; Greg. *Ep.* IX 83 (a. 598 Dec./599 Jan.); to bishop John; Petrus is styled 'vir clarissimus vicedominus gloriosae filiae nostrae Rusticianae patriciae'.

PETRVS 25 vir magnificus (in Italy) 599

Commended with his mother to the *curator* Theodorus 49 at Ravenna in 599 by pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* IX 92 (a. 599 Jan.); *latori praesentium Petro viro magnifico*; Gregory asks Theodorus 'ut memorato filio nostro atque gloriosae filiae nostrae matri ipsius patrocini vestri gratiam ostendatis'.

Petrus 26 v.h., collectarius (in Italy) L VI

Witness of a deed of sale to Holdigernus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, line 55 + Πέτρος v.h. κωλλεκτάριος, line 67 Petrus collectar(ius) ante custodia(m?) charcer(um?). The *collectarii* were money-changers; cf. Symm. *Rel.* 29.

Petrus 27 honorary consul M/L VI

Petru ex consule; Zacos 459 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1694 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, M/L VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (273) of Petru; rev.: +EXC/On†/44+).

Petrus 28 illustrius M/L VI

Πέτρον ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 460 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.117 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, M/L VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (271) of Πέτρον; rev.: cruciform monogram (149) of ἰλλουστρίου).

Petrus 29 MVM VI

Πέτρον στρατηλάτου; Zacos 463 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3649 (seal; obv.: square monogram (266) of Πέτρον; rev.: CTPA/THAA/TOV).

- Petrus 30** praefectus VI  
 Πέτρου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 458 (seal; obv.: square monogram (267) of Πέτρου; rev.: square monogram (78) of ἐπάρχου). Perhaps identical with Petrus 9 Barsymes; see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 136 with n. 96.
- Petrus 31** praefectus VI  
 Petri praefecti; Zacos 2914 (seal; obv.: +ΡΕ/ΤΡΙ; rev.: PRA/ΕΡΕC/ΤΙ).
- Petrus (?) 32** PVC(?) M/L VI  
 Π[έ]τρου ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.156 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (270), possibly of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (81), possibly of ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης).
- PETRVS 33** praefectus annonae (at Constantinople) VI  
 Πέτρου ἀνωνεπάρχου; Zacos 454a, 454b = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4586 (two seals; obv.: square monogram (266) of Πέτρου (a and b); rev.: ANN/ΩΝΕΠ/ΑΡΧΟ/[V] (a), ANNΩ/ΝΕΠΑΡ/ΧΟV (b)).
- Petrus 34** ex praefectis VI  
 Πέτρου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 2819 = Fogg Art Museum seal 2856 (seal; obv.: square monogram (274), perhaps of Πέτρου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, possibly Ἰωάννου ἐπάρχου; rev.: +ΔΟV/ΛΟVΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟV).
- Petrus 35** ex praefectis and ?commerciarius VI  
 Πέτρου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων (καί) ?κομμερκιαρίου; Zacos 2820a and b (two seals; obv.: square monogram (275) of Πέτρου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; rev.: square monogram (188) of (?)κομμερκιαρίου).
- Petrus 36** ?spatharius VI  
 Πέτρου ?σπαθαρίου; Zacos 465 (seal; obv.: square monogram (267) of Πέτρου; rev.: square monogram (380), of uncertain interpretation, possibly Πέτρου σπαθαρίου). A similar seal occurs in Zacos' series.
- Petrus 37** defensor (?of Aphrodito) VI  
 Ἄπὸ ἐκδικῶν; son of Paulus; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67055, recto 1, 10 possibly from Aphrodito. The document is a list of money payments.
- Petrus 38** ?augustalius M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου ?αὐγουσταλίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.974 (seal; obv.:

- cruciform monogram (269) of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (381), of uncertain interpretation, possibly αὐγουσταλίου).
- Petrus 39** imperialis candidatus M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου βασιλικοῦ(?) κανδιδάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2241 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (272) of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (382), of uncertain interpretation, possibly βασιλικοῦ κανδιδάτου).
- Pe(tr)us 40** chartularius M VI/M VII  
 Πέ[τρ]ου χαρτουλαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3651 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΠΕ.../VΧΑΡΤ/ΟVΛΛΑΡ/Ι.V).
- Petrus 41** chartularius M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 677 (seal; obv.: eagle; rev.: cruciform monogram (277) of Πέτρου χαρτουλαρίου).
- Petrus 42** ?imperialis chartularius M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου βασιλικοῦ χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 457 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (272) of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (383) of, possibly, βασιλικοῦ (or perhaps κουβικουλαρίου) χαρτουλαρίου).
- Petrus 43** imperialis chartularius M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου δεσπο(τικοῦ) χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2911 (seal; obv.: ΠΕ[Τ]/ΡΔΕ/CΠΟ'; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΔΛΑ/ΡΙΔ).
- Petrus 44** papias M VI/M VII (?)  
 Πέτρου παπία; Zacos 2821 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (273A) of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (244) of παπία). The παπίας (τοῦ μεγάλου παλατίου) is otherwise not attested before the late eighth century; see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 306.
- Petrus 45** patricius M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου πατρικίου; Zacos 462 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (269) of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (253) of πατρικίου), cf. Fogg Art Museum seal 3189 (a very similar seal; obv.: monogram 269; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

**Petrus 46** praefectus M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρῳ ἐπάρχῳ; Zacos 2849 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram, of uncertain interpretation, partly to be resolved as Θεοτόκε... βοήθει; rev.: eagle, with square monogram (278) of Πέτρῳ ἐπάρχῳ).

**Petrus 47** praepositus M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου πραιποσίτου; Fogg Art Museum seal 79 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (269) of Πέτρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (281) of πραιποσίτου).

**Petrus 48** scribo M VI/M VII  
 Πέτρου σκρίβονος; Zacos 678 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2863 (seal; obv.: eagle, with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram (269) of Πέτρου; rev.: +CK/PIBO/NOC).

**Petrus 49** son of Maurice L VI/E VII  
 Son of the emperor Maurice; with his father he fled from Phocas on Nov. 22, 602, and was captured and killed at Chalcedon on Nov. 27; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, *Greg. Ep.* xiii 1, and cf. Mauricius 4.

**Petrus 50** landowner (Egypt) VI/VII  
 Directed a letter to an οἰνοχειριστής Petrus through his secretary Apa Or; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1150, lines 1-2 Πέτρος σὺν Θε(ῶ) ἀντιγ(εοῦ)χ(ος) δι' ἐμου Ἄπα Ὁρ νοταρ(ίου). Provenance unknown.

**FL. PETRVS 51** ?comes VI/VII  
 Possibly named in the protocol of a papyrus of uncertain provenance, possibly Antinoopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67190 (?Φλ. Πέτρος κός[μης?]).

**Petrus 52** magnificentissimus comes (Egypt) VI/VII  
 Addressee of a letter from a minor local magnate concerning a dispute about a camel; *P. Oxy.* 1164, line 14 + δεσπό(τη) ἐμῶ τῶ πά(ντων) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτω) πε... τα( )... ( ) προσκ(υνήσεως) ἀξ(ίω) π... ( ) Πέτρῳ κόμ(ε)τι. Alluded to in lines 1-2 and 13 as ἡ ὑμετέρα πατρική μεγαλοπρέπεια.

**Petrus 53** magnificentissimus; cancellarius (Egypt) VI/VII  
 Mentioned in a papyrus from the Fayum; *P. Grenf.* ii 92, line 11 δεσπό(τῆ) ἐμῶ τῶ πά(ντων) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτω) πά(σης) τιμ(ῆς) ἀξ(ίω) παμφιλε(στάτω) ἀδελφ(ῶ) Πέτρῳ καγκελλαρίῳ. Possibly cancellarius of the dux or the praeses of Arcadia, but the document, a letter to

Petrus from a certain Callimachus (of whom nothing is known), mentioned (in lines 1-2 and 5) ἡ κοῖνη ἀγάθη δεσποίνῃ. Both men may therefore have been in private employment.

**PETRVS 54** v.c., comes (in Italy) c. 600

V.c., comes; he was witness of a donation made by Ioannes 228 (ex spathario) to the church of Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 90 = *P. Ital.* 16, line 71.

**Petrus 55** brother of Maurice; curapalates; MVM 601-602

Son of Paulus 23; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18. Brother of the emperor Maurice; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18, *Theoph. Sim.* vi 11.2, vii 1.1, 2.15, 3.1, 13.1, *Greg. Ep.* xiii 1, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, *V. Theod. Syc.* 54, *Theoph. AM* 6087, 6090, 6094, 6095, *Cedr.* i 698, 699, *Zon.* xiv 13, 14, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 28, 38, 41, 42, *Patr. Const.* iii 59, *Mich. Syr.* x 23, 24, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, lxxxiii, *Hist. Nest.* ii 82, Agapius, p. 448. Some sources describe him as the father of Domitianus; *Mich. Syr.* x 23, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii, *Joh. Nik.* 99.2 (p. 535 Zotenberg).

He was with Maurice when his brother visited St Theodore of Syceon while returning from a campaign against Persia under Tiberius; *V. Theod. Syc.* 54.

Summoned to court at the beginning of Maurice's reign, he received, jointly with his father, the estates of Justin II's brother, Marcellus 5; *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 5.18, cf. *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi (enriched by Maurice with other relatives).

MVM (?PER THRACIAS) a. 593-594: appointed to succeed Priscus 6 in Thrace in autumn 593, *Theoph. Sim.* vi 11.2 (ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιῆται δυνάμεων), vii 1.1 (πολέμαρχος), cf. *Theoph. AM* 6087 (στρατηγὸν τῆς δυνάμεως ποιῆται Ῥωμαίων - from Theophylact) (= *Cedr.* i 698, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 28). Ὁ στρατηγός; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 1-5 passim. Ὁ πολέμαρχος; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 1.3.6, 3.5.

He did not assume office until Priscus had finished the campaign of 593; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 11.3ff., *Theoph. AM* 6087. In spring 594 he travelled via Perinthus and Drizipera to join the army at Odessus; the troops grew mutinous after he announced unpopular changes to their pay but he later reconciled them with more acceptable measures; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 1.3-2.1, *Theoph. AM* 6088. From Odessus he went first to Marcianople and then north to the Danube frontier where the campaign of 594 took place, mainly against the khan's Slav and Bulgar allies, achieving nothing of consequence and ending with a heavy defeat by the Slavs under Peiragast; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 2.1-5.10, *Theoph. AM* 6088, 6089, *Cedr.* i 698. Cf. Alexander 11, Gentzon and Peiragast. On



Petrus' military activities, see Whitby, p. xxiv and pp. 181-2, nn. 8, 9 and 10.

In consequence Petrus was dismissed and replaced by Priscus and returned to Constantinople (late 594; Theoph. Sim. vii 5.10 (ἀποχειροτονηθεὶς τῆς ἡγεμονίας), Theoph. AM 6089, Cedr. i 699, Nic. Call. HE xviii 28.

**MVM PER ORIENTEM**: according to one good Syriac source, he was made *magister militum per Orientem* by Maurice; *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi ('fecit fratrem suum ducem omnium exercituum in Oriente'). If correct, this may refer to the period 595-600, but it is more likely to be a mistake (perhaps a confusion with Maurice's brother-in-law Philippicus).

**MVM (?PER THRACIAS)** a. 601-602: appointed commander of the army of Thrace in summer/autumn 601; Theoph. Sim. viii 4.9 (τὸν αὐτάδελφον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μαυρίκιος Πέτρον στρατηγὸν προεστήσατο τῆς Εὐρώπης), cf. Theoph. AM 6094 (στρατηγὸν ... τῆς Θράκης, but derived from Theophylact), Nic. Call. HE xviii 38. Ὁ στρατηγός; Theoph. Sim. viii 5.5-11, 6.3-4, 7.1.5-6. For the identification of στρατηγός τῆς Εὐρώπης as the *MVM per Thracias*, see Priscus, p. 1053.

Petrus took his forces to the Danube and made camp at Palastolum (Palatiolum, near Oescus) where he remained during the summer; in autumn he went into Dardania to prevent an attempt by the Avars under Apsich 1 to occupy land there, and then returned to winter in Thrace (at Adrianople) when the khan withdrew to Constantioli near Singidunum; Theoph. Sim. viii 5.5-7, Theoph. AM 6094.

In summer 602 he was ordered by Maurice, who feared an attack by the khan in the vicinity of Constantinople, to leave Adrianople for the Danube and attack across the river; the invasion, of the Slavs, was entrusted to Guduin 1 and the task of transport and supplies to Bonosus 1; in the autumn, however, Maurice ordered the army under Guduin to remain for the winter north of the Danube, which provoked a mutiny; Petrus failed to negotiate an agreement through the officers and the mutiny turned to rebellion when the troops proclaimed Phocas 7 as emperor; Petrus fled to Constantinople to inform Maurice; Theoph. Sim. viii 5.9-12, 6.2-10, 7.1-7, Theoph. AM 6094, Cedr. i 705, Zon. xiv 13, Nic. Call. HE xviii 38-9, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 86, Mich. Syr. x 24, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxiii, Agapius, p. 448. The non-byzantine sources claim that Petrus was himself offered the throne by the troops, but refused.

**CVRAPALATES** a. 602: at the time of his death he was κουροπαλάτης; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, cf. *Patr. Const.* iii 59 (μάγιστρος καὶ κουραπαλάτης). When he obtained the title is not recorded; possibly early in Maurice's reign.

He was executed by Phocas with other adherents of Maurice in late

602; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.1 (alluded to ἄς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, = Phocas, στρατηγόν, i.e. commander of the Thracian army in which Phocas served), *Greg. Ep.* xiii 1, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, Theoph. AM 6095, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. HE xviii 41.

Perhaps in 595 he constructed a church of the Theotokos at Constantinople in the district known as τὰ Ἄρεοβίνδου; Theoph. AM 6090, *Patr. Const.* iii 59, Zon. xiv 13, Cedr. i 699, Nic. Call. HE xviii 42.

His *domesticus* was Praesentinus; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.2 (= Nic. Call. HE xviii 41).

PETRVS 56 (dux et) augustalis Aegypti 602

A relation of Theophylact to Simocatta, he was *dux et augustalis* at Alexandria in Nov. 602 when portents of the murder of Maurice were reported to him; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.11-14 (esp. 13 ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἑπαρχὸν τὸ ἄκουσμα γέγονε - Πέτρος δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἡνίας διέθυσεν, ὃς καὶ συνήπτετο πρὸς γένος ἡμῖν, and cf. 11 ὁ Αὐγουστάλιος and 13 ὁ ἡγεμών), Theoph. AM 6095, Cedr. i 710, Nic. Call. HE xviii 41 (all taken from Theophylact).

Petrus 57 doctor (at the court of Theoderic II) 605

Archiatrus; he was in Theoderic's tent playing dice with Protadius when troops surrounded it and killed Protadius; *Fredegar.* iv 27. The date was 605; cf. Protadius.

Petrus 58 ?v.c. (Egypt); dioecetes (of Strategius 10) 615

Mentioned in a papyrus from the Fayum, written in Arsinoe and dated a. 615 June 25; *BGU* ii 368, lines 17-19 διὰ Πέτρον τοῦ λαμπροτάτου διοικητοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πανευφήμου ἀνδρός (= Strategius 10). He was an official of a private household, that of Strategius, making a payment to a potter on the instructions of Fl. Tzittas.

Petrus 59 student of philosophy (at Alexandria) E VII

In his youth he went to Alexandria to study philosophy; when the Persians attacked the city (in 617) he told them how to penetrate its defences; Anon. Guidi, pp. 25-6 = 22 ('tunc exiit ad eos quidam nomine Petrus, qui inde a pueritia e regione Qatar Alexandriam venerat, ut philosophiae studio operam daret').

Petrus 60 gloriosus; supporter of Agilulf and Adaloald E VII

Son of Paulus; he took oaths of loyalty to Ago (Agilulf) and Adaloald and rejected attempts by the Transpadane bishops in late 625/626 to persuade him to abandon Adaloald and support the usurper Arioald;

Honorius, *Ep.* (MGH, *Epp.* III, p. 694, *Ep. Lang. coll.* 2) (to the exarch Isaac). For the date of Honorius' letter, see Isaac 8.

Petrus 61 chartularius VII

[Π]έτρῳ χαρτουλαρίῳ; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.546 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: .ΕΤ/ΡΩΧΑΡ/ΤΟΝΛΛ/ΡΙΩ).

Petrus 62 honorary consul and patricius VII

Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικίῳ; Zacos 455a, b and c (three similar seals; obv.: square monogram (268) of Πέτρῳ, surrounded by the letters ΧΞΟΘ̄C, Β, Ο and ΟΘΗ - Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, βοήθει; rev.: +ΑΠΟ/ΝΠΑΤΩ/ΝΠΑΤΡ[Ι]/[ΚΙΩ]). There are nine further specimens in Zacos' series, and for others see Constantopoulos, *Molybdoullia*, no. 452; Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 108; and Mititela-Barnea, *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche* XVII (1966), p. 43-50 with Laurent, *BZ* 60 (1967), p. 238.

Petrus 63 domesticus VII

Πέτ[ρ]ῳ δομεστίκῳ; Fogg Art Museum seal 408 (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΙΟΤΟ|ΚΕ/ΒΟ|ΗΘ|Η; rev.: +ΠΕΤ/|Ρ|ΩΔΟ/ΜΕCΤΙ/ΚΩ).

Petrus 64 patricius VII

Πέτρου πατρικίου; Zacos 1193 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: cruciform monogram (279) of Πέτ[ρ]ου πατ[ρ]ικίου). For a similar seal, see Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 598, which confirms the ρ in the monogram in Zacos 1193 (which seal has a hole in the middle).

Petrus 65 patricius E/M VII

Πέτρῳ πατρικίῳ (?); Zacos 1583 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (280), possibly of Πέτρῳ πατρικίῳ, perhaps of Πέτρῳ ὑπάτῳ). There is a further similar seal in Zacos' series.

Petrus 66 patricius et praefectus VII

Πέτρῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ ἐπάρχῳ; Zacos 462A (seal; obv.: square monogram (268) of Πέτρῳ, with the letters ΧΞΟΘ̄C, and Β, Ο, ΗΘΗ = Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ/ΩΚΑΙ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩ). Cf. also Petrus 46.

Petrus 67 praefectus VII

Πέτρου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 677A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (276) of Πέτρου ἐπάρχου).

Petrus 68 ex praefectis et drungarius VII

Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ δρουγγαρίῳ; Zacos 1581 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΕ[Τ]/ΡΩΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ'Σ/ΔΡΓ').

Petrus 69 imperialis silentiarius et praeses VII

Πέτρου (sic) βασιλικῷ σιλεντιαρίῳ καὶ ἄρχ(ο)ντ(ι); Zacos 679 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΕΤ/ΡΟΝΒCΙΑ/[Ε]ΝΤΙΑΡΙΩ/ΣΑΡΧΩΝ/ΤΗ+).

Petrus 70

illustrius; MVM per Numidiam and patricius E/M VII (?636)

Addressee of letters from Maximus Confessor; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 13 (PG 91. 509-33) (πρὸς Πέτρον ἰλλούστριον), 14 (PG 91. 533-44), *Opusc.* 12 (PG 91. 141-6).

He wrote to Maximus to inform him of the safe completion by him of a sea voyage and of the relapse of some converted monophysites into their former errors, and Maximus replied to him with *Ep.* 13; the date was probably 633/634 and Petrus was probably in Alexandria; see Sherwood, *Stud. Anselm.* xxx (1952), pp. 39-40. He was probably still in Alexandria when he received *Ep.* 14, delivered by an Alexandrian deacon Cosmas; this letter alludes to the Arab wars of conquest; on the date, see Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1. In 643/644 (Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 52) Maximus wrote a letter to him reviewing the course of the monothelete controversy (extant in excerpts only, made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius); *Opusc.* 12.

MVM PER NUMIDIAM: subsequently false accusations were brought against him; Max. Conf. *Rel. Mot.* (PG 90. 112A) (τοῦ γενομένου στρατηγοῦ Νουμηδίας τῆς Ἀφρικῆς), (113A) (πατρικίος).

He was the addressee of the *Computus Ecclesiasticus* of Maximus (PG 19. 1217) (to Peter the patrician) (a. 640/641).

He was apparently in office in Sept. 636 when an inscription from the region of Telergma in Numidia records him; AE 1928, 81 = AE 1970, 695 = Pringle, no. 55 (probably dated Sept. 8, 636) (... regente domno nostr[o] p[.]e(t?) d(e)o conserbando Pe[t]ro patriciho ac Africana probincia).

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus  
Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

Petrus Badoarius

(Fl.) Petrus Paulus Ioannes

Petterius

(landowner and) pagarch (of Arsinoe) ?VII

A papyrus from somewhere in the Fayum, assigned by the editors to the sixth century, records an archdeacon Georgius, son of τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης Πεττηρίου γενομένου ὑπάρχου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως; *Stud. Pal.* III 324. This title does not seem to be recorded elsewhere of any Egyptian city. However a Fl. Petterius is recorded as pagarch of Arsinoe (in the Fayum) in papyri from the seventh century and perhaps from the Arab period; *Stud. Pal.* III 253 and 254 (σὺν Θ(εῶ) πάγαρχος) (seventh century) (at Arsinoe), cf. *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1190 (Fayum; σὺν Θ(εῶ) πάγ[αρχος] (seventh century), 1085 (provenance unknown, dated VII/VIII; a pagarch) and 1078 (Fayum, dated VII/VIII; Φλ. Πεττήριος σὺν Θ(εῶ) [...]). Perhaps *Stud. Pal.* III 324 refers to the same man and the same office.

A Fl. Petterius also occurs as a large landowner in the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1079 (Fayum, dated VI/VII; Φλ. Πεττήριος(ς) σὺν Θ(εῶ) [κτῆ]τωρ), 1188 (Fayum, dated VII; Φλ. Πεττήριος σὺν Θ(εῶ) κτήτωρ), and cf. also *Stud. Pal.* VIII 869 and 877 (both of unknown provenance, dated seventh century, possibly Arab, recording the οὐσία Πεττηρίου (καὶ) μι<sub>3</sub><sup>α</sup> τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων (?); the meaning of μι<sub>3</sub><sup>α</sup> is unknown). Perhaps the same man as the pagarch.

The name recurs as that of a seventh-century deacon and *notarius* in a papyrus also from the Fayum; *P. Lond.* I, p. 221, no. 113.

Phabrizus Persian commander 548-549, 556

Φαβριζός; Proc. Οὐαφρίζης; Agath. On the name, see Justi, p. 340 (Wahrřč, Wahriz).

Brother of Isdigousnas, he held high office in Persia and was, according to Procopius, a bad man with a great reputation for cleverness; Proc. *BP* II 28.16. A prominent Persian; Agath. III 28.10.

In 547/548 he was chosen by Chosroes to further his plans to transport the Lazi and settle their land with Persians; Proc. *BP* II 28.17. Sent with three hundred picked soldiers to Lazica, he planned with Pharsanses to lure Gubazes to Petra and murder him there, but the plot was disclosed to Gubazes by Pharsanses himself; Phabrizus then instructed the Persians garrisoned in Petra to prepare for a siege and himself returned home with his troops without achieving his purpose; Proc. *BP* II 29.2-8. In 549 he was one of the four commanders of the army left in Lazica by Mermeroos, to supply Petra and to live off the land; this army was destroyed by Dagisthaeus and Gubazes and the survivors fled from Lazica; Proc. *BP* II 30.31-2, and see also Dagisthaeus.

In 550 he crushed the rebellion of Anasozadus (Anōshaghzādh), the

eldest son of Chosroes; Proc. *BG* IV 10.19, cf. Noeldeke, *Tabari*, 467-74, Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 510. In late 550 he accompanied his brother to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* IV 11.5.

In autumn 556 he remained with most of the Persian cavalry at Mocheresis when the main army under Nachoragan left Lazica to winter in Iberia; Agath. III 28.10 (τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἵππικῆς δυνάμεως καταλιπὼν ἰλάρχην τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Οὐαφρίζην), cf. IV 15.4 (withdrawal in autumn 556).

Phaiak *qui et* Rhasnan

Persian envoy 628

On the names, cf. Justi, p. 90, s.n. Φαϊάκ (the element Raznan, ῥασνᾶν, means *a secretis*).

On April 3, 628, he delivered to Heraclius at Ganzac a letter from the new Persian king Siroes (= Cavades) seeking to make peace; a Persian, he held an office equivalent to that of a *secretis* (Φαϊάκ ὁ ἄδσηκρῆτις ὁ καὶ ῥασνᾶν); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628, cf. Sebeos xxvii, p. 86 (Raš, envoy from Cavades, made peace with Heraclius in 628). See also Eustathius 12 (*tabularius*).

Phanitheus

commander of Herul federates 538

A Herul, uncle of Fulcaris; Agath. I 11.3.

In summer 538 Phanitheus, Aluith and Visandus were in command of two thousand Heruli who accompanied Narses I to Italy to help Belisarius in the war with the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 13.18 (ὣν Οὐίσανδός τε καὶ Ἄλουιθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἤρχον). Ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος; he was killed during an attack on Caesena (Dec. 538/Jan. 539); Proc. *BG* II 19.20, cf. 22.8 (his place was taken by Philemuth).

For the Heruli as *foederati*, cf. Philemuth.

Pharas

Herul leader 530, 533-534

Φάρας; Proc. *Fara*; Jord.

A Herul; Proc. *BP* I 13.19, *BV* I 11.11, II 4.29. He came of noble family; *BV* II 6.22.

He led contingents of Heruli serving with the Roman army against Persia in 530, Proc. *BP* I 13.19-20; and against the Vandals in 533 and 534, Proc. *BV* I 11.11. In June 530 he fought under Belisarius with three hundred Heruli at the battle of Dara, playing a significant role in the Roman victory; Proc. *BP* I 13.25-7, 14.32-3.39. In 533 he accompanied Belisarius with four hundred Heruli on the Vandal expedition and was entrusted with the blockade of Gelimer on Mount Papua during the winter of 533-534; Proc. *BV* I 11.11, II 4.28-31, 6.1-4.15-34, 7.6-12, and see further Belisarius, pp. 191-2 and Cyprianus.

He was among the *iudices* killed by Stotzas in 535; *Jord. Rom.* 369, and cf. *Proc. BV* II 15.58-9. He had perhaps remained in Numidia after Gelimer's surrender.

Described as a strong and active man, surprisingly reliable and sober for a Herul, who maintained good discipline among the Heruli who followed him; *Proc. BV* II 4.29-31.

Pharasmanes PSC or primicerius sacri cubiculi 527/565

Founder of the monastery of St Mamas, in which Maurice and his family were later interred (and cf. *Gordia* 2); a eunuch, he was head of the *sacrum cubiculum* under Justinian; *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 41 (ὁς πρῶτος καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτωνίσκου ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐγεγόνει), *Zon.* XIV 14 (ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος γεγὼνως Ἰουστινιανοῦ), and see Grierson, *Tombs and Obits*, p. 47 with n. 88. Cf. Janin, *Églises et monastères*, p. 326.

Pharsanes magister (at the Lazican court) 556  
Φαρσάνης; *Proc. Φαρσάντης*; *Agath.* On the name, cf. *Justi*, p. 98, no. 2.

A Colchian, i.e. Lazican; *Agath.* IV 13.3. One of the Lazican notables; *Proc. BP* II 29.4.

In 548 he was at odds with Gubazes and was therefore approached by the Persian Phabrizus to plot the murder of the king; however he revealed everything to Gubazes, who then revolted from Persia and sought Roman help; *Proc. BP* II 29.4. Cf. also *Dagisthaeus*.

In 556 he held high office at the Lazican court, commanding the palace troops with the title *magister* (τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταγμάτων τοῦ Λαζῶν βασιλέως ἡγεῖτο - μάγιστρος ὄνομα τῇ ἀρχῇ· νενομίσται γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις; i.e. his post was similar to that of *magister officiorum*; cf. also *Terdetes*); he was with the Roman armies in the war with Persia and in summer 556 together with Varazes 2 was given temporary command of the expedition against the Misimiani; he lacked the confidence and authority effectively to command a Roman army; *Agath.* IV 13.3-4. See also *Varazes* 2 and cf. *Martinus* 2, p. 847.

Phartazes Lazican notable 555/556

For the name, see *Justi*, p. 98.

A Lazican notable, he favoured the continuation of the alliance with Rome in spite of the murder of Gubazes; *Agath.* III 11.2, 14.1-2, cf. 11.3-13.11 (his supposed speech in favour).

Phazas army commander (in Italy) 542, 547  
Native of Iberia; *Proc. BG* III 6.10, 28.5. Nephew of Peranius; *Proc.*

*BG* III 6.10. See stemma 24. He was therefore a member of the Iberian royal family. On the name, cf. *Justi*, pp. 89-90 and 99.

In 542 he was commander of the Armenian troops sent with Maximinus 2 by sea from Constantinople to Italy (the Thracian troops were under Herodianus); *Proc. BG* III 6.10. The expedition delayed first in Epirus and later in Syracuse; *Proc. BG* III 6.11, 7.1. As the winter (542/543) drew near, Phazas was sent from Syracuse with Herodianus 1 and Demetrius 3 to assist Naples, besieged by the Goths; a storm drove their ships ashore close to the Gothic camp and many were killed or captured but Phazas and Herodianus with a few others escaped; *Proc. BG* III 7.3-7.

In late 547 Phazas was apparently with Belisarius in Rome and accompanied him when with seven hundred picked cavalry and two hundred infantry he sailed via Sicily for Tarentum; *Proc. BG* III 24.34, 27.16. They put in at Croton, whence Phazas and Barbation were sent with all the cavalry to guard the nearby passes; *Proc. BG* III 28.3-5. In an encounter with the cavalry of Totila, Phazas perished with all his men; *Proc. BG* III 28.15.

Pherochanes high Persian official 590

Pherochanes is allegedly not a personal name but an office equivalent to that of *magister (officiorum)*; cf. *Theoph. Sim.* IV 2.2 (τὸ δ' ὄνομα τῆν τοῦ μαγίστρον ἄξιαν τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ ἐνσημαίνεται γλώττῃ). See however *Justi*, p. 95, s.n. Farruxān, no. 8.

Appointed commander by Hormisdas in early 590 and sent against the rebel Bahram; his own men deserted to the rebel and assassinated Pherochanes (cf. *Zoarab* and *Sarames*); *Theoph. Sim.* IV 2.2-3.1, V 1.2, *Theoph. AM* 6080, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 19.

Pherogdathes (Φερογδάθης) Persian envoy 578/579

On the name, see *Justi*, p. 96, s.n. Farux<sup>m</sup>dādh, no. 1.

Persian, envoy from Chosroes to Tiberius, he reached Constantinople at the beginning of winter 578/9 while Tiberius' envoys Zacharias 2 and Theodoros 36 were still on their way to Persia; he returned with Tiberius' proposals for making peace; *Men. Prot. fr.* 54.

Fl. Phib 1

v.c., subadiuva of the officium of the praeses Arcadiae 578

Son of a man (name not recorded), now dead, who was λαμπρ(ᾶς) μῆμης; he came from Nea Iustinopolis (= Oxyrhynchus, renamed; cf. *P. Oxy.* 126); he was ὁ εὐδοκίμω(α)τος σουβαδίου(α) τῆς ἡγεμον(ικῆς)

τάξεως τῆς Ἀρκαδίων ἐπαρχ(ίας) and is styled ἡ σὴ λαμπρότης; addressee of an agreement for a loan in 578; *P. Oxy.* 1042.

**PHIB 2** comes (et dioecetes) (Egypt) L VI/VII

He and **Diogenes 6** were each in charge of a group of estates probably belonging to the Apion family; *P. Oxy.* 2031, line 13 + δ[101]κ(ήσεως) τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Φιβ. He was a *comes et dioecetes*; cf. **Georgius 55**.

**Philagrius 1** son of Soterichus 556

Son of **Soterichus 1**; brother of **Romulus 2** and **Eustratius 2**; in 556 he and **Romulus** went with their father to Lazica where they perished all three at the hands of the Misimiani; *Agath.* III 15.7, 16.8. See **Romulus** and **Soterichus**.

**Philagrius 2** ?cubicularius M VI/M VII

**Φιλαγρίου** (?)κουβικουλαρίου; *Zacos* 467 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (346) of **Φιλαγρίου**; rev.: cruciform monogram (194), probably of **κουβικουλαρίου**).

**Philagrius 3** sacellarius 641

He had **Valentinus 5** in his service as his bodyguard (ὑπασπιστής); *Nic. Brev.* 28, 29.

(CVBICVLARIVS ET) SACELLARIVS a. 641: τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίης, under **Constantine III**; *Nic. Brev.* 28, cf. *Joh. Nik.* 119.20, 23, 24 (pp. 572–3 Zotenberg) ('the treasurer'). For *sacellarius*, cf. **Narses 1**. He probably held the same office at the end of the reign of **Heraclius**; a very late chronicle records that **Heraclius** conducted a census διὰ **Φιλαγρίου** καὶ **κουβικουλαρίου** καὶ **σακελλαρίου**, titles which are probably correct; *Chron. Anon.*, ed. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη VII* (1894), p. 110.

He revealed to **Constantine** the existence of a special fund set up by **Heraclius** for the use of **Martina** after his death and entrusted to the patriarch **Pyrrhus**; this was confiscated by **Constantine**; later, when **Constantine** fell mortally ill, **Philagrius**, afraid of **Martina** and her son, persuaded **Constantine** to secure the support of the army to protect his children's interests against her and to send **Valentinus 5** with money to them; *Nic. Brev.* 28. After **Constantine** died **Philagrius** was banished by **Martina** to **Septem**; *Nic. Brev.* 29, *Joh. Nik.* 119.23 (p. 573 Zotenberg) (to Africa).

Subsequently he was recalled through the influence of **Valentinus**; *Joh. Nik.* 120.40, 53 (pp. 579–80 Zotenberg).

Described as very popular at Constantinople; *Joh. Nik.* 119.24 (p. 573 Zotenberg).

**Philagrius 4** honorary consul VII

**Φιλαγρίου** ὑπάτου; *Zacos* 1588 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of **Θεοτόκε βοήθει**; rev.: +ΦΙΛ/ΑΓΡΙΟ/ΥΥΠΑ/ΤΟΥ).

**Philagrius 5** MVM VII

**Φιλαγρίω** στρατηλάτῃ; *Zacos* 1589 = *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 55.1.550 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of **Θεοτόκε βοήθει**; rev.: +ΦΙΛ/ΑΓΡΙΩC/ΤΡΑΤΗ/ΛΑΤΗ).

**Philagrius 6** cubicularius (et) sacellarius VII

**Φιλαγρίου** κουβικουλαρίου σακελλαρίου; *Zacos* 1365 = *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 55.1.307 (seal; obv.: the letters of ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙΟΥ arranged in a cross; rev.: Κ[Ο]Υ/ΒΙΚ'CA/ΚΕΛΛΑ/ΡΙΩ).

Perhaps to be identified with **Philagrius 3**.

**Philaretus 1** cubicularius et chartularius 612–613

**Philaretus** and **Synetus** escorted **Heraclius'** baby daughter **Epiphania** when she was crowned on October 4, 612, and taken to **Hagia Sophia**; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612 (παρακολουθούντων **Φιλαρέτου** κουβικουλαρίου καὶ **χαρτουλαρίου** καὶ **Συνέτου** καστρησίου). The same date is recorded in *Theoph.* AM 6104.

In the following year he carried **Heraclius'** baby son **Heraclius** when he was crowned in the palace and hippodrome and taken to **Hagia Sophia**; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 613 (βασταζόμενος ὑπὸ **Φιλαρέτου**). The *Chron. Pasch.* gives the date of **Heraclius junior's** coronation as Jan. 22, 613, but *Theophanes*, AM 6104, gives Dec. 25, 612; cf. **Heraclius Constantinus 38**.

**Philaretus 2** ex praefectis VII

**Φιλαρέτω** ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; *Zacos* 680 = *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.719 (seal; obv.: eagle, with open wings, within which is a cruciform monogram of **Θεοτόκε βοήθει**; rev.: Φ[ΙΛ]Α/PETΩΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩΝ).

**Philegagus** cavalry commander (in Lazica) 549

A **Gepid**; *Proc. BG* IV 8.15.

In 549 at the battle of the river **Hippis** (in Lazica) **Philegagus** and **Ioannes 44 qui et Guzes** were in command of the Roman cavalry; *Proc. BG* IV 8.15. At the start of the battle they dismounted with their men and fought on foot; *Proc. BG* IV 8.30.

Described as a man of vigour (δραστήριος ἀνὴρ); *Proc. BG* IV 8.15 (a stock phrase).

Philemuth (Φιλημούθ)

commander of Herul federates M VI; ?MVM 552/553

A Herul; Proc. *BG* III 39.10. The Heruli were *foederati* of the old style, an allied tribe bound by treaty to supply contingents to the Roman army; these contingents were commanded by their own native leaders; Proc. *BG* II 14.34, III 33.13-14, and cf. Jones, *LRE* II, pp. 663-4 with nn. 131-2.

Philemuth was presumably with the Heruli who accompanied Narses I to Italy in summer 538; Proc. *BG* II 13.18, 18.6. After the death of Phanitheus at Caesena, Philemuth became one of the commanders of the Heruli (with Aluith and Visandus); Proc. *BG* II 22.8 (Φιλιμούθ ... τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχευ), cf. II 19.20 (death of Phanitheus, in Dec. 538/Jan. 539). He and Aluith were in command of the Heruli who left Italy and returned to Constantinople after the recall of Narses in spring 539; Proc. *BG* II 22. 5-8.

In 543 he was on the eastern front in command of Heruli with Verus; Proc. *BP* II 24.14.18 (he and Verus were οἱ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενοι). When the invasion forces began to gather, they went to the district of Chorzianene, close to the camp of Martinus 2 at Citharizon; Proc. *BP* II 24.14. On hearing that Petrus (*PLRE* II) had invaded Persia, Philemuth and Verus followed him; Proc. *BP* II 24.18. Presumably he was present at the battle of Anglon which ended in the rout of the Romans; Proc. *BP* II 25.20-31.

In 545 he was one of the Herul leaders (τῶν Ἐρούλων τοὺς ἀρχοντας) who agreed to accompany Narses I to Italy; Proc. *BG* III 13.21-2 (many Heruli went, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημούθ ἡρχον). They went to winter in Thrace (545/546) intending to march to Italy in spring, but en route they met and defeated a marauding force of Slavs; Proc. *BG* III 13.22-5. What became of the expedition thereafter is not recorded, but it does not appear to have gone to Italy. Narses apparently returned to Constantinople; Proc. *BG* III 14.36.

When the Heruli revolted from Rome (shortly before 549; cf. Proc. *BG* III 34.43 οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν), Philemuth was one who remained loyal; in spring 549 he was senior commander of fifteen hundred Heruli who accompanied a Roman expedition to help the Lombards against the Gepids; Proc. *BG* III 34.42-3 (ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημούθ ἡρχον). The expedition quickly ended when the Lombards and Gepids made peace; Proc. *BG* III 34.45.

In 550 he and his followers were ordered to accompany Germanus (*PLRE* II) to Italy; Proc. *BG* III 39.10. Following the death of Germanus, the expedition, now under Ioannes 46, proceeded only as far as Salona,

where it wintered in 550/551 and then apparently remained there until 552 when Narses I, now given overall command, could assemble an adequate army for the invasion of Italy; Proc. *BG* III 40.10-11.30, IV 21.5-6, 22.1, 26.5-11. Philemuth was senior commander of over three thousand Herul cavalry (ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημούθ ἡρχον) in Narses' army when it left Salona; Proc. *BG* IV 26.13.

In Italy in 552 Philemuth was presumably present with the Heruli at the battle of Busta Gallorum; Proc. *BG* IV 31.5. He later took part in the attack on Rome by Narses; Proc. *BG* IV 33.19. He and Ioannes 46 were sent into Tuscany to prevent Theia reaching Campania; however, Theia bypassed them, and they were recalled by Narses to rejoin the main army and march on Campania; Proc. *BG* IV 34.21-4.

Ὁ τῶν ξυνεπομένων Ἐρούλων στρατηγός; he fell ill and died during the siege of Cumae (perhaps early 553; cf. Fulcaris); Agath. I 11.3.

?MVM (VACANS) a. 552/553: under Narses he probably combined the command of the Heruli with the title of MVM (*vacans*); cf. Agath. I 11.3 (cited above) and see Fulcaris and Sindual.

## PHILIADES

governor of Arcadia 641

Brother of the (Melkite) patriarch Georgius (predecessor of Cyrus); Joh. Nik. 119.11 (p. 571 Zotenberg).

GOVERNOR OF ARCADIA a. 641: he was 'the prefect of the province of Arcadia' ('*préfet d'Arcadie*'; Zotenberg); Joh. Nik. 119.10 (p. 570 Zotenberg).

He came to Alexandria in 641 and was befriended by Menas 41; Joh. Nik. 119.10-11. He had proposed to reduce the pay of the army, and was unpopular at Alexandria, where he was attacked by the people; he fled into hiding and his house was robbed and burnt, though the stolen property was later returned by the general Theodorus 166; Joh. Nik. 119.12.14-15.17 (pp. 570-1 Zotenberg). Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 310-12.

## Philippicus 1

patricius VI

Φιλιππικοῦ πατρικίου; Zacos 468 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.30 (seal; obv.: square monogram (347) of Φιλιππικοῦ; rev.: square monogram (249) of πατρικίου).

## Philippicus 2

scholasticus et illustrius VI

Φιλιππικοῦ scholastic(u) (καὶ ἰλλ(ουστρίου); Zacos 469 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.756 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (348) of Φιλιππικοῦ; rev.: SchO/LASTI/CI/LL).

## Philippicus 3

patricius; comes excubitorum 582/584-603

His wife was Gordia 2, sister of the emperor Maurice; Theoph. Sim. I 13.2, Theoph. AM 6076, 6094, Cedr. I 692, Nic. Call. HE xviii 10, cf. Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18, Evagr. HE VI 3, Joh. Ant. 218d, Theoph. AM 6086, Zon. xiv 12, 13, Cedr. I 704, Nic. Call. HE xviii 38, 42, Mich. Syr. x 21, 25 (brother-in-law of Maurice). Wrongly called the emperor's son-in-law, Sebeos II, p. 15, xxiv, p. 66, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Chron. 1234, lxxxiv, Suid. Φ 349; and the brother-in-law of Phocas, Nic. Brev. 7. They probably married in 583; cf. Gordia. In Nic. Call. HE xviii 41, Philippicus is described as the father of Georgius 45, a misunderstanding of Theoph. Sim. VIII 13.1 (Georgius was his ὑποστράτηγος). He and his wife were given a large palace, the *domus Hilarae*, in the Zeugma district in the western part of the city; Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18.

COMES EXCUBITORVM a. 582/584-603: this was the first post conferred on him by Maurice, Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18 ('quem primo comitem excubitorum constituit'), cf. Theoph. AM 6086 (under about the year 594 Philippicus MVM *per Orientem* is made *comes excubitorum*; if the date is approximately correct, Philippicus was reappointed to both posts; it is more probable that the entry is wrongly dated; it gives information about Philippicus' building activities (see below), is not derived from Theophylact Simocatta but from an unknown source, and has perhaps been inserted by Theophanes under the wrong year). In office in 591; Greg. Ep. I 31 (a. 591 Feb.; addressed 'Filippico comiti scubitorum'). Philippicus was still *comes excubitorum* when he took holy orders in 603; Chron. Pasch. s.a. 603 (ὁ πατρικίος καὶ κόμης ἐξκουβιτόρων).

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 584-587/588: he succeeded Ioannes 101 Mystacon as MVM *per Orientem* in 584, Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18 ('et postea (i.e. after making him *comes excubitorum*) in suo loco (Maurice had formerly held this post) omnibus ducibus Romanorum per totum Orientem praeponit et copias ad bellum contra Persas paraturum misit'), Evagr. HE VI 3 (cf. Ioannes 101), Theoph. Sim. I 13.1-2 (= Nic. Call. HE xviii 10), cf. Theoph. AM 6076 (στρατηγὸν τῆς ἑώρας), 6086 (τὸν τῆς ἀνατολῆς στρατηγόν), Cedr. I 692.

While in this office he asked for relics of St Symeon the Stylite to be sent from Antioch to protect the eastern armies; Evagr. HE I 13.

Sent in 584 to make war on the Persians; Joh. Eph. HE III 5.18 (cited above). In spring/summer 584 he assembled his forces at Monocarton on Mount Aisoumas (modern Karaca Dag) and strengthened the fortifications there and then in autumn made successful incursions first around Nisibis and later into Bearbaes (Beth 'Arabāyē), taking booty and prisoners and defeating Persian cavalry, before returning to

Sisarbanon and Tur 'Abdin; Theoph. Sim. I 13.3-12, 14.6, Evagr. HE VI 3, cf. Theoph. AM 6076, Zon. xiv 12, Cedr. I 692, Nic. Call. HE xviii 10.

In 585 he raided Arzanene and captured much booty before falling ill; he then retired to Martyropolis, entrusting his forces to Stephanus 26 and Apsich 2; when he recovered winter was at hand and so he broke camp and returned to Constantinople; Theoph. Sim. I 14.1.5-6.10, cf. Theoph. AM 6077, Cedr. I 693, Zon. xiv 12.

In spring 586 he returned from Constantinople to the east and went to Amida where a Persian envoy, Mebodes, and then the bishop of Nisibis arrived to discuss peace terms; these were rejected by the troops and then, when forwarded by Philippicus to the emperor, by him too and the war continued; Philippicus advanced to Mambrahton and Bibas, near Arzamon; Theoph. Sim. I 15.1-15, cf. Theoph. AM 6078. He then made camp close to Arzamon, on Mount Izala, from which he sent out scouts; Theoph. Sim. II 1.1.5-7, 2.5. The Persians under Cardarigan I drew near and a battle took place at Solachon which resulted in an important victory for the Romans; Theoph. Sim. II 3.1-6.12, Evagr. HE VI 3, Theoph. AM 6078, Zon. xiv 12, Cedr. I 693. Philippicus then invaded and plundered Arzanene and laid siege to the fort of Chlomaron; Theoph. Sim. II 6.13-7.11. The Romans abandoned the siege after the arrival of Persian forces under Cardarigan, and Philippicus panicked during the night, apparently fearing a surprise attack, and fled to Aphoumon; his army disintegrated and followed him there and began to revile him; Theoph. Sim. II 9.1-9, Theoph. AM 6078, Cedr. I 693. He then returned to Roman soil, crossing the Nymphius with much difficulty, only to lose many men near Amida in attacks on his rear; after strengthening fortifications on Mount Izala to try and hold it, he handed over command of his army to Heraclius 3, being unable to continue fighting ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης (whether distress at his losses or through illness is not clear); Theoph. Sim. II 9.16-17. Late in the year he was at Theodosiopolis where Heraclius joined him and as winter was at hand the campaigning ended; Theoph. Sim. II 10.4-5.

In spring 587 he was too ill to fight himself; he put two-thirds of his army under Heraclius and the remainder under Theodorus 32 and Andreas 11 and sent them to raid Persian territory; Theoph. Sim. II 10.6-7. At the onset of winter he set out for Constantinople, leaving Heraclius in charge; Theoph. Sim. II 18.26, Theoph. AM 6079.

En route he learned that Priscus 6 had been appointed to succeed him as MVM *per Orientem*; he therefore remained at Tarsus and wrote ordering Heraclius to return home, leaving the army under Narses 10, but first to inform the troops that the emperor had ordered their rations

to be cut by a quarter; his motive, according to Theophylact, was enmity towards Priscus; Theoph. Sim. III 1.1-2, Theoph. AM 6079 (he had concealed the order, knowing that trouble would follow with the troops), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 11.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 588-589: when Priscus arrived at Easter 588 to take up his command, the army refused to accept him and mutinied and Philippicus was reappointed; Theoph. Sim. III 2.11 (ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Φιλίππικὸν αὐθις ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐγκελεύεται), Evagr. *HE* VI 6, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 11, Theoph. AM 6079 (ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Φιλίππικὸν πάλιν στρατηγὸν τῆς ἀνατολῆς πεποίηκεν), Mich. Syr. x 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 84-5. The army however had chosen Germanus 6 as their commander and refused to accept Philippicus, who withdrew to Hierapolis to await events; Theoph. Sim. III 3.6-7, 4.5, Evagr. *HE* VI 6-7 (at Beroea and Chalcis), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 11-12. Finally the mutiny ended at Easter 589 after the intercession of Gregory, bishop of Antioch, and Philippicus resumed his command; Theoph. Sim. III 5.9-10 (summoned from Cilicia to Syria), Evagr. *HE* VI 13 (at Antioch), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 16, Mich. Syr. x 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 84-5, Agapius, p. 440.

Philippicus then led his forces to besiege Martyropolis, recently betrayed to the Persians by Sittas 2, but without proper siege engines could make no impression; he was eventually defeated by fresh Persian forces (cf. Mebodes 2) and the garrison at Martyropolis was strengthened; Theoph. Sim. III 5.14-16, Evagr. *HE* VI 14 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 17) (Evagrius' narrative suggests that Philippicus' activity at Martyropolis occurred in autumn of one year and was resumed in summer of the next; this is inconsistent with the chronology of the mutiny and the betrayal of Martyropolis; both events occurred in 589), Theoph. AM 6080. Wrongly described as recapturing Martyropolis in the eastern sources, Mich. Syr. x 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxviii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 84-5. At this time he passed through Zeugma and built a church of the Theotokos there; Mich. Syr. x 21.

Following his failure at Martyropolis he was replaced by Comentiolus 1; Theoph. Sim. III 5.16, Evagr. *HE* VI 15 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 18), Theoph. AM 6080.

In 590 he conveyed to Chosroes the letter of Maurice promising Roman support for his efforts to recover the throne; Sebeos, II, p. 15, Thomas Artsruni II 3.

Late in the reign of Maurice Philippicus led a successful campaign against the 'Bulgars' (presumably the Avars) who were overrunning Thrace; Mich. Syr. x 24. This was probably the occasion when he succeeded Comentiolus as MVM in Thrace; Joh. Ant. fr. 218b. The date

was probably autumn/winter 598, when the conduct of Comentiolus was under investigation following complaints by the army in Thrace; cf. Comentiolus and Phocas 7. Philippicus may have been MVM *per Thracias*, but Comentiolus was reappointed for the campaigning season of 599.

In 602 he was suspected of disloyalty by Maurice, on the basis of a prophecy that the name of Maurice's successor would begin with the letter Φ; he apparently reassured Maurice and gave him information about Phocas, on whom Maurice's suspicions had now fallen; Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 38, Zon. XIV 13, Cedr. I 704.

PATRICIVS a. 603: at his assumption of holy orders (see below) he was a *patricius*; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603. When he obtained the title is not recorded, but it was certainly under Maurice.

Early in the reign of Phocas he took holy orders, accepted the tonsure and entered the monastery which he had built himself at Chrysopolis; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603, Joh. Ant. fr. 218d, Theoph. AM 6098, Zon. XIV 14, Cedr. I 708. According to Sebeos he entered the church while Maurice was still alive; Sebeos, xxiv, p. 66. Some Syriac sources allege that he claimed credit with Phocas for his role in Maurice's downfall, but was expelled from the palace as untrustworthy by Phocas and became a monk; Mich. Syr. x 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxiv.

In late 610 or early 611, though still a priest, he was sent by Heraclius to negotiate with Comentiolus 2, the brother of Phocas; arrested in Bithynia by Comentiolus' troops he was taken to Ancyra where his execution by the rebels was averted only by the murder of Comentiolus; *V. Theod. Syc.* 152.

?MVM (PER ORIENTEM) a. 612-614; after the removal of Priscus (Dec. 5, 612, *Chron. Pasch.*), Philippicus was put in command of the eastern armies by Heraclius; he marched from Caesarea in Cappadocia to the vicinity of Ararat in Armenia, and then withdrew when Persian troops approached and retreated to the area near Theodosiopolis; Sebeos, xxiv, pp. 66-7, cf. Nic. *Brev.* 7 (a cleric, made eastern commander - ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὑπὸ Κρίσπου πρόφην ἰθυνομένης ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεμπε - together with Theodorus 163). When in 614, after the fall of Jerusalem, a Persian army under Shahīn reached Chalcedon, Philippicus led his troops into Persia and caused Shahīn to withdraw and follow him; *V. Anastas. Pers.* (ed. Usener), p. 3.

Shortly afterwards he died and was buried at Chrysopolis in a church built by himself; Nic. *Brev.* 7, cf. Cedr. I 708 (said to have died in peace as a priest at Chrysopolis).

He was subsequently remembered for his long and successful career as a general; Sebeos, xxiv, p. 66, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii. He had a reputation



for skilfulness (ἀνὴρ ἐπιδέξιος); Theoph. Sim. I 13.2. He was a man of learning and studied the military strategy of famous generals of the past, drawing inspiration in particular from Scipio Africanus in his war with Hannibal; Theoph. Sim. I 14.2-4, and cf. Whitby, p. 40, n. 76. He was a firm disciplinarian; Evagr. HE VI 3 (= Nic. Call. HE XVIII 10).

He built a monastery of the Theotokos at Chrysopolis and also a palace there for the emperor Maurice and his family; in addition he built the *domus Philippici* at Constantinople; Theoph. AM 6086, Zon. XIV 12, 14, Cedr. I 698, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 42, and cf. Nic. Brev. 7. He was one who had urged Gregory to accept the post of bishop of Rome; Greg. Ep. I 31.

## PHILIPPVS 1

?consularis Lydiae ?M VI

Honoured for his good administration (εὐνομία) by Philadelphia (in Lydia) with a statue or picture (εἰκὼν) set up at Smyrna; the couplet accompanying it was composed by Theodoretus 2; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 34 ἐκ Φιλαδελφείης ξεινήϊα ταῦτα Φιλίππου. φράζο πῶς μνήμων ἡ πόλις εὐνομίας, and cf. lemma: εἰς εἰκόνα ἄρχοντος ἐν Σμύρνῃ. He was presumably governor of Lydia (consularis) and perhaps a native of Smyrna. The couplet was probably included in the *Cycle* of Agathias.

## FL. PHILIPPVS 2

comes (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus from the Fayum as signing a receipt for a quantity of meat; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1033, line 1 + π(αρά) τοῦ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμε(τος) Φιλίππου, lines 4-6 Φλ. Φίλιππος ὑπεσημ[είωσα] τὸ πιττάκιον τῶν κρέων λί(τρων) ἐννεά τοῦ πριβατί(ου) λί(του) σχο(λαστικοῦ) Μάρκου. Cf. Marcus 9.

## Philippus 3

doctor (at ?Anazarbus) ?VI

A doctor, whose cure of a lame man is commemorated in verses by Cometas 9 *scholasticus*; *Anth. Gr.* IX 597. According to the lemma in Planudes, it occurred at Anazarbus.

## Philippus 4

PVC M VI/VII

Named in a cruciform monogram (350) on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue H*, no. 23a (= Schlumberger, *REG* 8 (1895), p. 72, no. 29). Possibly the same man is named on another glass weight; Ross, *Dumbarton Oaks Collection* I (1962), no. 100. Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.* 6 28 (1986), p. 129, with n. 60.

## Philippus 5

patricius (Gaul) 629/630

In 629/630 he was in dispute with an abbot Bertegisel, whose servants

he was detaining; Bertegisel sought the help of Desiderius 5 (who was then *thesaurarius*); Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* II 2 (placitum cum Phylippo patricio illuc ante ipso domno habemus, i.e. before king Dagobert).

## Philippus 6

chartularius VII

Φιλίππου χαρτουλαρίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 3190 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (349) of Φιλίππου; rev.: cruciform monogram (365) of χαρτουλαρίου).

## Philippus 7

honorary consul VII

Filippu upaticu; Zacos 1197 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4406 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: FILIP/PYYPY/TICY).

## Philippus 8

honorary consul VII

Φιλίππου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 1590 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: + ΦΙ/ΛΙΠΠΩ/ΑΠΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

## PHILIPPVS 9

proconsul VII

Φιλίππου ἀνθυπάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.446 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (351) of (?) Φιλίππου ἀνθυπάτου.

## PHILOMATHIVS

?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 556

In 556 he was in command of Isaurian slingmen and javelin throwers during the siege of Phasis; Agath. III 20.9. He and Angilas made a reckless sortie and were lucky to escape alive back to the city; Agath. III 22.3. His association with Angilas and Theodorus 21 suggests that he was of similar rank; cf. Theodorus for his title.

## Philotheus

illustrius VI/VII

Φιλοθέω ἰλλουστρίω; Zacos 971 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2456 (seal; dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΘΕ/[Ο]ΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΙ; rev.: +ΦΙ/ΛΟΘΕΩ/ΙΛΛΟΥC/ΤΡΙΩ).

Philoxenus (PSI 891) V/VI: PLRE II.

## Philoxenus 1

argentarius (at Oxyrhynchus) 535

Τραπεζίτης; he issued receipts at Oxyrhynchus in 535; *P. Lond.* III, p. 245, no. 780, *P. Oxy.* 143.

## Fl. Philoxenus 2

?v.c. (Egypt) M VI

Ὁ λαμπρότατος, son of Ision τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης (formerly a priest at Oxyrhynchus); a lessor of land near Oxyrhynchus; *PSI* I 77 Oxyrhynchus. The date was 551 or 565.

FL. PHILOXENVS 3 comes et dioecetes (Egypt) 590

Son of Petronius τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης, a native of Heracleopolis; he was *comes et dioecetes* of the *domus* of Sophia 2 in 590; *P. Ert.* 67, lines 4–5 (Φλ. Φιλοξένω τῷ μεγαλ(ο)πρεπεστάτῳ) . . . τρ( ) κόμε(τι) διοικητῆ τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) [οἰ]κίου Σοφίας τῆς ὑπερφνεστάτης πατρικίας) Heracleopolis (a. 590 Sept. 16). The sense of . . . τρ is not clear; στρ(α)τηλάτης was suggested by the editor, Schubart, but this is unsatisfactory on two grounds; the space available before τρ allows two letters, and the combination of στρατηλάτης with *comes et dioecetes* is not otherwise attested. Πατρίκιος is unlikely for the latter reason, while ἰλλοῦστριος is too long. Possibly ἰατρός?

Possibly identical with the *comes et dioecetes* (Philo)xenus named in a list of landowners in the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* x 138, line 12 [+ τοῦ] κ[όμ(ε)τος] Φιλοξένου διοικ(η)τοῦ) (owner of the κώμα of Ἀμπελίου, Χάλωθις, and the ἐποίκιον μοναχοῦ).

PHILOXENVS 4 vir magnificus (in Sardinia) 599

Filius noster magnificus Filoxenus; one of his men was said to be protecting the seducer of a nun at Turris; *Greg. Ep.* x 3 (a. 599 Sept./Oct.; to bishop Marinianus of Turris).

(PHILOX)ENVS 5 comes (in Egypt) VI

Named in a sixth-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 2197, line 68 εἰς χρεῖαν [. . . . .<sup>(16)</sup>. . . . . Φιλοξ]ένο(υ) κόμε(τος). The name is conjectural.

PHILOXENVS 6 dux Arcadiae 642

DVX ARCADIAE a. 642 Jan. 25/Feb. 24: appointed over Arcadia by the Arabs; *Joh. Nik.* 120.29 (p. 577 Zotenberg) (they appointed 'another named Philoxenus as prefect of the province of Arcadia, that is, Fayūm'). In office a. 642 Jan. 25/Feb. 24; *CPR* I, p. 5 = *SB* 9749 (in Mecheir of indiction 15; reporting the delivery of corn to Babylon ἀπὸ πάσης Ἀρκαδίας in accordance with an order from the emir Khārijah ibn Hudhāfah (Ἀρίγιατος) παρ' ἐμοί Φιλοξένω δουκί τῆς Ἀρκαδ(ί)ω(υ) ἐπαρχ(ίας)). He was perhaps appointed under the Romans and retained in office by the Arabs; *Butler, Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 362–3, *Maspero, Orig. Mil.*, p. 74, and cf. *Menas* 40 and *Senuthius* 2.

Philoxenus 7 notarius (in the Fayum) VII

Named in receipts for wine from various individuals in the Fayum; *P. Lond.* I, p. 218, no. 113<sup>3</sup>(7) παρ(ᾶ) Φιλοξένου νοταρ(ίου).

Philoxenus 8 ex tribunis (Egypt) VII

Named in a list of men in a papyrus of unknown provenance; *P. Iand.* 65, line 12 Φιλώξενωσ ἀπὼ τριβούνων (sic).

Fl. Axius Arcadius Phlegethius (*IGC* 100<sup>8</sup>) L V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Phocas:** silentiarius before 526, patricius, PPO Orientis 532, iudex pedaneus 539; *PLRE* II. His full titles are recorded on a bronze weight from the reign of Justinian, which reveals that he also had the honorary consulship – sub v(iro) ill(ustri) Phoca praef(ecto) praet(orio), ex cons(ule) ac patric(io); Longpérier, *Oeuvres* II (1883), 396–8, de Ridder, *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* II (1915), p. 172, no. 3411.

**Phocas I**

MVM (?praesentalis), honorary consul and patricius 528–529

Vir eminentissimus magister militum, consularis atque patricius; member of the commission which worked on the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*; *Just. Const.* 'Hacc' (a. 528 Feb. 13; appointment of the commissioners), *Const.* 'Summa' (a. 529 April 7; completion of their work). For his fellow-commissioners, see *Tribonianus* I. In the list of commissioners, Phocas is named third in order of precedence, after *Leontius* (*PLRE* II) and before *Basilides* (ex PPO and *patricius*).

As well as being honorary consul (he is not named in the *Fasti* of ordinary consuls) and *patricius*, he was probably an actual *magister militum*; he and *Leontius* would have had to be at Constantinople for the work on the *Codex*, and so may have been the *magistri militum praesentales*.

Phocas 2 officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 545

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, a good soldier (διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, a stock phrase), sent to Portus with *Valentinus* I in late 545; killed in ambush by the Goths; *Proc. BG* III 15.1–8. See further *Belisarius*, p. 213 and *Valentinus*.

**Phocas 3** vir gloriosissimus; biocolytes (in Honorias) M VI

Recorded in an imperial *commonitorium* addressed to the landowners of Hadrianopolis in Honorias; while *biocolytes* he had shortly before tried to end brigandage in the area (lines 10–11 ἐπὶ Φωκᾶ τοῦ/ἐνδοξοτ(άτου) τὸ τιδικαῦτα γενναμέ(νου) βίας κω[λ(υ)τοῦ]); *Feissel and Kaygusuz, Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 399 *Boncuklar*, near *Eskipazar* (formerly *Viranşehir*, site of Hadrianopolis).



and proclaimed Phocas as emperor, and he was acclaimed there and crowned by the patriarch Cyriacus on Nov. 23, 602; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, *Greg. Ep.* XIII 1 (both give the date of the coronation), cf. *Joh. Ant. fr.* 218d (chosen as emperor by the army of Thrace). Proclaimed emperor at Hebdomon; *Theoph. Sim.* VIII 10.2-5, *Theoph. AM* 6094, *Zon.* XIV 14, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 40, *Cedr.* I 705, *Joh. Nik.* 103.4 (p. 538 Zotenberg), *Agapius*, p. 448. He entered Constantinople on Nov. 25, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, *Theoph. Sim.* VIII 10.6; and shortly afterwards crowned his wife Leontia as Augusta, *Theoph. Sim.* VIII 10.9, *Theoph. AM* 6094, *Zon.* XIV 14, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 40, *Cedr.* I 705. His accession is also recorded in *Sebeos* XXI, p. 55, *Zon.* XIV 13, *Mich. Syr.* X 24 ('a disreputable old man'), *Bar Hebr., Chron.*, p. 86, *Anon. Guidi*, p. 20 = p. 18, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxiii ('militem vilem'), *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 26, 36, *Hist. Nest.* II 70, 78, 82, *Eutychius, Annales*, col. 1082.

He was overthrown in 610 by Heraclius and was executed on October 5; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610 (and cf., for the date, *Grierson, Tombs and Obits*, pp. 47-8), *Theoph. AM* 6102, *Zon.* XIV 14, *Cedr.* I 712-13, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 55-6, *Joh. Nik.* 110.4-7 (p. 552 Zotenberg), *Fredegar.* IV 63, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 36, *Sebeos* XXIV, p. 64, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxx, *Chron.* 846, p. 230 = p. 174, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 325 = p. 249, *Bar Hebr., Chron.*, p. 87, *Elias, Op. Chron.* I, p. 125 = p. 61, *Hist. Nest.* II 82, *Eutychius, Annales*, col. 1085, *Agapius*, p. 449.

Phocas 8

a secretis E VII

Παρεγένετο δέ τις ἀσηκρήτις ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλίδος πόλεως, τοῦνομα Φωκάς; cured by Theodore of Syceon; *V. Theod. Sye.* 121. The event occurs in the narrative after the accession of the emperor Phocas.

Phoebammon (*P. Lond.* v, no. 1790) V/VI: PLRE II.Phoebammon (*P. Ross.-Georg.* III 43) (in PLRE II): see below s.n.

Phoebammon 7.

...ON SERENVS PHOEBAMMON I

comes et praeses Thebaidis 534/535

...]ων Σ[ερ]ήνος Φοιβάμμων ὁ μεγαλοπρε(πέστατος) κόμ(ε)ς καὶ ἀρχ(ων) τῆς Θηβ(αίων) ἐπαρχε(ίας); ordered the payment of *annona* due to a corps of Numidae Iustiniani at Hermopolis; *P. Lond.* v 1663 Aphrodito. His name is to be restored in a document of similar nature, also from Aphrodito; his office is preserved; *SB* v 8028 (= *BZ* 37, pp. 10ff.). Both documents are dated in a thirteenth indiction, in the reign of Justinian; Phoebammon probably held office shortly before or shortly

after Iacobus 1 (see *Ploutinus*, attested in similar documents under both governors), and therefore the thirteenth indiction was probably that of 534/5.

PHOEBAMMON 2

v.sp., comes (Egypt) M VI

Son of Dioscorus, grandson of Iulius; husband of Theophile and father of Dioscorus 7; a *comes*, he died before c. 570; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67279 = *P. Beaugé* 2, lines 7 (παρὰ τῆς σεμοπρεπιστάτης κύρας Θεοφίλης τῆς γαμέτης το(ῦ) τῆς περιβλέπτ(ου) μνήμ[ης] Φοιβάμμωνος Διοσκόρου 'λουλίο(υ)) and 12 (το(ῦ) μακαρ[ιο(ῦ)] κόμ(ε)τος Φοιβάμμω[ν]ος). The document comes from Antinoe.

PHOEBAMMON 3

comes (Egypt) M VI

Mentioned in a list of accounts at Aphrodito; son of Iulius; he had a *notarius* and soldiers under him; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67058, VII i Παύλο(υ) νοταρίο(υ) το(ῦ) κόμ(ι)τος Φοιβάμ(μωνος), VII 15 (ὑπὲρ) ὀρνίθων το(ῦ) κυρίο(υ) Φοιβ(άμμωνος) 'λο(υ)λίο(υ), VII 22 Βίκτωρ στρ(ατιώτης) το(ῦ) κόμ(ι)τος Φοιβ(άμμωνος) ἀνήλθεν περὶ τῶν χρυσί(ων) τῆς διαγραφῆς (from Aphrodito). He was evidently an imperial official, probably military (although στρατιώτης cannot be pressed too hard); he may be identical with Fl. Phoebammon 7.

PHOEBAMMON 4

?praeses Thebaidis inferioris M VI

Honoured in verses by Dioscorus 5 (of Aphrodito); *P. Lit. Lond.* 100 E (his name and office, in acrostic, read: Φοιβάμμωνι τῷ ἐπαρχίας ἐπικειμένῳ). The dates of Dioscorus suggest that Phoebammon was in office too late to be identified with *Serenus Phoebammon 1*. Aphrodito was in Thebais Inferior.

Fl. Phoebammon 5

doctor (at Antinoe) M VI

Native of Antinoe; son of Euprepus; ἀρχιατρός; a copy of his will survives, dated 570 Nov. 15; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67151, lines 5-6, 21 (from Antinoe). Cf. *Fl. Christophorus 1*.

Phoebammon 6

deputy defensor (at Oxyrhynchus?) 587

Son of Serenus; ἀντέκδικος; *P. Oxy.* 1987, line 12 and verso, line 33 (dated a. 587, an acknowledgement sent by him).

FL. PHOEBAMMON 7

v.c., comes and defensor (?of Antinoe) M/L VI

*Pap.* 1) *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 40 Hermopolite nome; *Pap.* 2) *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 43 Antinoe or Aphrodito; *Pap.* 3-5) Antinoe, 3) *P. Strassb.* I 40, 4) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67169 bis (vol. III, p. 3), 5) *P. Cairo Masp.* 67299.

Flavius Phoebammon; *Pap.* 3. Phoebammon; *elsewhere.*

Son of Thomas 18; *Pap.* 4, cf. *Pap.* 3 (his father's name is to be restored). Father of Victor 6; *Pap.* 1, 4. He died before April 589; *Pap.*

1.

ADVOCATUS (FORI THEBAIDIS) a. 569: a. 569 Sept. 27, *Pap.* 3 (τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ σοφωτάτῳ σχολαστικῷ καὶ συνηγόρῳ τῆς Θεβαΐδος), cf. *Pap.* 4 (a. 569 Feb. 11) and *Pap.* 5 (sixth century) (both ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ σοφώτατος σχολαστικός).

COMES ET DEFENSOR (?at Antinoe, 564/5 or 579/80): *Pap.* 2 (a receipt for rent from the κοινὸν τῶν κληρικῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Φοιβάμμωνος το (line 2) τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ Φοιβάμμωνι κόμετι κ[α]ῖ ἐκδικ[ω]); the papyrus is dated to indiction 13, and comparison with the dates of *Pap.* 3 and 4 suggests either 564/5 or 579/80). He was probably *defensor* at Antinoe.

A landowner at Antinoe, where he had an emphyteutic lease on land belonging to the church of St Phoebammon; *Pap.* 2 (cited above), 5. The fact of the lease confirms the identity of the *defensor* with the advocate.

#### FL. PHOEBAMMON 8

v.sp., comes et dioecetes (Egypt) M/L VI

He was *comes* and *dioecetes* of Anastasia 4 (a wealthy landowner at Oxyrhynchus); *SB* 9368, line 1 ([δ(ιὰ) τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου) κό]με(τος) Φοιβάμμωνος διοικ(ητοῦ) Ἀναστασίας) (probably from Oxyrhynchus, dated indiction 11, probably 577/8 or 592/3), *Giss. Bibl. Univ. Inv.* 33 (cited in *Chron. d'Ég.* 33 (1958), pp. 237-42) (διὰ Φλαυίου Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ περιβλέπτου κόμετος καὶ διοικητοῦ αὐτῆς, sc. of Anastasia).

Possibly identical with the *comes* Phoebammon named in receipts of corn at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 2027 verso, col. II 80 (?ὑπὲρ κόμε(τος) Φοιβάμμ(ωνος)).

Phoebammon 9

?v.c. (Egypt) M/L VI

He died before 604/5 when his son (name lost) was mentioned in a papyrus from the Hermopolite nome; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 49, line 3 ... Ἐρ[μουπολι]τ[ῶν] υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Φοιβάμμωνος.

#### PHOEBAMMON 10

comes (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a receipt for payment of ἐμβολή; *Stud. Pal.* III 48, lines 1-2 ἔσχον πα(ρὰ) τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Φοιβάμμωνι (sic) τοῦ/τοῦ (sic) μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμ(ε)τ(ος). The document is from Hermopolis.

#### PHOEBAMMON 11

v.c., cancellarius (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a sixth-century papyrus from Antinoe; *P. Ant.* 97 διὰ Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) καγκελλαρί[ου].

Phoebammon 12

magister (in Egypt) VI

Addressee of a receipt from a deacon at Hermopolis; *BGU* XII 2190, line 1 τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστ(άτῳ) κυρ(ίῳ) Φοιβάμμωνι μαγίστηρι. The papyrus is from Hermopolis and the receipt was for 1 *solidus* 19 carats ὑπὲρ λοιπάδου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τῶν νυκτοστρατήγων Ἐρμουπόλ(εως). For the μαγίστηρ as an official of the *officium* of the *praeses* or the *dux*, cf. H. I. Bell, *P. Lond.* v, p. 69, Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*, p. 109, and *Just. Nov.* 30, cap. 2, and see *Ioannes* 176 and *Paulus* 39.

Cf. also *P. Lond.* v 1790, a letter, provenance unknown, which mentions (line 10) ?Φοιβ[ά]μμωνος τοῦ μαγίστορος πρ[...].

Fl. Phoebammon 13

scriniarius of the dux Thebaidis VI

Son of Serenus; σκρινιάριος τῆς δουκικῆς τάξεως; he issued a tax receipt to the village headmen of Aphrodito; *P. Flor.* III 291, 1-3, 19-20 Antaeopolis.

Phoebammon 14

?v.c. (Egypt) ?VI

Mentioned in a papyrus (of uncertain provenance, possibly Arsinoe); *Stud. Pal.* III 27 (Φοιβάμμων(ος) τοῦ λαμ[προτάτου]).

Phoebammon 15

?comes (Egypt) VI

Named in a papyrus of unknown provenance; he signed a receipt and is possibly to be identified with a *comes* mentioned elsewhere in the same document; *P. Grenf.* II 98 = *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1156. See *Epanacius* (also possibly the *comes*) where the text is cited.

#### PHOEBAMMON 16

v.c., cancellarius (in the Thebaid) M VI/VII

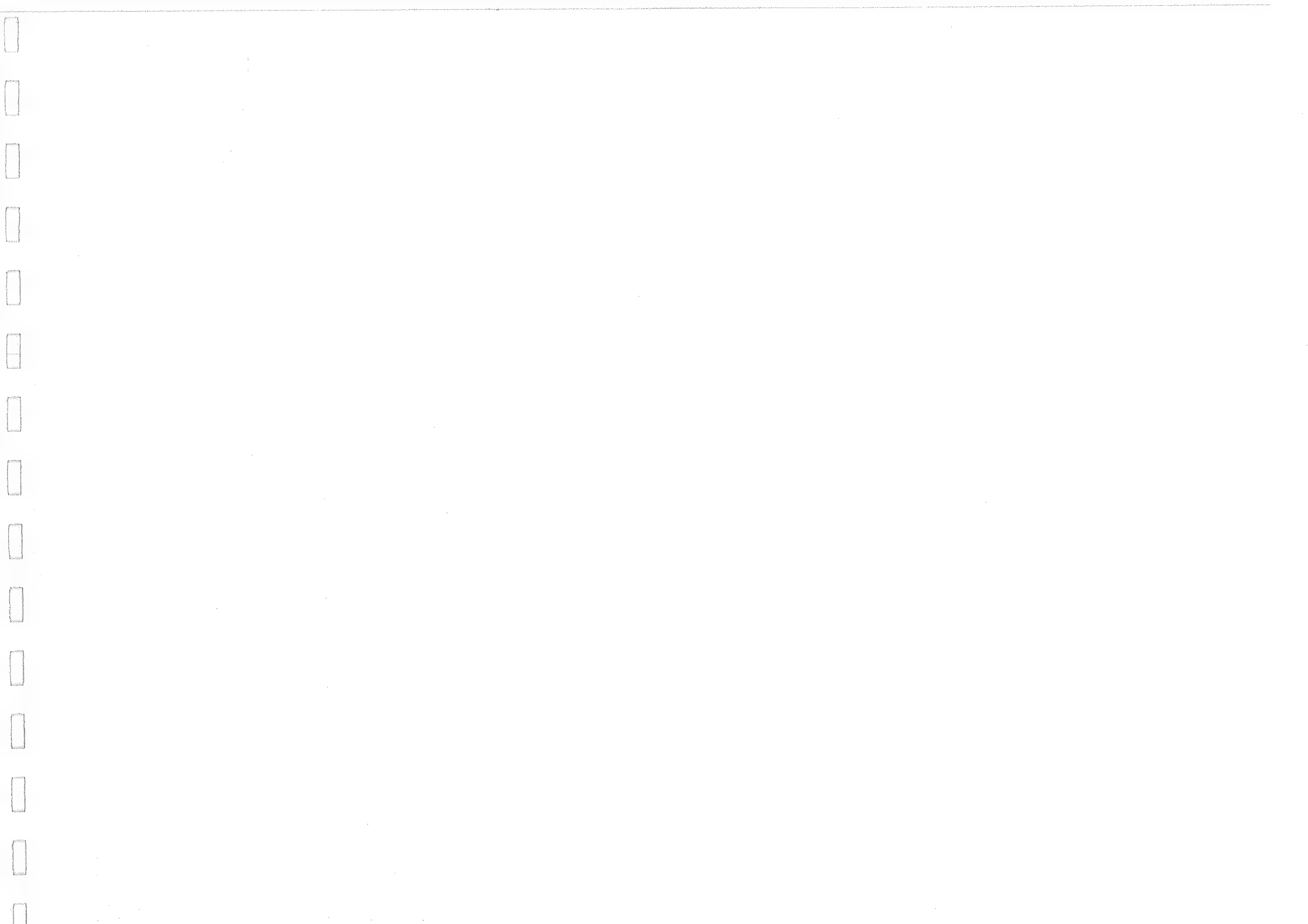
Named in the dating of an inscription recording building work at Ombi - ἐπὶ τῶν αἰσίω(ν) χρόνων ... Γαβρηλιῦ ... καὶ ... Πᾶ ... κ(αί) Φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ λαμπ(ροτάτου) καγκελ(λαρίου); *SB* IV 7475 = *SEG* VIII 780 Ombi. From his relative importance he probably served the *dux Thebaidis* *Gabrielius* 3 rather than the civil governor of the Upper Thebais.

Phoebammon 17

sophist (at Antinoopolis) L VI/E VII

Ὁ σοφιστής, at Antinoopolis where John Moschus met him; *Joh. Mosch. Pratum* 187 (143).

Possibly identical with the Phoebammon who wrote commentaries on the rhetor Hermogenes; see *Brinkmann, Rhein. Mus.* 62 (1907), 628-9, and cf. *Christ-Schmid-Stählin* II 2, pp. 936, 1101.



## FL. PHOEBAMMON 18

comes and topoteretes (in the Upper Thebaid) VI/VII

Addressee of a petition (from a widow) found at Hermonthis; *BGU* II 1869, lines 1-4 τῷ τ(...) τν τ(...) μεγαλ[ο]πρεπεστάτῳ Φλαυίῳ/Φοιβάμμωνος κό[μ]ητος καὶ τοποτηριτῆς/τῆς αὐτον (sic) ἐνδ[ό]ξης ἑσουσίας ἄνω τοῦ/λιμίτου. Hermonthis was in the province of Thebais Superior which, after Justinian's reforms, was under a civil governor who himself was under the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis*. The words ἐνδ[ό]ξης ἑσουσία suggest that Phoebammon was τοποτηρητῆς of the *dux*, not the *praeses*, and was perhaps deputy military commander of the whole frontier region of the Upper Thebais (ἄνω τοῦ λιμίτου), not just at Hermonthis. Cf. Fl. Marcellus 9 and Pas.

Phoebammon 19 ?v.c., dioecetes (Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a complaint from Theodorus 144 (scholasticus) that he had not paid the *scriiniarius* Ioannes 221 the *calandica* owed him; *P. Oxy.* 1869 verso + οἰκ(είῳ) δεσπό(τη) τῷ π(άντων) λαμπρο(τάτῳ) ποθεινω(τάτῳ) προσκ(υνητῷ) γν(ησίῳ) ἀδελφ(ῷ) κυρ(ίῳ) Φοιβάμμωνι διοικ(ητῇ). In line 2 he is addressed as ἡ ὑμετέρα ἀδελφική ποθεινότης.

Phoebammon 20 ?vir magnificus and chartularius (in Egypt) E VII

Recorded in a papyrus fragment from the Fayum, which is dated Aug. 14, 616; apparently father of Calo..., he was a μεγαλοπρεπέστατος with other titles including χαρτουλάριος; *BGU* II 398, lines 8-11. The fragmentary text is cited under Calo...

Photinus 1 MVM (in Africa) M VI/M VII

Φωτεινού στρατηλάτου; *CIG* 8990 = Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903 II, p. 253, n. 111 (seal, found at Rusicade, in Numidia; obv.: +ΦΩΤ/ΕΙΝΟ/V; rev.: +CTPA/THAA/TOV).

Photinus 2 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Φωτεινού ἀπό ἐπάρχων; *Zacos* 972, *Dumbarton Oaks seals* 55.1.2091 and 58.106.4483 (three seals; obv.: ΦΩΤ/ΕΙΝΟ/V; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ. Possibly the same man owned a similar seal found at Carthage, Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903 II, p. 73, n. 10 (obv.: ΦΩΤΕΙΝΟV; rev.: ΑΠΟΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ).

Photinus 3 MVM VII

Φωτινού στρατηλάτου; *Zacos* 1592 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΦΩΤ/ΙΝΟVCT/PATHA/ΑΤΟV).

Fl. Photius (*IGC* 264) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Photius 1 chartularius of Caesaria E/M VI

He was *chartularius* ('khrtwlra') in the household of the patrician Caesaria (*PLRE* II, Caesaria 3); *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 56 (= *PO* 19, pp. 197-9). An official in a private household.

Photius 2 stepson of Belisarius; honorary consul; abbot M VI

Stepson of Belisarius 1, son of Antonina 1 by a former marriage; *Proc.* *BG* I 5.5, 18.18, *Anecd.* 1.32, 2.6-7, *Liberat. Brev.* 22, *Joh. Eph. HE* III 1.31 (= *Mich. Syr.* x 6), 32 (= *Mich. Syr.* x 7), *Theoph. AM* 6058, *Cedr.* I 680. Still a young man in 535; *Proc.* *BG* I 5.5 (νέος μὲν ὢν ἔτι καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτης), cf. *Anecd.* 2.5 (νεανίας, in 541). Described by Procopius as an intelligent youth, with abilities beyond his years; *Proc.* *BG* I 5.5. However his health was poor and his earlier years given to careless living, so that his ability to withstand the ill-treatment which he later suffered from Theodora (see below) surprised Procopius; *Proc.* *Anecd.* 2.12-13.

He served on various campaigns with Belisarius; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 1.32 (cited below). He accompanied him to Sicily in 535; *Proc.* *BG* I 5.5. He was present at the siege of Naples (in late 536); *Proc.* *BG* I 10.5.8-9.20. He was present in Rome early in the Gothic siege, when Belisarius sent him to call pope Silverius to the palace (when the pope was deposed for treasonable conduct, cf. Belisarius, p. 199); *Liberat. Brev.* 22. His equerry Valentinus 2 had distinguished himself in fighting shortly before the siege began; *Proc.* *BG* I 18.18. His presence in Italy with his mother and stepfather allegedly deterred his mother's lover Theodosius 8 from joining her; she therefore conspired against him and forced him to return to Constantinople to escape her plots; *Proc.* *Anecd.* 1.31-34.

HONORARY CONSUL a. 541: by 541 he was honorary consul and had already acquired enormous wealth; *Proc.* *Anecd.* 2.7 (supposedly addressed by Belisarius - ἔς τε ὑπάτων ἀξίωμα ἦκεις καὶ πλοῦτου περιβέβλησαι τοσόνδε χρήμα, ὥστε πατήρ τε καὶ μήτηρ καὶ τὸ συγγενές ἅπαν ἔγωγε καλοῖμην ἄν).

In 541 he went with Belisarius on campaign against Chosroes; *Proc.* *Anecd.* 2.1. Here he was the object of a campaign of harassment organised by Antonina; finally in frustration he disclosed to Belisarius details of Antonina's affair with Theodosius and they agreed to act together against her; *Proc.* *Anecd.* 2.3-5, 12-14. On Antonina's arrival in the east Photius hastened to Ephesus, taking with him Calligonus, one of Antonina's agents, whom he tortured to extract more information; in





Ephesus he arrested Theodosius and seized the treasure he had amassed there; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.2-4. Among his companions to Ephesus was Theodosius 56; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.9. When Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople by Theodora, Photius also went there taking Calligonus and Theodosius' treasures but sending Theodosius under guard to Cilicia to be held prisoner in the greatest secrecy by the bodyguards (οἱ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταί, presumably of Belisarius) who were wintering there (541/2); Proc. *Anecd.* 3.5. In Constantinople he was whipped and scourged by Theodora but steadfastly refused to disclose the whereabouts of either Theodosius or Calligonus; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.12-14. He spent three years in Theodora's prisons, twice escaping and taking sanctuary in churches and twice being seized from there by Theodora and returned to prison; eventually he had a vision of the prophet Zacharias and escaped again, this time making his way to Jerusalem where he accepted the tonsure and disguised himself as a monk, apparently using an assumed name; Proc. *Anecd.* 3.22-9, cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32 ('hic igitur, cum in militia (στρατεία) fuisset et cum ipso Belisario bellis exercitatus esset, postremo ob causam quandam abiit et crinibus tonsis monachismi habitum (σχήμα) induit, cum vitae omnino non approprinquasset, sed monachi habitum (σχήμα) nomine alieno induisset').

He apparently became in due course abbot of the so-called New Monastery at Jerusalem; Theoph. AM 6058, Cedr. I 680 (both call him τὸν ἀββᾶν Φωτεινόν - sic), and cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32 (succeeded on his death by Abraham - cui successit alius archimandrita monasterii quod vocatur Novum, Hierosolymis siti, cui nomen Abraham'), and see also Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.31, 5.3 (below).

Early in the reign of Justin II he was sent by the emperor to pacify the churches in Alexandria and Egypt; Theoph. AM 6058 (δοὺς αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν κατὰ παντὸς προσώπου καὶ πράγματος τοῦ εἰρηνεῦσαι τὰς ἐκκλησίας πάσας τὰς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας), Cedr. I 680. The circumstances are obscure; his mission may have been connected with the situation arising from the death of the monophysite patriarch Theodosius (in June 566, cf. *BZ* XII, p. 496).

Probably in 571 he visited Constantinople and took back with him to Palestine the monophysite bishop Conon, whom he kept shut up in the New Monastery ('quem secum ad Palaestinam deportavit et in monasterio quod vocatur Novum inclusit'); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.31, 5.3. It was in 571 that the persecution of monophysites resumed under Justin II.

There was a Samaritan and Jewish revolt some time under Justin II and Photius was sent to Syria to crush it (cf. also Theophilus 2); he did

so with great cruelty and apparently continued to exercise great authority in the area, extorting money to send to the emperor and employing monks as his agents as well as civil and military personnel; he is alleged to have continued these operations for thirteen years, until his death; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32 ('hic igitur, cum indumento (στολή) monachismi specie (σχήμα) externa vestitus esset, propter Samaritanos qui defeecerant ad regiones Syriae missus est.' There he extorted money and sent it to the emperor; his cruelties were such that 'principes (ἄρχοντας) omnes et praesides (ἡμεμών) et ceterae potestates' trembled before him; 'fuerunt autem cum eo caterva monachorum his rebus idoneorum itemque cohortalium (δεσποτικός) et domesticorum et spathariorum et exercitus etiam romanorum'), Joh. Nik. 94.17 (p. 521 Zotenberg) (where the revolt is put under Justinian). The monks in question were probably Chalcedonians. The date is uncertain but was before 572, since charges in connection with the revolt were made against the QSP Anastasius 14, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.29 ('cum Samaritae in Palaestina a Photio iudicati essent'). In that year also Justin passed a law depriving Samaritans of many rights; Just. *Nov.* 144.

He presumably died in 578/585; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32, and see above.

In Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.32 it is said that after becoming a monk he very quickly returned to the emperor, unable to restrain his natural wickedness ('post paulum igitur, cum immanitatem suam Dei timore subiugare non valuisset, ad regem decurrit'). This implies that he returned to court under Justinian, but the narrative continues with his mission to Syria against the Samaritans, which was in the reign of Justin. There seems no reason why, once Theodora was dead, he should not have resumed contact with the imperial court and reassumed his own identity; a man of his background and wealth might well have been first choice as head of a monastery once a vacancy arose; then in the reign of Justin II his services came to be employed on the missions in Egypt and Syria, and presumably against monophysites too; the hostility of John of Ephesus towards him suggests that he was active against monophysites, and that the years of oppression in Syria may have been directed as much against monophysites as Samaritans (who were mainly in Palestine, not Syria).

### Photius 3

patricius VI

Fotii patricii; Zacos 973a and b, Dumbarton Oaks seals 55.1.4407 and 4408 (four seals; obv.: FOT/II; rev.: PAT/RICII). Another specimen occurs in Zacos' series and similar seals are published in Ficoroni, *Piombi*, p. 64, pl. xx.2; Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, p. 53, no. 17730; and Constantopoulos, *Stamoulis*, p. 1, no. 2, pl. 1.2.

**Photius 4** illustrius M VI/M VII

Φωτίου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 474, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.119 (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (353) of Φωτίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (148) of ἰλλουστρίου).

**Photius 5** scholasticus M VI/M VII

Φωτίου σχολαστικοῦ; Zacos 2915 = Fogg Art Museum seal 985 (seal; obv.: ΦΩ[Τ]/ΙΟΝ; rev.: CΧ[Ο]/ΛΑCΤ/ΙΚΘ).

**Photius 6** curator (domus divinae) rerum Placidiae 610

Ὁ κουργάτωρ τῶν Πλακιδίας; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610.

In 610, when Heraclius overthrew Phocas, Photius and Probus 7 entered the palace, seized Phocas and delivered him to Heraclius; he had personal grounds for hating Phocas who had seduced his wife; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610, *Joh. Ant. fr.* 218f, *Nic. Brev.* 4, *Zon.* xiv 14, *Cedr.* 1 712, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 56. The date of Phocas' capture and death was October 5, 610; see Phocas.

**Photius 7** patricius and exarchus (Italiae?) ?608/613

Father of Gregorius 20; a *patricius* and subsequently *exarchus* of Rome, he once visited St Theodore at Syceon and was vouchsafed a special vision during mass (Φωτίου δὲ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐκλεοῦς πατρικίου καὶ ἐξάρχου τῆς Ῥώμης μετέπειτα γενομένου); *V. Theod. Syc.* 127. If ἐξάρχος is correct, the office of Photius cannot have been the prefecture of Constantinople; it seems that he can only have been *exarchus Italiae*. Cf. Isaacus 8. The anecdote about Theodore is dated in the reign of Phocas, and the Life was written early in the reign of Heraclius; Photius was therefore exarch of Italy either late in Phocas' reign (perhaps successor to Smaragdus) or early in that of Heraclius (before Ioannes 239). Cf. also J.-M. Sansterre, *Byz.* 55 (1985), pp. 267-8.

**Phoubelis** Lazian notable 548

One of the leaders of the Lazi (τῶν τις ἐν Λαζοῖς λογίμων); in 548 he ambushed the Persian army under Mermeroes, accompanied by Roman troops under Dagisthaeus; *Proc. BP* II 30.22.

**Phuscias** (Φουσκίας) envoy of Gelimer 533

Envoy of Gelimer to Theudis in 533; *Proc. BV* I 24.7-18. See further Gothaeus.

**Pientius** vir inlustris (Gaul) M VI

*Inlustris vir* at Tours, whose wife took their dying daughter to be cured

by bishop Germanus of Paris (a. 556/576); *Ven. Fort. V. S. Germ.* xxxiv 99 (the child eventually died a nun in the monastery of St Radegund). Cf. Stroheker, no. 305.

**Pierius** primicerius singulariorum (of the PPO Italiae) 534-535

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *primicerius singulariorum* in 534; *Cass. Var.* xi 32 (title: de primicerio singulariorum qui accedit) Pierius primicerium singulariorum se nostra auctoritate cognoscat effectum. Cf. also Vrbicus 1.

**Pippinus** (Pippin I of Landen) Austrasian noble E/M VI

He was one of the founders of the Carolingian dynasty. Father of Grimoaldus 2; *Fredegar.* iv 85. Husband of Itta, he had two daughters, Geretrudis and Begga; *V. S. Geretrudis* 1, 10.

In 613, after Theoderic II died, he and Arnulf (bishop of Metz) and other Austrasian nobles encouraged Chlotharius II to occupy Austrasia; *Fredegar.* iv 40 (factione Arnulfo et Pippino vel ceteris proceribus).

*MAIOR DOMVS* of Dagobert a. 624-638, and of Sigibert, a. 638-639; *maior domus*, of Dagobert; *Fredegar.* iv 52 (a. 624), 58 (a. 628), 85 (a. 638). For Sigibert, see below. He was Dagobert's principal adviser from the beginning of his reign until he moved to Paris (a. 624-629), at first with bishop Arnulf of Metz, then with bishop Chunibert of Cologne; *Fredegar.* iv 58 (usque eodem tempore ab inicio quo regnare ciperat consilio primetus beatissime Arnulfi Mettensis urbis pontefice et Pippino maiorem domus usus). Sent to Austrasia by Chlotharius to rule there with Dagobert; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 41 (styled 'dux'). In 624 he conspired with Arnulf and other Austrasian nobles to overthrow Chrodoaldus; *Fredegar.* iv 52 (instigantibus beatissimo viro Arnulfo pontifice et Pippino maiores domus seu et ceteris prioribus sublimatis in Auster).

With the removal of the court to Paris in 629 Dagobert became less dependent on his advice and Pippin's influence waned; he remained loyal and continued in office, however, maintaining the just policy in his administration for which he was famous; he survived a strong wave of criticism from the Austrasians (possibly angry that he was no longer able to control Dagobert's excesses, cf. Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar.*, p. 51, n. 1); *Fredegar.* iv 61. In 629 he took Dagobert's son Sigibert to Orléans to be baptised; *Fredegar.* iv 61-2.

When Dagobert died (Jan. 638), Pippin was still *maior domus*; he and other Austrasian nobles (ceteri duces Austrasiorum) wanted Sigibert as king of Austrasia, and Pippin and Chunibert seem to have continued to administer Austrasia under Sigibert; still *maior domus*, he was sent to

Compiègne with Chunibert and Austrasian nobles (cum aliquibus primatibus Austri) to claim Sigibert's share of Dagobert's treasure, which they then caused to be delivered to Sigibert at Metz; a year later (probably in 539) Pippin died; Fredegar. iv 85.

Described as a cautious man, very loyal and a good counsellor, who was very popular on account of his love of justice; he was also a devout Christian; Fredegar. iv 61. His death was widely regretted among the Austrasians; Fredegar. iv 85, and cf. *Annales Mettenses* ad a. 687 (qui (Pippin) populum inter Carbonariam silvam et Mosam fluvium et usque ad Fresionum fines vastis limitibus habitantem iustis legibus gubernabat).

Pissas Gothic commander 537

In early 537 he and Vnilas were sent by Vitigis against the Romans in Etruria; they were defeated and captured near Perugia by Constantinus 3 and sent by him to Belisarius in Rome; Proc. *BG* I 16.5-7 (they were ἄρχοντες).

Pityaxes (Πιτυάξης) Persian commander 530

On the name, see Justi, p. 254.

One of the Persian commanders at the battle of Dara in 530; Proc. *BP* I 13.16, 14.32.38.

Placidia (*CIL* v 3897) 513-532; *PLRE* II.

**Placidia** wife of Ioannes Mystacon L VI

Daughter of Anastasius 9 and Iuliana 2, sister of Areobindus 5 and Proba 2, wife of Ioannes 101 Mystacon; Nic. *Brev.* 104. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

**PLACIDINA** (c.f.) wife of Leontius of Bordeaux M VI

Daughter of Arcadius (*PLRE* II, Arcadius 7) and a descendant of the emperor Avitus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* I 15, lines 95-100. She was therefore descended from a senatorial family of the Auvergne; cf. *PLRE* II, stemma 14, p. 1317.

Wife of Leontius 4, becoming his spiritual sister after he became bishop of Bordeaux and sharing in much of his building activity; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* I 6, lines 21-2, 12, lines 13-14, 14, lines 1-4, 15, lines 93-4. Venantius praised her eloquence; *Carm.* I 15, line 102. She survived her husband; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 10, lines 25-6.

Addressee of a poem of Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* I 17.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 307.

Placidus: glossographer V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Placidus (Greg. *Dial.* II 3) E VI: *PLRE* II.

Lactantius Placidus: commentator on Statius V/VI: *PLRE* II

Placidus I patricius (et rector Provinciae) 556-557

Father (genitor tuus) of Sapaudus (bishop of Arles); Pelag. I, *Ep.* 4, 9 (= *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 49 and 53, *MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 72-3, 76-7).

PATRICIUS (ET RECTOR PROVINCIAE) and RECTOR of the papal patrimony in Gaul a. 556 Dec.-557 April: vir magnificentissimus, patricius (in Provence), Pelag. I, *Ep.* 4 (a. 556 Dec. 14), *Ep.* 9 (a. 557 April 13). Asked by Pelagius, in letters to Sapaudus, to send the revenues from the estates of the papal patrimony (quod de pensionibus possessionum ecclesiae nostrae collectum est) in Gaul to relieve distress in Italy, using them to purchase clothing in Provence (in Provincia) for the poor; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 4, cf. *Ep.* 9 (a reminder). In April 557 Pelagius also commended to Placidus and Sapaudus the Romans who had sought refuge in Gaul from the war in Italy; *Ep.* 9. He apparently combined the governorship of Provence with the administration of the papal patrimony in Gaul; cf. also Dynamius I.

Pelagius alludes to him as 'filius noster' and as 'domnus'; *Ep.* 4, 9.

**PLACIDVS 2** (?v.c.) (in Sicily) 601

Filius noster Placidus vir magnificus; complained to pope Gregory that bishop Donus of Messana was refusing to carry out the judgement given to resolve a dispute between himself and the *actores* of the bishop's church; Gregory ordered Donus to carry it out; Greg. *Ep.* XI 32 (a. 601 Feb.). Evidently a person of rank and perhaps a landowner near Messana.

Plato: PVC 507-512 (in *PLRE* II); see Plato 3.

**Plato 1** patricius; ?MVM vacans 528

PATRICIUS and ?MVM VACANS a. 528: he was one of the συγκλητικοί sent by Justinian to defend the east in 528 after the Roman army had suffered losses in the war with Persia (cf. Belisarius, p. 184); he was given command of the garrison in Amida; Joh. Mal. 442 (τὸν μὲν πατρικίον Πλάτωνα ἐν Ἀμίδῃ). Cf. also Theodorus 4 and Alexander (*PLRE* II, p. 58, Alexander 19).

**Plato 2** advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-)533  
 Advocate (patronus causarum) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* 1 17.2.9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project). See Leontius 1. Plato is named eighth of the advocates.

**Plato 3** PVC (bis) before 539; patricius; iudex pedaneus 539  
 His offices and titles are recorded in Just. *Nov.* 82.1, dated a. 539 April 8, when he was appointed *iudex pedaneus*: ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πατρικίων<sup>(b)</sup> Πλάτωνα τὸν ἐνδοξότατον, μακρὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιαρχίας διαύσαντα χρόνον καὶ δις ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων ἐκείνων γενόμενον<sup>(a)</sup>.

(a) PVC twice, before 539: he held the post over a long period and on two occasions. He may therefore be identical with the Plato (*PLRE* II, Plato 3) who was probably PVC from 507 to 512 (and possibly longer).

(b) PATRICIUS and IUDEX PEDANEUS a. 539 April 8: he was one of the four higher ranking *iudices pedanei* (μείζους δικαστάς) appointed in 539. See Marcellus 3.

**Plato 4** mag. (off.) and PPO (?) VI  
 [+Πλ]άτωνι μαγ(ίστρῳ) (καὶ) ἐπάρχ(ῳ) [τ]ῶ(ν) π[ραιτωρίων?]; Fogg Art Museum seal 2694 (seal; dated VI Oikonomides; obv.: eagle, with open wings, between which are the words Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ...ΑΤ/ΩΝΙΜΑΓ/, .ΕΠΑΡΧ/.ΩΠ.../...).

**Plato 5** ex praefectis VI/VII  
 Πλάτωνος ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 682 (seal; obv.: eagle, with open wings, between which is a cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΠΛΑΤ/ΩΝΟCΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ). Πλάτωνι ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.705 (seal; obv.: same as Zacos 682; rev.: .ΠΛ/ΑΤΩΝΙΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ). Zacos had two specimens of 682 and refers to a third, similar one in N. Chaviaras, *JIAN* XII (1909-10), p. 151. The dates are: VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides.

**Plato 6** army commander and ally of Heraclius (in Egypt) late 609  
 In Egypt in late 609, when he is styled 'the friend of the emperor'; Joh. Nik. 107.42 (p. 546 Zotenberg). In the context, this must refer to Heraclius, not Phocas.

He and Theodorus 154 were near Athribis in late 609; when Bonosus 2 approached from the east, they summoned Bonākis from Alexandria

to their aid, but they were defeated and Bonākis killed; Plato and Theodorus fled for refuge to a monastery, but the monks handed them over to Bonosus and they were taken to Nikiu, scourged and beheaded; Joh. Nik. 107.32.34.38.42-3 (pp. 545-6 Zotenberg). Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 17-19.

**Ploutinus** vir gloriosissimus, comes (Egypt) 533/534

He installed a unit of the Numidae Iustiniani at Hermopolis on Justinian's orders; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67321, A (Antinoe; dated in a twelfth indiction under Justinian, a. 533/34, 548/49 or 563/64; for the date 533/534, see Iacobus 1), *P. Lond.* v 1663 (Aphrodito; dated under Serenus Phoebammon 1, in a thirteenth indiction and referring to the months January to April). Both documents describe him in identical words as a distinguished public servant enjoying recognition from the emperor and the PPO, whose humane conduct since his arrival in Egypt was praiseworthy (ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κόμης Πλούτινος ἀνὴρ τῆ εὐσέβει ταύτῃ πολιτ(ε)ία χρήσιμος γεγονώς καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίνοις πράγμασι εὐδόκιμος φανείς, ὡς καὶ μεμαρτύρηται παρὰ τῆς κρατούσης τύχης (the emperor) καὶ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης καθέδρας (the PPO), ὅστις ἐκ προοιμίων τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀφιξέως ἔδειξεν τὸ φύσει πρόσον τῆ αὐτοῦ ἐνδοξότητι πρᾶον, τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἐκάστῳ διασκοπῶν, cf. *SB* 8028, line 7); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67321, A, lines 6-8, *P. Lond.* v 1663, lines 7-9.

He is identical with a κόμης, name lost, mentioned in a similar document from Aphrodito with instructions from the *praeses Thebaidis* (cf. Phoebammon 1) concerning the *annona*; *SB* 8028, line 6. Possibly identical with a *comes* Ploutinus named in another document, of unknown provenance, but apparently alluding to Lycopolis; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67210, line 21 (εἰς Λύκων προφάσει το(ῦ) κόμ(ιτος) Πλο(υ)τί(νου); undated).

**Plumba** ?philosopher M/L VI

He supposedly honoured the empress Sophia with a verse panegyric (ἐν οἷς καὶ Σοφία ἡ αὐτοῦ γαμετή παρὰ Πλούμβα τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἱαμβικοῖς μέτροις τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐδέξατο); *Parastaseis* 81. In the context αὐτοῦ refers to Justinian; either Justinian is an error for Justin or Sophia is an error for Theodora; however both the genuineness of the information and the reality of Plumba are doubtful; cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, pp. 38, 42, 272.

**Plutarchus** ?magister epistularum M VI

A late source cites him for the story of the widow Marcia who supposedly supplied columns from Rome to Justinian for Hagia Sophia;

*Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 2 (καθώς φησιν ὁ Πλούταρχος πρωτασηκρήτης καὶ ἐπιστολογράφος Ἰουστινιανοῦ). The office of *protoascretis* did not exist in Justinian's day; see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 310, and cf. Leo 15. The ἐπιστολογράφος is attested in another late source, *Scr. Or. Const.* II 144 (see *PLRE* I, p. 317, Eutropius 2) where it probably means *magister epistularum*. See also Priscus 1. The whole story may however be legendary and both Plutarch and Marcia fictitious.

Plutiades: domesticus, at Lampron (Cilicia) ?V/VI; *PLRE* II, p. 894.

Plutinus 1 patricius VII

Πλουτίνω πατρικίω; Zacos 976 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2093 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΕ[Ι]; rev.: ΠΛΟΝ/ΤΙΝΩ/ΠΑΤΡΙ/[Κ]ΙΩ).

Plutinus 2 candidatus et imperialis spatharius VII

Πλουτίνου κανδιδάτου καὶ βασιλικοῦ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 975, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4706 (two similar seals; obv.: +ΠΛΟΝ (ΠΛΔ - D.O. seal) /ΤΙΝΟΝ/ΚΑΝΔΙ/ΔΑΤΔ; rev.: ΚΑΙΒΑ (ΣΒΑ - D.O. seal) /ΣΙΛΙΚΔ/ΣΠΑΘΑ/ΡΙΟΝ).

Polydorus regionarius VI/VII

Πολυδώρω ῥεγεοναρίω; Zacos 2916 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/[Τ]ΟΚΕΒ/[Ο]ΗΘΕΙ; rev.: +ΠΟΛ/ΥΔ[Ω]ΡΩ/ΡΕΓΕΟ/ΝΑΡΙΩ). Possibly head of one of the districts of Constantinople. For a similar seal, see Schlumberger, *Mélanges*, pp. 210-11, no. 22 (apparently from Trebizond, dated VI/VII by Schlumberger).

Polyeuctus MVM VI/VII

Πολυεύκτου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 977 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5271 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: +ΠΟ/ΛΥΕΥΚ/ΤΟΝ; rev.: +ΣΤΡ/ΑΤΗΛΛΑ/ΤΟΝ).

Pompegius Lombard noble 617

Lombard envoy to Chlothar II in 617, with Agiulfus and Gauto; they were 'nobiles'; Fredegar. IV 45. See further Agiulfus.

Pompeiana religiosa femina (in Sardinia) 591-603

Pomponiana; Greg. *Ep.* XIV 2. Pompeiana; *elsewhere*. Religiosa femina, at Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia; Greg. *Ep.* I 46, 61, III 36, XI 13, XIV 2.

Mother of Matrona and mother-in-law of Epiphanius 3; Greg. *Ep.* XIV 2.

By June 591 she had constructed a monastery (for nuns) at her own house (in Cagliari); Greg. *Ep.* I 46 (a. 591 June). This is probably the monastery of St Hermas mentioned in 603; Greg. *Ep.* XIV 2. She subsequently transferred some of her nuns to a site next to the house formerly owned by her son-in-law, which created difficulties in fulfilling his wishes that a monastery for monks be founded there; in 600 she was reported as intending to move these nuns back to their former home and herself to found a monastery for monks on the site adjoining Epiphanius' house, which would open the way to fulfilling Epiphanius' will (perlatum ad nos est Pompeianam religiosam feminam velle de eodem monasterio ancillas Dei tollere et per sua, unde tultae fuerant, monasteria revocare atque illic congregationem constituere monachorum); Greg. *Ep.* XI 13 (a. 600 Oct.).

In 603 pope Gregory wrote instructing the *defensor* Vitalis to persuade Pompeiana gently (cum dulcedine) to carry out the wishes of the founder (auctoris sui... voluntatem) of the monastery of St Hermas built in her house (de monasterio sancti Hermae, quod in domo Pomponianae (sic) religiosae feminae constructum est) and to see that the nuns settled there by her remained undisturbed; later in the same letter Gregory reports that she had written to complain of the illegal seizure by Vitalis and bishop Ianuarius of property owned by Matrona or of which she enjoyed the usufruct; Greg. *Ep.* XIV 2. From this it appears that the monastery in her own house was founded under the terms of someone else's will (possibly, though not necessarily, her son-in-law Epiphanius) but Pompeiana had not as yet carried out all of the testator's wishes.

In 591 she complained that the mother of Epiphanius wanted to annul the terms of his will; Greg. *Ep.* I 46. In the same year she also complained to the pope that many people were oppressing her, and he instructed bishop Ianuarius to afford her protection; Greg. *Ep.* I 61 (a. 591 July). In 593 she and Theodosia wanted to travel to Rome and Gregory instructed the *defensor* Sabinus to arrange their journey; Greg. *Ep.* III 36 (a. 593 May).

The circumstances show that she was well-to-do; she may have been of senatorial descent.

Pompeianus MVM (in Africa) M VI/VII

Pompeianus m(a)g(ister) m(i)l(itum), fidelis in Χρο; died aged sixty-eight and buried at Sufetula on Feb. 28 of a thirteenth indiction; *CIL* VIII 23230 = *AE* 1904, 78 = *ILCV* 233 = Pringle, no. 53 Sufetula (Byzantina).

Pompeius: consul 501; ?MVM (in Thrace) c. 517; patricius; ?MVM 528; executed after the Nika riot in 532; *PLRE* II.

Pompeius 1 son of Hypatius E/M VI

Son of Hypatius (consul a.500; *PLRE* II) and father of Ioannes 63; Proc. *BG* III 31.14. Cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1314, stemma 9.

Pompeius 2 estate owner (in Sicily) L VI

Owner of an estate in Sicily, the *massa Papyriensis*, which he bequeathed partly to Alexandria, partly to the *xenodochium sancti Theodori* at Palermo; Greg. *Ep.* IX 170 (a. 599 June/July).

Porfyrius (Rossi II, p. 422, n. 35) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Porgas ruler of the Croats E/M VII

Ruler of the Croats when they accepted Christianity during the reign of Heraclius; Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 31.20-5 (είχον δὲ τῷ τότε καιρῷ οἱ τοιοῦτοι Χρωβάτοι ἄρχοντα τὸν Ποργᾶ).

Potammon ?vir magnificus (Egypt) E/M VI

Father of ...on; he was τ]οῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης Ποτάμμω[νο]; *P. Lond.* V 1797 Oxyrhynchus.

Praeicta 1 niece of Justinian M VI

Daughter of Vigilantia (the sister of Justinian); Proc. *BV* II 24.3, cf. *BV* II 27.20, *BG* III 31.2 (niece of Justinian). Her father was Dulcidius. Wife of Areobindus 2; Proc. *BV* II 24.3, 26.18, 27.20, 28.43, *BG* III 31.3. She later married Ioannes 63 (see below).

In spring 545 she accompanied Areobindus to Africa; Proc. *BV* II 24.3. During the revolt of Guntharis she and her sister-in-law were sent by Areobindus for safety to a fortified monastery in Carthage; then after Guntharis captured the city they were removed from there by him and placed under house-arrest but well-treated, although Praeicta was made to write to Justinian praising his treatment of them and acquitting him of responsibility for the death of Areobindus; Proc. *BV* II 26.18, 27.20. At this time she was apparently destined to become the unwilling wife of Guntharis; Proc. *BV* II 27.22, *BG* III 31.3.

After the murder of Guntharis she rewarded Artabanes with a large sum of money; Proc. *BV* II 28.43. She then became his betrothed and was sent back to Constantinople where he shortly contrived to rejoin her (in 546); Proc. *BG* III 31.2.4-7. The marriage however was prevented by Theodora when she found that Artabanes was already married; Proc. *BG* III 31.11.

Praeicta then married a member of the house of Anastasius, Ioannes 63; Proc. *BG* III 31.14. For the date, 546/548, see Ioannes.

Fl. Praeicta 2 hypatissa L VI

*Pap.* 1-4) Oxyrhynchus, 1) *P. Oxy.* 1989 (a. 590), 2) *P. Oxy.* 1990 (a. 591), 3) *P. Oxy.* 2196 (a. 586/587), 4) *P. Oxy.* 2243a (a. 590); *Pap.* 5) *P. Erl.* 67 (a. 590) (Heracleopolis).

Mother of Apion 4; *Pap.* 1-3. She and her son were the heirs of Apion 3; *Pap.* 1-2 and cf. *P. Oxy.* 1976, 1987 (unnamed heirs of Apion). Probably also mother of Georgius 10; *Pap.* 3. See stemma 9.

CONSVLARIS: styled ἡ ὑπερφουστάτη ὑπατίσσα (or similar), *Pap.* 3 (a. 586/587), 4-5 (a. 590). The title was perhaps derived from the ordinary consulship of her husband, which perhaps explains why she used ὑπατίσσα rather than πατρικία to which she was equally entitled.

A landowner at Oxyrhynchus; *Pap.* 1-4, and cf. *Pap.* 5 (which alludes to a ῥιπάριος τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Προϊεκτῆς (sic) τῆς ὑπερφουστάτης ὑπατίσσης at Heracleopolis; on the reading of this papyrus, see note on *P. Oxy.* 2243a, line 86).

Praeicta 3 wealthy lady (in Sicily) L VI

Owner of property near Palermo and a *domus* in Palermo itself which she donated to the church of Rome before 598; Gregory wrote to her in 598 giving his assent to arrangements agreed between her and the *defensor* and *rector patrimonii* at Palermo, Fantinus (de portionibus tibi competentibus in massa Leucas et Samanteria in provincia Sicilia territorio Panormitano et domo in Panormitana civitate sita, quam ecclesiae nostrae dudum titulo donationis optuleras); Greg. *Ep.* IX 23 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Praeictae'; she is styled 'dilectio tua').

Praesentinus 1 advocatus of the PPO Orientis 528-529

Advocate at the bar of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which produced the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* in 528 and 529; Just. *Const.* 'Haec' (a. 528 Feb. 13; appointment of the commissioners; he and Dioscorus 1 were 'disertissimi togati fori amplissimi praetoriani'), *Const.* 'Summa' (a. 529 April 7; completion of their work; he and Dioscorus are styled 'viri disertissimi togati amplissimi fori' of the PPO). In the list of commissioners Dioscorus and Praesentinus are named lowest in order of precedence.

Praesentinus 2 domesticus of Petrus 55 602

*Domesticus* of Petrus 55, killed by Phocas in 602; Theoph. Sim. VIII 13.2 (ὁ Πραισεντίνος ὁ τὰς τοῦ Πέτρου πεπιστευμένος φροντίδας, ὃν δομέστικον εἰώθασιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀποκαλεῖν) (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 41).

## Praesentinus 3

ex praefectis VII

Πραι[σ]εντίνω ἀπὸ ἐπὶ ἄρχων[?]; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2095 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ; rev.: ΠΡΑΙ/.ΕΝΤΙΝ/ΩΑΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧ...).

## Praesidius

wealthy citizen of Ravenna 537

A distinguished and wealthy resident of Ravenna, he fled in early 537 to join the Romans after a dispute with the Goths; accompanied by a few servants, he left all his property behind except for two daggers whose sheaths were adorned with gold and precious stones; these were stolen from him at Spolegium by the general Constantinus 2; Praesidius hastened to Rome but because of the crisis of the siege of Rome delayed informing Belisarius until Roman fortunes improved and the three-month truce was in effect (late 537 – early 538); then he badgered Belisarius with complaints about the theft but in spite of the efforts of Belisarius and others, Constantinus refused to return the daggers; finally Praesidius seized the bridle of Belisarius' horse in the forum and demanded justice, complaining that he had fled to the Romans from the barbarians as a suppliant only to be robbed with violence; Belisarius promised to give him the daggers, but Constantinus still refused to return them and after offering violence to Belisarius was arrested; the fate of Praesidius and the daggers is not recorded; Proc. *BG* II 8.2–18, *Anecd.* I.28.

Praetextatus Salventius Verecundus Traianus

Praetextatus (*CIL* VI 32036) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

## Prasinacius

MVM (in Thrace) ?VI

His wife's tombstone survives at Sveti Vlas in Bulgaria; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inscr. Bulg.* no. 169 (ONE[...]/coniux autem Prasinacio/glorioso maister militum/defuncta est mense Iulio/die primo ind(ictione) duodecimo). Sveti Vlas is a village on the coast north of Burgas and Nesebŭr.

## Principius 1

officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

A native of Pisidia and an officer of Belisarius' bodyguard (ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις); Proc. *BG* I 28.23. He and Tarmutus, at their own special request, commanded the Roman infantry in a set battle fought early in the Gothic siege of Rome (c. April/May 537), when they were stationed to the rear of the cavalry; Proc. *BG* I 28.23–9. In the battle the

cavalry were routed and Principius and Tarmutus stood fast to hold up the Gothic pursuit and aid their escape; Principius was killed in the fighting; Proc. *BG* I 29.39–41.

## Principius 2

died in Spain 542

Son of Aemilianus 1 and Paulina 1 *inl. fem.*, possibly their only son (*unigenitus?*); he died in 542; Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas*, no. 145 = *ILCV* 222a Zahara (in Baetica) (dated in year 580 of the province). The family was probably of senatorial descent.

## Priscianus

philosopher 531/532

A native of Lydia, a pagan and a philosopher, one of the group (from Athens) which visited Persia with Damascius (*PLRE* II) in 531/532; Agath. II 30–1 (= Suid. Π 2251). See further Diogenes 1.

Two works by him survive, a paraphrase of a work by Theophrastus (in *CAG*, suppl. I, 2) and (in a Latin translation) a work resolving queries raised by the Persian king Chosroes (ed. Fr. Dübner, 1896).

## Priscus 1

honorary consul; comes excubitorum 529

He was once a secretary of Justinian (ὁ ἀπὸ νοταρίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, or similar); Joh. Mal. 449, Joh. Mal. fr. 45, Theoph. AM 6026, cf. Proc. *Anecd.* 16.7 (ἐπιστολογράφος).

HONORARY CONSVL a. 529: Joh. Mal. 449 (ἀπὸ ὑπάτων), Theoph. AM 6026 (ὑπάτος). For the date, see below.

COMES EXCUBITORVM a. 529: Joh. Mal. fr. 45 (ὄντα κόμητα ἐξσκουβιτόρων, at the time of his downfall, see below).

In 529 (the story is placed by John Malalas among events of that year) he fell foul of Theodora, who accused him of insulting her and frustrating her wishes, and was banished to Cyzicus; he escaped from prison and took refuge in Artace (a suburb of Cyzicus), but was subsequently forced to take holy orders on the emperor's command and became a deacon, later living in Nicaea; Joh. Mal. fr. 45, Joh. Mal. 449, Theoph. AM 6026, cf. Proc. *Anecd.* 16.8–9 (he was transported and forcibly tonsured and made a priest on Theodora's orders).

He is described by Procopius as a bad man and a braggart (Παφλαγών) who sought Justinian's favour and quickly enriched himself thereby; after his downfall what remained of his wealth was confiscated by Justinian; Proc. *Anecd.* 16.7.10.

## Priscus 2

Jew; agent of Chilperic M/L VI

A Jew, employed by Chilperic in making purchases (qui ei (to Chilperic) ad species coemendas familiaris erat), he joined Chilperic at

Nogent-sur-Marne (Novigentum, cf. *HF* vi 2) in 581 and became involved with the king and Gregory of Tours in a theological debate, at the end of which he refused to become a Christian; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 5. In the following year, still refusing to become a Christian, he was murdered by a converted Jew called Phatyr; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 17. Cf. Dalton II, p. 552, note on vi 5.

**Priscus 3** domesticus (of Guntram); bishop of Lyon 573-585/589  
Of noble family; *CIL* xiii 2399 (progenie clarus) (his epitaph). Husband of Susanna; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 36.

Domesticus of Guntram, before 573: according to his epitaph he was *domesticus* of Guntram before becoming bishop and was noted for his administration of justice; *CIL* xiii 2399, lines 6-10 *mentis et arbitrio iustitiaque potens indulsit prudens mixto moderamine causis iurgia componens more sereniferi concomis et dignus regisque domesticus et sic promeruit summo mente placere Deo.*

Bishop of Lyon a. 573-585/589: successor of Nicetius 1; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 36, *V. Patr.* 8.5. He attended the Councils of Paris and Valence in 573 and 583/585 and presided over the Councils of Lyon in 583 and of Mâcon in 581/583 and in 585; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 212-16 (Paris, in 573), 229 (Mâcon, in 581/583), 233 (Lyon, in 583), 235 (Valence, in 583/585), 238, 248 (Mâcon, in 585).

He died before 589 (by which date the bishop of Lyon was Aetherius, cf. *Greg. Tur. HF* x 41).

**Priscus 4** ?praefectus VI  
Πρίσκου; *pr(aefectus)* (?); *Zacos* 476 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4436 (seal; obv.; monogram (282) of Πρίσκου; rev.: PRS). The interpretation of the reverse is doubtful; *Zacos* understood it as PR(I)S(CU), perhaps rightly.

**PRISCVS 5** comes (in Syria) ?VI  
+ Μεγάλη ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος + ὁ κόμης Πρίσκος ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ +; *IGLS* iv 1457 = *Princ. Exp. Syr.* III, n. 203 el Bara, in the Jebel Riha, north of Apamea.

**Priscus 6** patricius; comes excubitorum c. 603-612  
He is wrongly called Crispus in *Nic. Brev.*, *Zon.* xiv 14, 15, *Cedr.* I 711-13, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 55, *Patr. Const.* and John of Nikiu.

His wife was Domentzia 2, daughter of the emperor Phocas; *Joh. Ant. fr.* 218e, *Theoph. AM* 6099. See further below.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 588 spring: appointed to succeed Philippicus in

late 587/early 588; *Theoph. Sim.* III 1.1 (succeeded Philippicus). 3 (assumed office in spring), *Evagr. HE* vi 4 (= *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 11), *Theoph. AM* 6079 (στρατηγὸν ἀνατολῆς).

On reaching the east in spring 588, he travelled via Antioch and Edessa to Monocarton, where he met the assembled army at Easter; he gave great offence to the troops at their first meeting by ignoring tradition and not descending from his horse to mingle with them, and then during Easter the disgruntled troops broke into open mutiny as a result of new measures to cut their pay; Priscus failed to calm them (cf. *Eilifredas*), was himself attacked and fled to Constantina; his efforts from Constantina and later from Edessa to retrieve the situation failed, even though he cancelled the offending orders; the emperor then replaced him with Philippicus and he returned to Constantinople; *Theoph. Sim.* III 1.3-15, 2.2-3.9.11, 3.1-6, *Evagr. HE* vi 4-5 (= *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 11), *Theoph. AM* 6079, *Mich. Syr.* x 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii, *Bar Hebr.*, *Chron.*, p. 84.

MVM PER THRACIAS a. 588 summer: appointed supreme commander against the Avars in summer 588 with the title of MVM *per Thracias*; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 4.7 (ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸν χειροτονεῖ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸν Πρίσκον αὐτοσχεδίῳ δυνάμει συμφράξας αὐτὸν, i.e. στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ), *Theoph. AM* 6084 (στρατηγὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης; derived from Theophylact). For his correct title, see *Theoph. Sim.* vi 5.13 (a supposed official letter to him from Maurice is addressed: Πρίσκῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς περὶ τὴν Θράκην ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως). Ὁ στρατηγός; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 5.2.9, 6.1. He appointed Salvianus as his ὑποστράτηγος; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 4.7, *Theoph. AM* 6084. On the campaign of 588 he encountered the Avars in large numbers near Perinthus and retired to Tzurullum, where he was besieged until the khan was tricked by a fake letter from Maurice into making a truce with Priscus and returning home to ward off a pretended attack on his homeland; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 5.8-16, *Theoph. AM* 6084, *Zon.* xiv 12, *Cedr.* I 696-7. In autumn 588 Priscus returned to Constantinople; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 6.1. On the date of this campaign, see Whitby, p. 162, n. 17, p. 163, n. 22.

PATRICIVS: by 593 he was *patricius*; *Greg. Ep.* III 51 (a. 593 July; styled 'patricius Orientis', on which see below). *Patricius*; *Joh. Ant. fr.* 218e, 218f, *V. Theod. Syc.* 153, 154 (πρωτοπατρίκιος, in 612; presumably the senior surviving *patricius*), *Theoph. AM* 6099, *Cedr.* I 711, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* iv 26.

In July 593 pope Gregory wrote to congratulate him on recovering the emperor's favour and commending certain visitors to Constantinople to him; *Greg. Ep.* III 51. The title 'patricius Orientis' used in the address



of the letter implies, by analogy with e.g. *Ep.* vi 59 (patricius Africae; see Gennadius 1), that Priscus was a *patricius* holding office as, presumably, *magister militum* (not *exarchus*, like Gennadius) *per Orientem*. This office was however held at this time, in all probability, by Narses 10. The analogy may therefore be misleading and the phrase should perhaps be interpreted to signify simply *patricius* at Constantinople.

MVM (?PER THRACIAS) a. 593: styled ὁ στρατηγός and ὁ πολέμαρχος on the campaign of 593, *Theoph. Sim.* vi 6.2–11.21 *passim*. He was evidently *magister militum* and perhaps appointed for the campaign to his old post of MVM *per Thracias*, after a period out of favour (cf. *Greg. Ep.* iii 51, above).

In spring 593 (on the date, cf. Whitby, p. 167, n. 35) he was ordered to the Danube to stop the Slavs from crossing; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 6.2. He assumed command of the cavalry while the infantry was put under Gentzon on the emperor's orders: *Theoph. Sim.* vi 6.3 (ὁ μὲν οὖν Πρίσκος τῆς ἰππικῆς δυνάμεως τὰς ἡνίας ἐλάμβανεν, Γέντζων δὲ τῆς πεζικῆς πληθύος ἐπιστάτειν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάττεται). Priscus probably outranked Gentzon and was in overall command. The ensuing campaign saw victories over the Slavs north of the Danube under Ardagastes and Musocius and a quarrel with the troops over the share of the booty allocated to the imperial family; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 6.3–10.3, *Theoph. AM* 6085, 6086, 6087, *Cedr.* i 697–8, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 28. In autumn 593 while Priscus was still on campaign the emperor appointed Petrus 55 to succeed him; Priscus negotiated an end to the fighting with the khan, to whom he returned the barbarian prisoners while keeping the rest of his booty (cf. *Theodorus* 43), and then returned via Drizipera to Constantinople, where the emperor criticised him for giving up the prisoners; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 11.2–21, *Theoph. AM* 6087. Succeeded by Petrus; *Theoph. Sim.* vi 11.2, vii 1.1.

MVM (?PER THRACIAS) a. 594 late–?598: in late 594 he was appointed to succeed Petrus; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 5.10 (after the Roman defeat under Petrus, Πρίσκος γίνεται στρατηγός), *Theoph. AM* 6089 (Μαυρίκε τὸν Πρίσκον πάλιν στρατηγὸν τῆς Θράκης ἀπέστειλεν), *Cedr.* i 699, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 28. Ὁ στρατηγός, in 595, *Theoph. Sim.* vii 5.10, 7.1.3, 10.1.3.6, 12.2; in 597/598, *Theoph. Sim.* vii 13.6. In spring 598 he was perhaps succeeded as MVM *per Thracias* by Philippicus; see below.

In spring 595 he left Constantinople and assembled the army at Astice, where he discovered its numbers to be heavily depleted; he wished apparently to inform Maurice and to blame Petrus but his advisers dissuaded him; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 7.1–2, *Theoph. AM* 6090. He then advanced to the Danube, crossed it and marched to Novae, remaining there in spite of protests from the khan; *Theoph. Sim.* vii

7.3–5, *Theoph. AM* 6090. Hearing that Singidunum had been captured, Priscus sailed to the vicinity and, after fruitless negotiations with the khan, sent Guduin 1, who recaptured the city; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 10.1–11.9, *Theoph. AM* 6090. The khan now attacked Dalmatia and Priscus sent Guduin to investigate (see Guduin); *Theoph. Sim.* vii 12.2–8, *Theoph. AM* 6091, *Cedr.* i 699.

From late 595 to 597, for eighteen months, nothing occurred in the war along the Danube which Theophylact thought worth recording; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 12.9, and cf. Whitby, p. 195, n. 56. His words show that Roman troops remained in the area and since Priscus was there in summer/autumn 597 (see below) he presumably continued in command throughout 596 and 597.

In summer/autumn 597 Priscus went to Tomi to defend it against the khan; the two armies remained there facing one another throughout the winter until Easter 598 (March 30) when, the Roman army suffering badly from hunger, Priscus accepted an offer of food from the khan and sent him spices in return; after Easter the armies separated and the Avars marched away to confront Comentiolus 1 at Nicopolis; *Theoph. Sim.* vii 13.1–8, *Theoph. AM* 6092, and cf. Whitby, p. 196, nn. 59, 60. Priscus is not recorded again in 598 and, although Comentiolus is said by Theophanes (*AM* 6092) to have been sent to aid Priscus, it seems likely that Comentiolus was in fact his replacement and presumably MVM *per Thracias*; cf. also Comentiolus.

MVM a. 599: in 599 Priscus and Comentiolus were joint commanders in the campaign on the Danube, cf. *Theoph. Sim.* viii 2.1.7 (οἱ στρατηγοί), *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 37 (cited under Comentiolus). Priscus was perhaps a *magister militum vacans* now; cf. *Theoph. Sim.* viii 3.4.8.11.15 (ὁ στρατηγός).

In summer 599 (cf. Whitby, p. 210, n. 6) he was already at Singidunum when Comentiolus assembled the army and joined him there; *Theoph. Sim.* viii 1.11, *Theoph. AM* 6093. On instructions from Maurice he publicly announced there that the peace with the Avars was over; *Theoph. Sim.* viii 2.1. Owing to the illness of Comentiolus, Priscus assumed sole responsibility for the ensuing campaign; *Theoph. Sim.* viii 2.5–7. The campaign of 599 was marked by a series of victories for the Romans, all except one with Priscus in command; in the final one, near the river Tiș, he took many prisoners from the Avars and their allies but was ordered to release them by Maurice, who was unaware of the extent of his victory; *Theoph. Sim.* viii 2.8–4.2, *Theoph. AM* 6093, *Cedr.* i 699, *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 37. On the military career of Priscus as described by Theophylact, see Whitby, pp. xxiii–iv.

Wrongly said to have been reappointed in the following year; *Nic.*

Call. *HE* xviii 37 (a confusion with Comentiolus, cf. Theoph. Sim. viii 4.8).

In 602 Priscus was sent by Maurice to Armenia to organise the resettlement of Armenian soldiers and their families in Thrace; the outbreak of a major revolt (i.e. that of Phocas) interrupted his mission and brought him back in haste; Sebeos, xx, pp. 54-5.

What role he played in the revolt of Phocas and the overthrow of Maurice is not recorded; his subsequent career demonstrates that he was not numbered among the close supporters of Maurice and that he very soon became prominent among the supporters of Phocas. One later western source claimed that Phocas had formerly served under Priscus as his equerry (strator); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 26 (his source is unknown but may have been Secundus of Tridentum; if so the information was contemporary and good). See also Phocas.

COMES EXCVBITORVM a. 603(?)–612 Dec. 5: appointed early in the reign of Phocas; Theoph. AM 6095 (κόμητα ἑκκουβιτόρων), cf. AM 6099 (in 607, τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ κόμητι τῶν ἑκκουβιτόρων). He retained the title under Heraclius until Dec. 5, 612; *V. Theod. Syc.* 153, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612 (both cited below).

In 607 he married Domentzia, daughter of the emperor Phocas; an incident at the subsequent circus games, when faction officials, in accordance with tradition (cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, p. 253), put up portraits of Priscus and his wife alongside that of Phocas and provoked a violent outburst from the emperor, greatly alarmed Priscus and turned him against Phocas; Joh. Ant. fr. 218e, Nic. *Brev.* 4, Theoph. AM 6099 (ἔκτοτε οὖν ὁ Πρίσκος μηνίσας οὐκ ἦν ἐν ὀρθότητι μετὰ Φωκά), Zon. xiv 14, Cedr. i 713, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, *Patr. Const.* iii 184.

In the following year he wrote to Heraclius 3 in Africa asking for an expedition to be sent to overthrow Phocas; Joh. Ant. fr. 218e, 218f, Theoph. AM 6100, Nic. *Brev.* 4, Zon. xiv 14, Cedr. i 711-12, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55.

?PVC a. 610: according to Nicephorus, followed by later sources, he held the post of city prefect under Phocas in 610; Nic. *Brev.* 4 (ὁς τηνικάδε τὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου τῆς πόλεως θρόνον διέπειν ἔλαχε καὶ μέγала ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις δυνάμενος), cf. Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 55, *Patr. Const.* iii 184. This is not supported in the contemporary evidence from John of Antioch, but the state of that evidence does not exclude the possibility that the post was genuine.

During the overthrow of Phocas (October 610) Priscus was careful to avoid having to aid his father-in-law; at first he feigned illness, then later assembled the excubitors and his own *bucellarii* at the racecourse at a *domus* of his own (ὁ δὲ Πρίσκος ἐδήλωσε συναχθῆναι τοὺς ἑκκουβιτόρας

εἰς τὰ Βοραῖδος εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἅμα τοῖς στρατιώταις βουκελλαρίοις); later he seems to have set fire to the barracks of the excubitors; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f. Said by John of Nikiu, index 105 (106), to have rescued the women of Heraclius' family from Phocas.

He was allegedly offered the crown by Heraclius after the death of Phocas but refused it; Nic. *Brev.* 5.

?MVM (in Asia) a. 611-612: in autumn 611 he was sent against the Persians who had captured Caesarea in Cappadocia; *V. Theod. Syc.* 153 (Πρίσκου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρικίου καὶ κόμητος τοῦ ἑκκουβίτου ἀπελθόντος μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν), Nic. *Brev.* 6 (Κρίσπον δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλει χειροτονήσας τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἑκστρατευμάτων), cf. Zon. xiv 15 and Cedr. i 713 (both from Nicephorus) and Sebeos, xxiv, p. 65 (Heraclius entrusted the army at Caesarea to an unnamed *curator*, presumably Priscus). It is not certain that he was actually made *magister militum*; the absence of some word such as στρατηγός from *V. Theod. Syc.* causes doubt, and the testimony of Nicephorus and of Zonaras and Cedrenus (both style him στρατηγός Καππαδοκίας) is unreliable.

The siege of Caesarea lasted for a year, when the hard-pressed Persians finally succeeded (late summer 612) in breaking out; *V. Theod. Syc.* 153-4, Sebeos, xxiv, p. 65. Heraclius visited Priscus there during the siege; *V. Theod. Syc.* 154. According to Nicephorus Priscus treated the emperor in an insulting manner, which led ultimately to his downfall; Nic. *Brev.* 6, Zon. xiv 15.

Later Priscus returned to Constantinople, supposedly to welcome Nicetas 7 and to be invited to be godfather to Heraclius' son, Heraclius Constantinus; Nic. *Brev.* 6, Zon. xiv 15.

He was removed from his office as *comes excubitorum* and replaced by Nicetas on Dec. 5, 612; forced to take holy orders, he was confined to the monastery of the Chora at Constantinople, where he died a year later; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612 (γέγονε κληρικὸς Πρίσκος ὁ κόμης τῶν ἑκκουβιτόρων), Nic. *Brev.* 7, Zon. xiv 15, Cedr. i 713, *Patr. Const.* iii 184.

Said to have enlarged and beautified the monastery of the Chora; *Patr. Const.* iii 184, but cf. Janin, *Églises et monastères*, p. 547.

Owner of a large palace (*domus*) in the district known as τὰ Βοραῖδου in Constantinople; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f (see above), and see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 304-5.

Described as austere and aloof, he had the reputation as a general of being a stern disciplinarian; Evagr. *HE* vi 4, Mich. Syr. x 21, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 84.

Proaeresius (*MAMA* iii 29) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

**PROBA 1** daughter of Olybrius E/M VI

Daughter of Olybrius (*PLRE* II, Olybrius 3) and Irene (*PLRE* II), wife of Probus 1, mother of Iuliana 2; *Nic. Brev.* 104. She had a sister or sisters; *Anth. Gr.* I 10, v. 39. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

**PROBA 2** wife of Georgius L VI

Daughter of Anastasius 9 and Iuliana 2, sister of Areobindus 5 and Placidia, wife of Georgius 7; *Nic. Brev.* 104. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

Probina (*CIL* v 1604) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Probinus maior (?of a numerus) ?VI

Work on a gate at Stan was dated under Danielus 1 *vicarius* and Probinus maior; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.* n. 75 Stan (a village in the district of Novi Pazar) (cited under Danielus). Both men were perhaps army officers rather than civilian officials; for maior (μειζότερος), cf. *PSI* III 238 (Serenus), *Cyr. Scyth. V. Ioh. Hes.* 23.

Probus: consul 502; MVM c. 526; patricius; *PLRE* II.

**PROBVS 1** husband of Proba E/M VI

Husband of Proba 1, father of Iuliana 2; *Nic. Brev.* 104. See *PLRE* II, stemma 3.

Both he and his wife were perhaps relatives of the emperor Anastasius. Probus may have been a son of Probus, the consul of 502 (*PLRE* II, Probus 8).

Probus 2 son of Alexandria (Spain) M VI

Son of Alexandria 1; he died aged two years, ten months and was buried with his mother; Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas*, no. 131 = *ILCV* 187 Lebrija (Seville).

**PROBVS 3** v.c.; primicerius nomenclatorum (Italy) M/L VI

Witness of a deed of sale at Ravenna (see Holdigernus); Marini, *P. Dip.* 121 = *P. Ital.* 36, lines 50 (+ Probus v.c.) and 66 (Probus ex pr(i)m(icerio) nomenclator(um)). He had perhaps served in the *schola* of the *nomenclatores* in the *officium* of the praetorian prefect at Ravenna.

**Probus 4** patricius ?VI

Supposed founder of the church of St John the Baptist and builder of splendid palaces at Constantinople; *Patr. Const.* III 99 (ὁ δὲ Πρόβος ὁ πατρικίος ἀνήγειρεν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ παλάτια ἔκτισεν ἐκεῖσε

θαυμαστὰ πάνυ). On the church, see Janin, *Églises et Monastères*<sup>2</sup>, p. 429 (ὁ Πρόδρομος τὰ Πρόβου; the church probably took its name from the district).

Possibly identical with the nephew of the emperor Anastasius (*PLRE* II, Probus 8).

Probus 5 commander (?dux) of Circesium 590

He commanded Circesium and the garrison there in spring 590 when the Persian king Chosroes arrived to seek refuge; he gave the king shelter and forwarded his plea for help to Comentiolus and the emperor; Probus is styled by Theophylact both ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς πόλεως and ὁ φρουράρχης; *Theoph. Sim.* IV 10.6–9, cf. *Theoph. AM* 6080 (Πρόβον τὸν πατρικίον), *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 20. There is no support in Theophylact for the title *patricius* and, since he was probably Theophanes' only source, it is to be rejected. Probus' title is unknown, but he may have been a *dux* stationed at Circesium.

**Probus 6** patricius M VI/M VII

Πρόβου πατρικίου; Zacos 477 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1679 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (283) of Πρόβου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

**Probus 7** patricius 610

In 610 Probus ὁ πατρικίος and Photius 6 captured Phocas and delivered him to Heraclius; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610. Other sources which record the fall of Phocas, including John of Antioch, fail to mention Probus; cf. Photius.

PROCLIANVS (Προκληϊανός) dux Phoenices 528

Ὁ δοῦξ Φοινίκης; in 528 he was one of several Roman commanders sent to meet a Persian invasion (the others included Basilus 2, Belisarius, Buzes, Cutzes, Sebastianus 1 and Tapharas); the Romans were defeated and Proclianus was killed; *Joh. Mal.* 441–2, cf. *Proc. BP* I 13.5–7, *Zach. HE* IX 2 (alluding to the same events). See Belisarius, p. 183.

Proclus: sophist (at Athens) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Procopius 1 student of rhetoric E/M VI

A student of rhetoric, with Elias 1 and Ioannes 4, under Choricus of Gaza, who addressed an oration to them on the occasion of their marriages; *Chor. Or.* 6. They were still his students at the time; *Or.* 6.2.27. His father was a prominent local citizen at Gaza who recently as

ἀστυνόμος (κοινή ψήφω τῶν οἰκητόρων ἔναγχος αἰρέθεις ἀστυνόμος) improved the local water supply; *Or.* 6.34. Procopius married a girl of a prominent family from Ascalon; *Or.* 6.14-37.

## Procopius 2

vir illustris; historian M VI

Native of Caesarea in Palestine; *Proc. BP* I 1.1, *Anecd.* 11.25, Agath. I, prooem. 22, Suid. A 112, Π 2479, Zon. xiv 7, Cedr. I 649, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 10. Nothing is known of his antecedents or family, although he refers once to close relatives (*Anecd.* 1.2). He was probably born c. 500.

?ADVOCATUS: he was apparently an advocate, cf. Men. Prot., fr. 27 (= *Exc. de sent.*, p. 23 = *FHG* IV, fr. 35a) (styled ὁ ἱστορικὸς καὶ δικηγόρος; the phrase was written by the excerptor, not by Menander, but presumably was based on the evidence of Menander himself). He is alluded to as ῥήτωρ; Agath. I, prooem. 22, 32, II 19.1, IV 15.1, 26.4, 29.5, 30.5, Evagr. *HE* IV 12, 19, V 2.4, Suid. Π 2479 (ῥήτωρ καὶ σοφιστής). For ῥήτωρ = *advocatus*, see *Proc. Anecd.* 26.2, 26.35, 30.18.

ASSESSOR of Belisarius a. 527-?542: when Belisarius became *dux Mesopotamiae* at Dara in 527, he chose Procopius as his *consiliarius* (i.e. *assessor*); *Proc. BP* I 12.24 (τότε δὴ αὐτῷ σύμβουλος ἤρεθη Προκόπιος ὃς τότε συνέγραψε). In 533 he was Belisarius' *assessor* on the Vandal expedition; *Proc. BV* I 14.3 (τὸν αὐτοῦ πάρεδρον). At the start of his *Wars* Procopius claims that, as *consiliarius* of Belisarius, he personally witnessed most of the events described; *Proc. BP* I 1.3 (αὐτῷ (= Procopius) συμβούλω ἡρημένω Βελισαρίω τῷ στρατηγῷ σχεδόν τι ἅπασι παραγενέσθαι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις συνέπεσε). To judge by what is known of his movements, this was true down to 540, if not to 542 (see below).

It is possible that Procopius was also the personal secretary of Belisarius; Suid. Π 2479 (ὑπογραφεὺς χρηματίσας Βελισαρίου) (for the date of this testimony, perhaps c. 553/554, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 712, n. 1). The allusion may however be to the post of *assessor*, although this was not the normal meaning of ὑπογραφεὺς.

Procopius presumably remained in the east from 527 to 531, when Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople. He later alluded to his presence in the vicinity of Dara and Rhabdios, perhaps at this time; *Proc. Aed.* II 4.3. In 533 he sailed with Belisarius from Constantinople on the African expedition; *Proc. BV* I 12.3. On arrival in Sicily he was sent by Belisarius to Syracuse, ostensibly to purchase supplies but with secret orders to obtain information about the Vandals and their movements; in Syracuse he met an old friend and fellow-citizen whose servant had that day come from Carthage with exactly the information required; Procopius kidnapped the servant and sailed off with him to rendezvous

with Belisarius at Caucana, for which action he received the praises of Belisarius; *Proc. BV* I 14.3-15. Procopius was with the expedition when it landed at Caput Vada in Byzacena, where the unexpected discovery of an abundant supply of fresh water was described by him to Belisarius as a portent of a successful campaign, since it showed the goodwill of heaven; *Proc. BV* I 15.35, *Aed.* VI 6.9-12. He accompanied the expedition on its march up the coast from Caput Vada, and was present at the battle of Ad Decimum and the entry into Carthage; *Proc. BV* I 17.7-8, 17.14-15, 17.17, 19.1, 19.33, 20.1, 21.6 (this is the only section in the *Wars* where Procopius narrates events in the first person plural). He does not say how long he remained in Africa, but presumably he continued to serve there under Belisarius until the latter's recall in 534, and then returned with him to Constantinople. He later alluded to his stay in Africa, during which he became familiar with the farming and trading activities of the inhabitants; *Proc. Anecd.* 18.7. Perhaps at this time also he met Ortaias and heard his account of the desert land beyond his kingdom and the white men who lived beyond that; *Proc. BV* II 13.29.

At Easter 536 Procopius was again in Carthage when the army mutinied against Solomon I; he escaped with Solomon and accompanied him to Syracuse to ask for the help of Belisarius; *Proc. BV* II 14.39-41. There is no evidence that he remained behind in Africa in 534 to serve under Solomon; he may have done so, but nothing in the narrative supports it. It is more likely that he accompanied Belisarius to Constantinople in 534 and then returned with him to the west in 535 on the expedition against Sicily; he was presumably on a visit to Carthage at Easter 536, perhaps on a mission for Belisarius.

He probably continued to serve Belisarius as his *assessor* in Sicily and Italy from 535 (cf. above) to 540. He was in Rome during the siege of 537 to 538. In autumn 537 (Sept./Oct.) he was sent from Rome to Naples to fetch provisions and troops; he left Rome at night, evaded the Goths and reached Naples safely (cf. *Mundilas*); *Proc. BG* II 4.1-4. In Campania he collected over five hundred soldiers, loaded many ships with corn and held them in readiness; he was joined by Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, who helped with the arrangements; *Proc. BG* II 4.19-20. He apparently now joined forces with reinforcements which arrived under Ioannes 46 and returned to Rome in their company; cf. *Proc. BG* II 5.2-4, 7.1, 7.12. Perhaps in summer 538 (when the Roman army under Belisarius marched through Urbs Salvia to Ariminum) he visited Urbs Salvia, where he saw for himself an infant who was supposedly being suckled by a goat; *Proc. BG* II 17.1-11. Procopius was present during the siege of Auximum (summer/autumn 539) where he

proposed to Belisarius the use of cavalry trumpets to signal attack during the siege and infantry trumpets to signal retreat, apparently a novel idea; Proc. *BG* II 23.23-8. He was also present at the entry of the Roman army into Ravenna in May 540; Proc. *BG* II 29.32.

He was probably in Rome twice, during the siege from 537 to 538 and during the winter of 538/539 (cf. Belisarius). While in Rome he saw the so-called ship of Aeneas; Proc. *BG* IV 22.8. He also relates a story which was told to him when in Rome by a senator; Proc. *BG* IV 21.10.

Procopius presumably returned to Constantinople with Belisarius in 540. It is not clear if he accompanied him on the Persian campaigns of 541 and 542. When plague broke out in Constantinople in the middle of spring 542 (μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἤρος), Procopius was living there; Proc. *BP* II 22.9. However Belisarius himself was also in Constantinople in early spring when the Persians attacked Euphratensis and he did not travel to the east until some time later, when news of the attack reached the capital (cf. Belisarius); Procopius may therefore have travelled to the east after the plague began in Constantinople. If so, he was not himself an eyewitness of all the details of the plague which he describes. He may have left the service of Belisarius later in the year, when Belisarius was recalled in disgrace, dismissed from office, and deprived of most of his former followers (see Belisarius).

VIR ILLUSTRIS: ἰλλούστριος; Suid. II 2479. As the *assessor* of an active illustrious office, Procopius was probably *vir spectabilis*, *comes primi ordinis* (cf. *CTh* VI 15.1, Sid. Ap. *Ep.* I 3.3); possibly after retiring he was rewarded with the vacant *illustrate*; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 711-12.

Procopius seems now to have devoted himself to historical writing. In the preface to the first book of the *Wars* (*BP* I 1), apparently written as an introduction to the first seven books (see below), Procopius states that he wrote a history of the wars waged by Justinian against the barbarians of the east and the west in order to preserve the memory of great events and to provide lessons for men of the future in similar situations; Proc. *BP* I 1.1-2. He claimed to be especially competent to undertake the task since he was himself a witness of many of the events; *BP* I 1.3 (cited above). He declares that he wrote the work in a spirit of truthfulness and impartiality; *BP* I 1.4-5. This claim, here made at the start of a work published under Justinian, was explicitly modified by Procopius in the introduction to the *Anecdota*, a work presumably intended to be published only after Justinian was dead (see below).

Procopius was apparently at work on *BP* and *BG* in c. 544/545; *BP* I 25.43 was written while Ioannes II the Cappadocian was in the third year of his exile in Egypt (c. 543/544) and *BG* II 5.26-27, referring to the after effects of a wound sustained by Traianus 2 in late 537, was written

in 544/545. The implication of *BV* I 1.1 and *BG* I 1.1 that *BP* was composed before *BV* and *BV* before *BG* is not therefore correct; Procopius worked on the different books at the same time. The brief remarks at the start of *BV* and *BG* mark the transition from one theatre of war to another and were presumably added when the seven books were published in 551. He was also at work on the *Anecdota* before the seventh book of the *Wars* was complete (see below).

Procopius concluded his narrative in *BP* with the end of the fourth year of the truce with Persia in the twenty-third year of Justinian (after April 549); *BP* II 30.48, *BG* IV 1.3. He ended the detailed narrative of events in Africa in the *BV* with the murder of Guntharis 2 in Feb./March 546 but added a summary of later events down to 548; *BV* II 28.44-52, and cf. *BG* IV 17.20-2 (written not before Feb./March 552; *BG* IV 17.9). The third book of *BG* ends with the plundering raids of the Sclaveni throughout Thrace in the winter of 550/551 and the subsequent expeditions of the Romans against them (probably in early 551); *BG* III 40.31-45. These seven books were published probably in 551, before Procopius began to compose the eighth book (cf. below).

In 550, while still engaged on the *Wars*, Procopius composed the *Anecdota*. This work was written after March 550, when Tarsus suffered heavy damage during flooding from the Cydnus river; Proc. *Anecd.* 18.40, *Aed.* V 5.14-18, and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 757 with note 4 for the date. During the work Procopius three times alludes to the reign of Justinian as already having lasted for thirty-two years; *Anecd.* 18.33, 23.1, 24.29. Unlike the *Wars* where the regnal years of Justinian are reckoned from April 527, Procopius is here apparently including the reign of Justin I, in accordance with his thesis that Justinian was the real ruler then (cf. *Anecd.* 6.19, 18.45, *Aed.* I 3.3), and therefore counts from July 518 (cf. *PLRE* II, p. 650). The thirty-second year of Justinian was therefore July 549 to July 550, and Procopius was presumably writing the *Anecdota* during the summer of 550. By the normal reckoning the thirty-second year of Justinian would be April 558 to April 559; this date for the *Anecdota* is unlikely in view of the silence of the work about any events after 550, in particular the great earthquake disaster of July 551, not mentioned in the section on natural disasters under Justinian (*Anecd.* 18.36-45; for this earthquake, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 757 with n. 5).

In the introduction to the *Anecdota* Procopius states that he would now give the true explanations for events narrated in the *Wars* and would also include events which previously it was unsafe even to mention; it was possible to do so only because those responsible were dead; Proc. *Anecd.* I.1-3. In 550 this was true only of Theodora (and possibly Antonina, the date of whose death is unknown). He certainly had

Theodora in mind; cf. *Anecd.* 1.2 (πλήθη κατασκόπων) and *Anecd.* 16.14 (πλήθος κατασκόπων). However, since the work could hardly have been published during the lifetimes of Justinian and Belisarius, Procopius may well have written the words with them in mind also. In support of his veracity he invokes the testimony of his contemporaries who themselves witnessed the events; *Anecd.* 1.4–5. He was encouraged to write a work of this sort, so he observes, by his conviction that evil deeds should be recorded as a warning to future rulers; *Anecd.* 1.6–10. This sentiment accords with that expressed in the opening passage of the *Wars*, *BP* I 1.1–2 (cf. above). The *Anecdota* was not published during the lifetime of Procopius, and was not known to historians of the following generations (the earliest reference to it is in the *Suidas*, *Suid.* Π 2479); he wrote the work explicitly for future generations (*Anecd.* 1.6–10, 27.2) and was careful always to write about the emperor in the past tense (cf. e.g. *Anecd.* 8.12, 27.2). Possibly he hoped to publish it after the death of Justinian but was prevented either by political circumstances or perhaps by his own death.

Not long after the publication of the seven books of the *Wars* Procopius composed an eighth and final book. His purpose was to continue the narrative of events from the points reached in the earlier books and this time to include all theatres of war in the one book; *BG* IV 1.1–2. He concluded his account of relations with Persia by describing events in Lazica in the summer of 552; *BG* IV 17.9–19. He had no further warfare to describe in Africa; *BG* IV 17.20–2. His detailed narrative of events in Italy concludes with the battle of Mons Lactarius (perhaps Oct. 30, 552; cf. Narses 1) but a final paragraph notes the capture of Cumae without details (spring 553); *BG* IV 35.38. The work was presumably therefore completed and published during summer 553. Agathias later noted that the *Wars* ended in the twenty-sixth year of Justinian (= 552–553); *Agath.* I, prooem. 32.

Probably soon afterwards Procopius composed and published his work on the building activities of Justinian. This work was written after book eight of the *Wars*, to which it twice refers (*Aed.* III 7.7 refers to *BG* IV 4.4–6 and 12.28; *Aed.* VI 1.8 refers to *BG* IV 6.1–3). It was apparently composed before the Samaritan revolt of July 555 (cf. *Aed.* V 7.16 and, for the revolt, Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 374, n. 2) and the revolt of the Tzani in 557 (cf. *Aed.* III 6.6–8 and, for the revolt, Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 516 with n. 2) and certainly before the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia (7 May 558, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 460, n. 4). It was therefore written between 553 and 555. A comparison of *Proc.* *Aed.* V 3.10 (Justinian had begun to build a bridge over the river Sangarius in Bithynia and could be expected to complete it shortly) with *Theoph.* AM 6052 (Justinian

began to build the bridge over the Sangarius in this year, i.e. 559; he diverted the stream, constructed five great arches and restored the river to its course to pass through them) suggests that the *De Aedificiis* was written in 559. However the date in *Theophanes* and indeed the information in both sources should be treated with caution. The dating by the year of the world is unreliable and the implication in *Theophanes* that the construction of the bridge was completed in the one year does not have to be accepted. The entry perhaps recorded the completion of the project; if it is correctly placed in the sequence of events recorded by *Theophanes* (apparently all taken from *Malalas*), this would have been between August 559 and Sept. 560 (cf. *Theoph.* AM 6051 and 6053; there is at this point a lacuna in the text of *Malalas* (*Joh. Mal.* 490) covering events from spring 559 to May 562). The assertion in Procopius that the work would shortly be finished is couched in the language of panegyric – God helps Justinian in all he does and therefore the bridge will soon be built – and cannot therefore be pressed as evidence that the bridge was actually nearing completion. It is therefore probable that, although work was under way when Procopius was writing, the bridge was not completed for another five years. On the date of the *De Aedificiis*, see also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 837, Excursus v, but cf. M. Whitby, *JHS* 105 (1985), pp. 129–48.

The *De Aedificiis* was written in praise of Justinian and contains the most fulsome flattery (cf. e.g. *Aed.* I 1.25–6, 67–8, IV 1.1–2, VI 6.13). In the introduction Procopius notes that he has already described most of the emperor's achievements in his other writings and now proposes to describe the buildings for which he was responsible in order that future generations may marvel at his greatness; *Aed.* I 1.6–18. It is possible that the occasion for the work was some act of generosity or recognition towards Procopius himself from the emperor; he observes that subjects in the past who have received benefits from rulers have often in gratitude conferred greater and longer lasting benefits on rulers in return, by preserving the memory of their merits for posterity (i.e. by the composition of panegyrics) (*Aed.* I 1.4). This inference is uncertain, however, and the work may have been written in the hope of eliciting future benefits. In any event Procopius seems to have had such a work in mind for some time; he apparently refers to it when writing about Edessa at *BP* II 12.29 and *Anecd.* 18.38.

It is likely that the work was written in Constantinople; at *Aed.* IV 4.2 he remarks that his account of events in Illyricum is reliable since these events occurred not far away and there were very many visitors around from there. This suggests that Procopius was in Constantinople at the time. In another passage he remarks that he knows that it was in accord

with the emperor's own wishes that he begins his description of churches with those of Mary the Mother of God (*Aed.* 1.3.1); this implies that he was in touch with persons at court, if not with the emperor himself, and so presumably in Constantinople.

In the early 550s it was the stated intention of Procopius to write a work on the ecclesiastical history of the reign; he then promised that in a later work he would describe the fall of pope Silverius (*Anecd.* 1.14), the persecution of Christians (*Anecd.* 11.33), and the treatment of the clergy under Justinian (*Anecd.* 26.18) as well as civil disorders in Ulpiana arising from religious differences (*BG* IV 25.13). There is no evidence that such a work was ever composed.

According to John of Nikiu (writing in the late seventh century in Egypt after the Arab conquest) Procopius was a patrician and a prefect; Joh. Nik. 92.20 ('a learned man named Procopius the patrician. He was a man of intelligence and a prefect, whose work is well known'). There is no support for this in any other source and it is probably a mistake, perhaps arising from confusion with Procopius 3 (PVC in 562). The identification of this man with the author has been suggested; apart from the identity of name, the position of city prefect would have been a suitable reward for a famous author who was already of illustrious rank. Although not impossible, the identification is probably not correct; there is no suggestion in the sources for the city prefect that he was the historian, nor do the many allusions to the historian, apart from John of Nikiu, contain any hints that he was PVC. In the circumstances it is better not to accept the identification. It is even possible, since the historian is not heard of again after the *De Aedificiis*, that he died not long after publication; this could also explain why, apparently, he never wrote the projected ecclesiastical history.

On Procopius, see further *P-W* xxiii, 273-599 (Rubin) and Cameron, *Procopius*, passim.

### Procopius 3

PVC 562-563

PVC a. 562 Nov.-563 April: ὁ ἑπαρχὸς τῆς πόλεως (or similar), Joh. Mal. 494, Theoph. AM 6055 (also ὁ ἑπαρχὸς), cf. Joh. Mal. fr. 49 (Προκοπίω τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τότε τὴν τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἀρχὴν ἰθύνοντος, sic). The conspirators involved in the plot to murder Justinian in November 562 were delivered to him for interrogation (his colleagues in the enquiry were Constantinus 4, Iulianus 15 and Zenodorus); Joh. Mal. 494, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055. A few months later, in April 563, he was dismissed from office and replaced by Andreas 7; Theoph. AM 6055.

He was probably not identical with the historian Procopius; see Protopius 2.

Possibly named in a cruciform monogram (287) on two glass weights; Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 129 with nn. 59 and 62.

### Procopius 4

MVM VI

Προκοπίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 481 = Fogg Art Museum seal 882 (seal; obv.: square monogram (284) of Προκοπίου; rev.: CTPA/THAA/TOV).

### Procopius 5

patricius VI

Προκοπίου πατρικίου; Zacos 479 (seal; obv.: square monogram (284) of Προκοπίου; rev.: the letters of πατρικίου arranged in a cross, twice written). Perhaps the same man owned another seal, Zacos 480 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3084 (obv.: square monogram (285) of Προκοπίου; rev.: ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚ/ΙΟV); a second similar specimen to this occurs in Zacos' series.

### Procopius 6

chartularius M VI/M VII

Προκοπίου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 478 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (286) of Προκοπίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (363) of χαρτουλαρίου).

### Procopius 7

patricius ?VI/VII

Προκοπίου πατρικίου; *CIL* xii 5690, 138 = *IG* xiv 2573, 14 (seal, in the museum at Aix-en-Provence; + ΠΡΟ/ΚΟΠΙΔ/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΔ; the text is apparently on one side only).

### Procopius 8

scholasticus L VI/E VII

A native of Porphyreon (probably near Sidon, see Jones, *CERP*, p. 467), he gave information to John Moschus about an abbot Zacchaeus; he had two sons who survived an outbreak of plague at Caesarea; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 175 (131).

### Procopius 9

MVM VII

Προκοπίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 978 (seal; obv.: + ΑΓΙΕ/ΘΕΟΔΩ/ΡΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ +; rev.: + ΠΡΟ/ΚΟΠΙΔ/ΣΤΡΑΤΙ/ΛΑΤΔ).

### Procopius 10

consiliarius of the exarchus Italiae 616/619

*Vir eloquentissimus, consiliarius of the exarchus Italiae* Eleutherius; Marini, *P. Dip.* 123 = *P. Ital.* 38-41, lines 8-9 (cited under Eleutherius), 53-4 (ex iudicio viri aeloquentissimi Procopii consiliarii..... Eleutherii). For the date, see Eleutherius.

Procula (*CIL* xiii 2423) V/VI: PLRE II.





and his son's rank are strong evidence that he was a *magister militum*; what is not certain is whether the title was all he had or whether he also held an office; if the latter, he was probably MVM (honorific) *et dux et augustalis Arcadiae*, and was in office at the date of the document, May 15, 599. The fact of his son being in the same locality suggests that he was a wealthy Egyptian aristocrat with an honorific title. The letter, addressed to his son, was drawn up in Memphis by local people; possibly Ptolemaeus was a local grandee.

Ptolemaeus 5                      ?tribunus, and pagarch of Athribis 609

In 609 Phocas sent orders 'to Ptolemy the †Apulōn† of the city of Athrib, the governor of that city' ('l'Apellōn d'Athrib, qui était préfet de cette ville'; Zotenberg); Joh. Nik. 107.9 (p. 542 Zotenberg). He was probably pagarch of Athribis; for the suggestion that 'Apulōn' may represent *tribunus*, see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 95, n. 4.

Ptolemaeus 6                      ally of Heraclius (in Egypt) 609

When Nicetas 7 was certain of victory in Egypt, 'he sent Ptolemy, Eusebius and other notables of the party of Heraclius' ('d'autres chefs du parti d'Héraclius'; Zotenberg) by river to fetch him resources and soldiers 'from all the cities of Egypt'; Joh. Nik. 108.13 (p. 548 Zotenberg).

Ptolemaeus 7                      ?patricius and MVM (in Osrhoene) 638-639

Appointed to succeed Ioannes 241 Cataeus as the man in overall charge of Osrhoene (and ?Mesopotamia), probably in 638/639; his refusal, with the emperor's approval, to make the annual payment to the Arabs agreed by Ioannes led to the invasion and conquest of Mesopotamia by the Arabs (see Iad, = 'lyāq ibn Ghanm); he was at Edessa when it surrendered but was allowed to return to the empire; Theoph. AM 6128 (Πτολεμαῖόν τινα στρατηλάτην), AM 6130 (unnamed στρατηλάτης), Cedr. I 751, *Chron.* 1234, cxxi, Agapius, pp. 476-7 ('a man called Ptolemy, one of the patricians'). Like Ioannes his headquarters were apparently at Edessa, in Osrhoene. For his post and titles, see further Ioannes.

Pudentius                      Roman leader (in Tripolitana) 533-543

A native of Tripolitana; Proc. *BV* I 10.22, II 21.3.

In 533 he revolted from the Vandals and wrote to Justinian asking for military help and promising to restore Tripolitana to the empire; Justinian sent Tattimuth with an army, with which Pudentius joined forces and took possession of the land, subjecting it to the emperor; the

Vandals apparently had no forces stationed there; Proc. *BV* I 10.22-4, 11.22, 21.3 (κατ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ Βανδιλικοῦ πολέμου). To judge by the narrative in Proc. *BV* I 10-11 the rebellion took place in spring or early summer 533, before the expedition under Belisarius set sail (mid June).

In winter 533/534 (cf. Belisarius) Tripolitana was troubled by Moorish tribes and Belisarius sent an army to Pudentius and Tattimuth to strengthen Roman power there; Proc. *BV* II 5.10.

In 543 Pudentius was in Leptis Magna where he advised Sergius 4 not to receive into the city more than the eighty leaders of the Leuathae; Proc. *BV* II 21.3. After the massacre of the eighty, Pudentius and Sergius with all their troops fought a battle with the Leuathae near Leptis, defeated them and plundered their camp, but then Pudentius became reckless and was killed; Proc. *BV* II 21.13-15.

PVTZINTVLVS ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 546-548

One of the army officers who served under Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa from 546 to 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 478, V 441, VI 521, VIII 370, 474, 479. He fought in the battle, in which the Romans defeated Antalas in winter 546/547, stationed on the right next to Gentius; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 478-84, V 441-5. At the battle of Marta (in summer 547) he held the left flank with Geisirith and Sinduit; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 521. In summer 548 he and Geisirith were stationed with Cutzinas at the battle of the Plains of Cato; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 370-2. In the battle he was mortally wounded; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 474-509, cf. IV 484-6 (Corippus laments his premature death).

His post is uncertain; he was one of the *duces* (cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 465, VIII 370) and is alluded to as *dux* (*Ioh.* VIII 496), but the words are not necessarily technical; he was apparently one of the commanders ranking between the *magistri militum* (Ioannes 36 and Gentius) and the *tribuni* (cf. e.g. Liberatus and Marcianus), and so was presumably a *vir spectabilis*, of the same rank as the *duces* of Byzacena, Tripolitana, etc. Possibly his title was *v.sp.*, *comes rei militaris*. See also Anonymi 41.

Qntris

Roman general 636

One of Heraclius' generals at the battle of Yarmuk; *Chron.* 1234, cxvi. The name is probably corrupt; cf. Gregorius 18.

Qourā

priest (at Batna) and historian L VI

A priest at Batna, he composed in Edessa an ecclesiastical history of



the nunnery acquired the name of Holy Cross; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 40, *Glor. Mart.* 5, Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* ii, lines 57-8 (role of Sophia).

She died on August 13, 587, and her funeral, attended by bishop Gregory of Tours, took place three days later; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 2, *Glor. Conf.* 104, Baudonivia, *V. S. Radeg.* 21.

She was well known to Venantius Fortunatus, who addressed several poems to her, as well as composing a biography; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* viii 5 (ad domnam Radegundem), 6-10 (ad eandem), xi 2 (item aliud ad domnam Radegundem), 3-4 (ad eandem). Three poems were written by Venantius in her name; Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* i-iii. Also addressee of *Ep. Aevi Mer. Coll.* 11 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 450) (a letter from Caesaria, abbess at Arles, sending a copy of the rule of Caesarius for the nunnery).

Radigis ('Ράδιγης) king of the Varni M VI

Only son of Hermegisclus by a first wife, betrothed to the sister of the king of the Angili of Brittia (?the Angles, in Denmark); Proc. *BG* iv 20.12. He succeeded as king of the Varni on his father's death; his father had arranged that he should break off the engagement and marry his stepmother, the sister of the Frankish king Theodebert (i.e. Theudechildis 1), but the jilted girl, according to the story in Procopius, came with a large military expedition, defeated the Varni somewhere near the Rhine mouths, and captured Radigis, who was easily persuaded to send his stepmother back to the Franks and marry the girl; Proc. *BG* iv 20.21-41. It seems likely that Procopius learnt the story, true or not, from some Angili who accompanied a mission from a Frankish king (probably Theodebert); cf. Proc. *BG* iv 20.10.30.

Rado maior domus (in Austrasia) 613

Appointed *maior domus* in Austrasia in 613 by Chlotharius II; Fredegar. ii 42 (in Auster Rado idemque hunc gradum honoris assumpsit, i.e. that of *maior domus*, like Warnacharius 2).

Possibly succeeded by Chucus by 617.

Radoaldus Lombard dux of Beneventum 642-647

He and Grimoaldus were the two younger sons of Gisulfus 2 and Romilda; like their elder brothers Taso and Cacco they were captured by the Avars in c. 610 but escaped; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 37 (they were both 'adhuc in puerili aetate constituti').

A few years later, when their uncle Grasulfus 2 became *dux* of Friuli, they disdained to live under his rule and went to their old tutor (paedagogus), the *dux* of Beneventum, Arichis, who welcomed them and treated them as his own sons; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 39 (they were

'iam prope iuvenilem aetatem'). Subsequently Arichis, nearing death, proposed that they should succeed him as *dux*, rather than his own, mentally unbalanced, son Aio; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 43 (they were 'iam florem iuventutis habentes'; this would be in c. a. 640/641). When Aio became *dux* (in 641), Radoald and Grimoald gave him their loyalty (sicut seniori fratri et domino per omnia paruerunt); however Aio perished in battle near Sipontum against the Slavs after a year and five months (in 642) and it was Radoald who led the expedition which avenged him, driving the Slavs out of the territory they had seized; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 44.

dux of Beneventum a. 642-647: he held the office of *dux* for five years and was succeeded on his death by Grimoald; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 46. On the chronology, cf. Grimoald (who became *dux* of Beneventum in 647).

Radulfus dux Thuringiae c. 633-639

Son of Chamarus; Fredegar. iv 77.

dux THVRINGIAE c. a. 633-639: appointed in c. 633 by Dagobert (Radulfus dux filius Chamari, quem Dagobertus Thoringiae ducem instituit), he won several victories over the Wends, grew in pride and showed hostility towards Adalgiselus; finally he rebelled against king Sigibert; Fredegar. iv 77. In 639 Radulfus, 'dux Thoringiae', openly rebelled against Sigibert; his ally Fara was defeated but he had supporters in Sigibert's army and won a crushing victory near his fortified camp by the river Unstrut; thereafter he claimed the style of *rex* and made treaties and alliances with the Wends and other neighbouring peoples, recognising Sigibert as his overlord in name only; Fredegar. iv 87.

Possibly identical with Hruodis, father of Hetan and grandfather of the *dux* Gozbert who ruled the 'castellum quod nominatur Wirzibure' in the second half of the seventh century; cf. *Passio Kiliani* 3 (*MGH, Scr. Rev. Mer.* v, p. 723, and see p. 714).

Ragamundus Frankish officer 609

A Frankish officer commanding the soldiers who escorted St Columbanus from Luxeuil to Nantes, outside the kingdom ruled by Theoderic II; Fredegar. iv 36.

Raganricus Frankish domestic M VII

Addressee of a letter from Dagobert in 7637 jointly with Wandelbertus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 62 (cited under Wandelbertus).

Ragilo Lombard comes (in N. Italy) 574/575

After Anagnia (Ananinium) surrendered to the Franks (in 574 or 575).

Ragilo came and plundered the area (quam ob causam comes Langobardorum de Lagare, Ragilo nomine, Anagnis veniens deprædatus est); while returning with his plunder, he encountered the Frank Chramnichis 'in campo Rotaliani' (between Salurnum and Anagnia) and was killed; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 9. He perhaps exercised authority over the Val Lagarina, south of Tridentum.

Ragnaris leader of the Goths 552-555

A Hun, of the tribe known as the Vittores (or Vitgores, perhaps the Bitugures, Jord. *Get.* 272); Agath. II 13.3 (ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν Βιτυγόρων (the MSS also have Βιτιτόρων) καλουμένων - Οὐννικὸν δὲ τὸ ἔθνος οἱ Βίτυγορες). Procopius twice calls him a Goth (*BG* IV 26.4, 34.9), but Agathias seems to have had more information about him and to have tacitly corrected Procopius. He attributes (*loc. cit.*) his leadership among the Goths to his forceful character.

In 552 Ragnaris commanded the Gothic garrison in Tarentum; Proc. *BG* IV 26.4 (τοῦ ἐν Ταρентηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε), 34.9 (ἠγείτο τοῦ ἐν Ταρентηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου). Together with Moras in Acheruntia, he opened negotiations with Pacurius to surrender their strongholds and enter Roman service with their followers; Proc. *BG* IV 26.4. He gave six Goths as hostages but subsequently decided not to honour his undertaking to surrender, after hearing of the accession of Theia; he took fifty of Pacurius' men hostage in order to secure the release of his own men, and killed them when Pacurius marched against him; he left Tarentum to meet Pacurius but was heavily defeated and had to flee to Acheruntia since the Romans in Tarentum refused to readmit him; Proc. *BG* IV 34.9-15.

In late 554 he was leader of a force of seven thousand Gothic troops (σφῶν καὶ ἠγείτο) (perhaps survivors of the battle of Casilinum); at his instigation they occupied the stronghold of Compsa in order to continue their resistance to the Romans; Agath. II 13.1-3. There they were besieged by Narses I, during the winter of 554/555, but suffered no hardship as large supplies had been laid in; in the spring Ragnaris met Narses for talks but nothing was achieved; however as they parted Ragnaris shot an arrow at Narses; he missed but was himself mortally wounded by Narses' bodyguard in retaliation; his attendants carried him back into Compsa, where he died two days later; his army then surrendered (cf. Narses, p. 922); Agath. II 13.4-14.7.

Ragnetrudis mother of Sigebert III E VII

Mother of Dagobert's son Sigebertus (born in 629/30); Fredegar. IV 59.

Ragnoberta wife of Flaochadus M VII

A niece of queen Nantechildis, she was given in marriage to Flaochadus; Fredegar. IV 89. The date was 641/642.

Ragnovaldus dux of Périgord (under Guntram) 581

Defeated in 581 by Desiderius 2 who then seized Périgueux, Agen and other cities from Guntram for Chilperic; the wife of Ragnovaldus was captured in Agen and allowed to seek sanctuary in a church in Toulouse; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 12 (Ragnovaldo duce fugato). Ragnovaldus was presumably *dux* of the area for Guntram.

In 584 he was sent by Guntram on an embassy to Spain; after the death of Chilperic (late 584) he returned and recovered his wife and his property; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 10.

Ramnulfus comes (?of Angoulême) M VI

Comes, at Angoulême, recorded in the *Vita et Virtutes Eparchii* 10 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* III, p. 556). Probably comes civitatis Ecolismensis.

Ranichildis daughter of Sigivaldus 1 M VI

Daughter of Sigivaldus 1, sister of Sigivaldus 2; she bequeathed estates to the monastery of which a former servant of her father, Brachio, was abbot, in the Auvergne (erat enim saltus ex domo Vindiacensi); Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 12.3.

Ranicunda wife of the Lombard ruler Vaces E/M VI

Daughter of a king of the Thuringians, first wife of the Lombard ruler Waccho (Vaces); *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* 1 21.

Ranilo sublimis femina (in Italy) 553

Daughter of Aderit and wife of Felithanc; subl(imis) f(emina); responsible for a donation recorded in a document at Ravenna dated April 4, 553; she and her husband were both illiterate; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, lines 1, 19, 62, 65, 68, 72, 76, 79.

Raš, Raznan: see Phaiak *qui et* Rhaznan.

Rasmiozan, Razmiozan: see Shahrbarāz.

Ratharius dux of Marseilles, under Childebert 585

After Marseilles was restored to Childebert, Ratharius was sent there (in 585) as *dux* by Childebert (Ratharius illuc quasi dux a parte regis



Childeberti dirigitur) but once there he ignored Childebert's orders to investigate the case of bishop Theodorus of Marseilles and instead had Theodorus sent to the court of Guntram, to be judged by fellow-bishops at the synod of Mâcon; in the bishop's absence he began seizing church property, some for himself, some being placed under seal, but a severe outbreak of disease afflicted his household (a divine judgement, according to Gregory), killing many servants and also Ratharius' own son, whom he buried in Marseilles; he left Marseilles to return home (ad patriam suam – unidentified), himself apparently more dead than alive; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 12.

Rauchingus Frankish dux 585–587

In or after 576 he married the widow of Godinus 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 3.

dux under Childebert II a. 585–587: dux, in 585, Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 26, 29; succeeded as dux by Magnovaldus 2 after his death in 587, Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 9 (cf. below). In 585 he arrested Berulfus and Arnegiselus; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 26 (on the date, cf. Berulfus). In the same year in Soissons he captured two agents of Fredegundis, sent to assassinate Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 29.

In 587, in collusion with leading men of Chlotharius' kingdom (Neustria; see Vrsio and Bertefredus), Rauching plotted to murder Childebert and take control of Austrasia, which was then to be subdivided; he intended to rule Champagne through Childebert's elder son Theodebert; the plot was discovered by Guntram and disclosed to Childebert, who had Rauching executed; he was found to be carrying a large amount of gold, and when his property was then confiscated his treasures were allegedly found to exceed even those recorded in the public treasury; his widow, abandoning her finery, took sanctuary in the church of St Medard at Soissons; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 9, cf. x 19 (the conspiracy), Fredegar. iv 8 (one of the *optimates* killed for plotting against Childebert).

Gregory describes him as proud and arrogant and cites instances of his appalling cruelty; *HF* v 3. He accuses him of avarice and immorality and alleges that at the end of his life he arrogantly claimed to be a son of Chlotharius I; *HF* ix 9.

Rauco comes (of Dagobert) 630

One of the addressees of a supposed letter of Dagobert; Marini, *P. Dip.* 61. See further Leutho. If genuine, presumably a Frank.

Raudingus dux (of Childebert) 590

One of the *duces* with Henus sent by Childebert in 590 to help the

Romans in Italy; sent with Leudefredus and Olfigandus to the exarch Romanus 7 by Henus; *Ep. Austras.* 40 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 146) (styled 'vir magnificus dux' by Romanus). Cf. Henus.

Reccaredus I king of the Visigoths 586–601

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 196.

Son of Leovigildus; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, 578, 585, 586, Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 34, viii 30, 38, 46, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 51, 52. Younger brother of Ermenegild; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31. Father of Liuva 2; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 56 (by a woman of humble birth). In 589 he was married to Baddo; Mansi ix 983 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 116. For his betrothal to the Frankish princess Riginthis, see below.

In 573 Reccared and his brother were made colleagues of their father; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573 (*consortes regni*).

In the early 580s (before 584) he was betrothed by his father to Riginthis, daughter of the Frankish king Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, vi 34. The marriage never took place. See further Leovigildus, p. 784.

In 585 he was sent with a military expedition against the Franks who had invaded Septimania; he expelled them, captured the fort of Hodiernum (= Ugernum, i.e. Beaucaire) on the Rhone and returned to Spain triumphant; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585, Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 30 (he took Cabaret, raided the territory of Toulouse, captured Ugernum, and withdrew to the safety of Nîmes). In 586 he again led an expedition as far as Narbonne before returning home; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 38 (presumably early spring, before his father's death).

king of the Visigoths a. 586 April 13/May 8–601 Dec. 1/26: he became sole king of the Visigoths on the death of Leovigild; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 586 (with no opposition, *cum tranquillitate*), Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 46, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 52. According to the *Laterculus Regum Visigothorum* 28 he reigned for fifteen years, seven months, twenty days; *MGH, AA* xiii, p. 466, and cf. Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 56 (fifteen years). For the dates of his reign, see Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxvii (1902), pp. 421ff.

He rapidly reached an understanding with his stepmother Goisuintha, mother of Brunichildis, and, perhaps on her advice, sent envoys for peace to the Frankish kings Guntram and Childebert II; the former rejected them but the latter (son of Brunichildis) welcomed them and made peace; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 1.

Later, in 587, Reccared abandoned his Arian faith and became a Catholic; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587, Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 15, Greg. *Dial.* iii 31, Greg. *Ep.* ix 228, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 52. He summoned a council of Catholic

bishops, which eventually met at Toledo in 589; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 590, Mansi ix 977ff. = Vives, *Concilios*, 107ff., Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 53, and cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 94-101.

His forces met and defeated the Frankish noble Desiderius 2 at Carcassonne in 587; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587, Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 45. He then sent further envoys to Guntram and Childebert to seek peace, claiming now to be their co-religionist, but was again rebuffed by Guntram and welcomed by Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 16. On this occasion he also raised the possibility of marrying a Frankish princess, this time Chlodosinda (sister of Childebert); Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 16, 20, 28. In 589 his general Claudius 2 defeated the Franks in Septimania; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 589, Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 54, and see Claudius and Boso 2.

He often had to send troops to deal with Roman military adventures in Spain and also with Basque invasions; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 54 (saepe etiam et lacertos contra Romanas insolentias et inruptiones Vasconum movit).

He wrote to pope Gregory in 596/599, Greg. *Ep.* ix 227a; and received two letters from Gregory, Greg. *Ep.* ix 228 and 229 (both a. 599 Aug.) (the former congratulated him on his conversion, the latter regretted that copies of treaties between the Visigoths and Justinian could not be forwarded to Reccared as they had perished when the archives were burned under Justinian). He is mentioned in a letter from Gregory to Claudius 2; Greg. *Ep.* ix 230 (a. 599 Aug.).

He died peacefully in Toledo; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 56. His son Liuva succeeded him.

Reccared II

Visigothic king 621

Son of Sisebut; still a child he succeeded his father (Feb. 621) but died after a few days; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 61, cf. *Cont. Isid. Hisp.* 17 (three months). See Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* xxvii (1902), pp. 425ff.

His successor was Suinthila.

Recinarius

?consiliarius of Ioannes Troglita 546-548

Ῥεκινάριος; Proc. Recinarius and Ricinarius; MS of Corippus.

He served with Ioannes 36 Troglita against the Moors and the Persians and then (in 546) accompanied him to Africa again; Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 25 (shared good and bad fortune with Ioannes), 28-30 (fought the Persians), 31 (fought the Moors), 32-3 (often shared the toils of war with Ioannes), ii 317-19 (had shared Ioannes' labours and victories and now shares in his greatest command - ad summam pariter venisse coronam - i.e. in Africa). He was presumably a member throughout of Ioannes' personal staff. Ioannes had served in Africa from 533 to 537 and on the Persian front from 541 to 545/546.

In 544 Recinarius was sent from Constantinople as envoy to Persia for peace (ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ); he reached the camp of Chosroes during the siege of Edessa and was allowed to enter the city only when the Persians suffered a set-back and wanted peace; negotiations were delayed, however, (see Martinus 2) and fighting was resumed; Recinarius is not mentioned again; Proc. *BP* ii 27.24-7, cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* vii 30 (the words 'pacemque fidemque benignam' perhaps allude to this).

?CONSILIARIVS of Ioannes Troglita a. 546-548: he was with Ioannes in Africa from 546 to 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 314 (in 546/547), vi 413 (summer 547), vii 231 (winter 547/548), viii 134 (summer 548). He was his closest companion and most trusted adviser; Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 312-16, 334-5, 354-5, vii 23-4, 50-1, 73-4, viii 289-93. After their long experience together their relationship, according to Corippus, resembled that of father and son; *Ioh.* vii 33-5. He was possibly the *consiliarius* of Ioannes; cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 314 (consiliiue decus), iv 589 (dignus erat tali properare magistro), vii 29 (his *consulta*). Among his qualities Corippus several times alludes to his *sapientia*; *Ioh.* iv 586, 592, viii 134, 289.

In winter 546/547, shortly before the battle in which Antalas was defeated, it was on his advice that Ioannes sent an envoy to Antalas offering peace or war; Coripp. *Ioh.* ii 322-54. In the battle he was stationed at Ioannes' side in the centre of the Roman army; *Ioh.* iv 583-4, 593-4, cf. v 72-9, 297-315 (fought in the battle, apparently with the bodyguard of Ioannes, see 279-80). In summer 547 he accompanied Ioannes on the expedition against the Moors to the south of Byzacena, and was sent to pacify the discontented soldiers when supplies ran short; *Ioh.* vi 413-21. After the defeat at Marta he accompanied Ioannes in flight; *Ioh.* vii 23-4, 36-7. He advised Ioannes now to take his time and reassemble their scattered forces and to secure the help of their Moorish allies before renewing the war; *Ioh.* vii 50-72. During winter 547/548 he was active in gathering fresh forces; *Ioh.* vii 231. He accompanied Ioannes on campaign in summer 548 and again had to calm the Roman troops when they threatened to mutiny; *Ioh.* viii 134-48. In the final battle in which the Moors were defeated he fought at Ioannes' side; *Ioh.* viii 289-93, 357-9, 586-606.

Highly praised by Corippus for his courage, sobriety, humanity and wisdom; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 585-92, vii 26-8.

Redemptus

man of wealth (in Sicily) 592

His wife (unnamed), who died before July 592, left precious silver objects to be sold for the benefit of her freedmen and a monastery; pope Gregory, informed by the *defensor* of Syracuse, Romanus, instructed the *rector* of Sicily, Petrus, to carry out her wishes; Greg. *Ep.* ii 38 (a. 592

July). The objects were a bowl (concha) and a dish (scutella). Redemptus and his wife were evidently wealthy people living in Sicily, probably in Syracuse. He was apparently still alive and slow to carry out his wife's wishes.

Regina (*CIL* v 7640) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

## REGINVS

comes E/M VI

He posed two questions on theology to bishop Fulgentius of Ruspe (*PLRE* II, Fulgentius 2), who answered one in Fulgentius *Ep.* 18 before dying; the other was answered after Fulgentius died (in 532) by the deacon Fulgentius Ferrandus, *Epistula ad Reginum comitem*.

## Rema

v.inl.; commander in Italy 537

The name is Germanic; see Schönfeld, p. 187.

VIR INLVSTRIS in 537, when he was sent with Batza 2, Conon 1 and Paulus 5, apparently under the command of Ioannes 46, to Italy with reinforcements for Belisarius (then besieged in Rome); they made camp at Ostia (cf. Ioannes) and relieved Rome (with men and supplies); *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (Ioannes magister militum cum Batza, Conone, Paulo Remaque inlustribus). He is not named in Procopius and is not heard of again. He may have been an MVM *vacans*, but this is uncertain; cf. Conon.

Remigius: bishop of Reims, died c. 532; *PLRE* II.

Remila *quae et Eugenia* daughter of Ansemundus E/M VI

Daughter of Ansemundus *dux* (*PLRE* II), brought up as a nun (sub *regulari disciplina*) in Vienne; founder of a monastery of St Andrew there (known as the Lower; another, the Higher, already existed on a hill in the city) which on her death (c. 575?) was willed to the church (cuius tempore (i.e. in the time of bishop Philippus of Vienne) monasterium sancti Andreae subterioris Viennae conditam a Remila Eugenia Ansemundi ducis filia atque sub testamento matri ecclesiae traditum); Ado, *Chron.* s.a. 575 (*PL* 123. col. 111).

Her mother's name was Aslenbana; Pardessus, *Diplomata*, no. 140.

## (R)emulus

illustrius E/M VII

(R)emulu ill(u)s(triu); Zacos 1596 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: [R?]Ε/ΜΥΛΥ/ΙΛΛΥ).

## Reovalis

doctor (at Poitiers) L VI

At Poitiers in 590 he told the enquiry into events at the convent of St

Radegund how, at Radegund's request, he once operated on a sick boy, castrating him to save his life as he had once observed a doctor doing at Constantinople; the boy grew up and became a servant at the convent; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 15 (archiater). Radegund died in 587.

Reparatus: PVR c. 527; PPO (Italiae) 538-539; *PLRE* II.

Reparatus (Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 94) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

## REPARATVS

v.c., praepositus cursorum domnicorum (in Italy) 540

In Jan. 540 he witnessed the purchase of land by Montanus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. I, line 15 (Reparatus v.c. praepositus cursorum domnicorum), col. II, lines 12-13 (similar text). The transaction took place under Vitigis in Ravenna during the siege by Belisarius. Reparatus evidently held office under the Ostrogoths, as head of the *cursores* (messengers) of the royal palace; cf. Jones, *LRE* II, p. 582.

## Reptila

Gepid; nephew of Cunimund M/L VI

Nephew (rather than grandson) of Cunimundus; after the death of Cunimund, he and an Arian bishop Trasaric conveyed the Gepid royal treasure in its entirety to Justin at Constantinople; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 572. The date was probably 567; cf. Cunimundus.

Phaiak *qui et Rhasnan*

## Rhazates

Persian general 627

\*Ραζάτης; Theoph. Sim., Theoph., Nic. Call. \*Ριζάτης; Nic. *Brev.* \*Ραζάστης; Cedr. Roch (Rochik) Vehan; Sebeos. Rochveh; Moses Dasxurançi. Rûzbihân; Agapius, *Hist. Nest.*, Bar Hebr., *Chron.* 1234. On his names, see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.* 1, p. 70 (Roch Vehan was his name; Rahzad was his nickname; and Rûzbihân was his title), and cf. Justi, pp. 257-8, s.n. Râhzâdh, and p. 267, s.n. Rôzweh.

In 627 he commanded the forces of Chosroes in Armenia and followed Heraclius when the emperor invaded Persia, but was defeated and killed at the battle of Niniveh (Dec. 12, 627); Theoph. Sim. VIII 12.12-13, Theoph. AM 6118, Nic. *Brev.* 19, Cedr. 1730-1, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 41, Sebeos XXIV, p. 66, xxvi, pp. 83-4, Moses Dasxurançi II 12, Agapius, p. 463, *Hist. Nest.* II 87, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89, *Chron.* 1234, xcix. For a discussion of his role, see Stratos I, pp. 206-13.

Gusdanaspes *qui et* Rhazei

Rhecimundus Gothic commander 546

A leading Goth, assigned by Totila to guard Bruttium in 546 and prevent movements to or from Sicily; the troops under him included Goths, Romans and Moors; they were surprised by Ioannes 46 and routed, between Rhegium and Vibo, and then pursued; Rhecimundus and his surviving Goths then surrendered; Proc. *BG* III 18.26-8.

RHECITHANGVS dux (at Damascus or Palmyra) 541

Native of Thrace; Proc. *BP* II 30.29.

DVX (in Phoenice Libanensis, at Damascus or Palmyra) a. 541: in 541 Rhecithangus and Theoctistus 2 were in command of the troops stationed in Phoenice Libanensis; Proc. *BP* II 16.17 (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες), II 19.33 (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ καταλόγων ἄρχοντες). They were territorial commanders (see below) and were therefore *duces*, probably the two *duces* who were based at Damascus and Palmyra in Phoenice Libanensis; cf. Cutzes. He and Theoctistus were with Belisarius at Dara in 541; Proc. *BP* II 16.6.17. They favoured an invasion of Persia but were afraid of the emperor's displeasure if they left Phoenice and Syria, the areas which they ruled, undefended from the Arabs (ἄτε οὐ φυλάξαντας ἀδῆωτον τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχον); they were overruled by Belisarius on the grounds that it was the time of the summer solstice when the Arabs were bound by the holy truce not to make war and so they accompanied the invasion; Proc. *BP* II 16.17-19 (and, for the holy truce, cf. Hitti, pp. 93-4). Two months later they were anxious to return, because the period of truce was over and Lebanon and Syria were under threat from Alamundarus (*PLRE* II, Alamundarus 2); Proc. *BP* II 19.33-4, 39. The whole army in fact then returned; Proc. *BP* II 19.45-6.

Some time later, but before 549, Rhecithangus was sent by Justinian with an army to Lazica (ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ῥεκίθαγγος); he appears to have delayed going and is not known ever to have arrived in Lazica; Proc. *BP* II 30.29.

In 552 he was in Illyricum as one of the commanders of an army assembled to oppose Goar and Ildigisal; he and his colleagues, who included Aratius, Leonianus and Arimuth, were surprised by the enemy while drinking at a river and killed leaving the Roman army leaderless; Proc. *BG* IV 27.13-18.

Described by Procopius as a clever man and a good soldier; Proc. *BP* II 30.29 (in stock phrases).

Rhodan

Lombard dux 574

In 574 he invaded Gaul with Amo and Zaban, all three 'Lombardorum duces'; he plundered the area around Grenoble and besieged the city until defeated by Mummolus 2; then he joined Zaban and plundered the area round Valence before withdrawing to Embrun, where Mummolus inflicted another defeat on the Lombards; they then retreated to Italy with their surviving followers; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 44; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 8.

Rhode

wife of Gemellus M VI

A native of Tyre and wife of Gemellus; she left Tyre to come to 'this city' and look after her children; she died in old age and was commemorated in verses by Leontius 6 *scholasticus*; *Anth. Gr.* VII 575. According to the lemma she died ἐν Βυζαντίῳ; cf. however Gemellus.

RHODON

praefectus augustalis, then dux et augustalis Alexandriae 538-539

Native of Phoenicia; Proc. *Anecd.* 27.3.

PRAEFECTVS AVGVSTALIS, then DVX ET AVGVSTALIS ALEXANDRIAE a. 538-539: apparently in office when the patriarch Paul was sent to Egypt to eliminate monophysites (in late 537/early 538, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 385, 389-91); Proc. *Anecd.* 27.3 (ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ῥόδων τις, Φοῖνιξ γένος, ἔχων τηνικάδε τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀρχὴν). *Augustalis*, at Alexandria in 539 (see below); *Liberat. Brev.* 23. He was probably in office when the administrative reform of Egypt took place (in Sept. 538/Aug. 539, cf. Just. *Ed.* 13. 15 and 23; possibly late 538 or early 539, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 476, n. 1, and cf. Rémondon, *Chron. d'Égypte* 30 (1955), 112-21) and was therefore *praefectus augustalis* and then *dux et augustalis Alexandriae*.

He received orders from Justinian to co-operate fully with the patriarch Paul in imposing Chalcedonian orthodoxy on Alexandria; Proc. *Anecd.* 27.4, *Liberat. Brev.* 23. At Paul's request he imprisoned the deacon Psoes who had informed Elias 3 of Paul's intention to dismiss him; Rhodon was then persuaded by Arsenius (*PLRE* II), by bribery and without Paul's knowledge, to torture Psoes, but Psoes died under torture; *Liberat. Brev.* 23, Proc. *Anecd.* 27.14-15 (Paul allegedly handed Psoes over to be killed). This provoked Justinian's anger and Rhodon was dismissed and replaced by Liberius (*PLRE* II), sent to investigate the affair; *Liberat. Brev.* 23, Proc. *Anecd.* 27.16-17. Questioned by Liberius, Rhodon claimed to have only obeyed Paul's instructions, as ordered by the emperor; Paul however denied ordering the deacon tortured or



killed and Arsenius was revealed as responsible; Rhodon was sent to Constantinople with a copy of the proceedings (*cum gestis de eo actis*); the emperor read them and then had Rhodon escorted outside the city and executed; *Liberat. Brev.* 23. Procopius claims that Rhodon fled to Constantinople where he produced no fewer than thirteen letters from Justinian ordering him to co-operate with Paul; in spite of this the emperor ordered his execution and the confiscation of his property; *Proc. Anecd.* 27.18. The date of his downfall and death was probably late 539; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 391 with n. 1.

Rhodopaeus (Robert, *Hell.* IV, pp. 127-8) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Rhodope wealthy lady from Antioch E VII

Native of Theopolis (Antioch), wealthy and well-known (τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ προυχόντων γένει καὶ πλούτῳ προέλαμπε), she lived in Alexandria with her husband Ioannes 254 (teacher of rhetoric); her death was foretold by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 62 (*PG* 87.3.3640-1).

Rhosas *qui et Hormisdas* Persian officer 591

He was sent by Solchanes in early 591 from Nisibis with a cavalry force against Zadespras, whom by a ruse he captured and killed; Theoph. Sim. V 1.9-16 ('Ροσᾶν τὸν καὶ Ὁρμισδαν παρὰ τῷ Περσικῷ οὕτῳ καλούμενον).

Riccimirus Visigothic prince E VII

Son of Suintila, associated with his father on the throne while still a child; praised extravagantly by Isidore of Seville (writing while Suintila was still king); *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 65. After his father's overthrow he doubtless survived with the rest of the family; cf. Vives, *Concilios, Conc. Tol.* IV, 75 (*decrevimus ut neque eundem (= Suintilam) vel uxorem eius... neque filios eorum unitati nostrae umquam consociemus*) (a. 633 Dec.).

*RICCITANC* v.c. (in Italy) 575

V(ir) c(larissimus); son of Montanus (dead by 575); one of the witnesses to the will of Manna, at Ravenna in 575; Marini, *P. Dip.* 75 = *P. Ital.* 6, lines 10-13 and 39.

Richila Visigothic dux 612/621

He defeated an Asturian rebellion in the reign of Sisebut; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 61 (*Astures enim rebellantes misso exercitu per ducem suum Richilanem in dicionem suam reduxit, sc. Sisebutus*). The words 'per

ducem suum Richilanem' were added by Isidore in an edition of his history made after the fall of Suintila; this suggests that Richila opposed Suintila. See Garcia Moreno, p. 71, 123, n. 2, and cf. also n. 3 (suggesting reasons, not conclusive, for dating the Asturian revolt early in Sisebut's reign, c. 612/13).

Ricilas officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 544

Officer (δορυφόρος) of Belisarius' bodyguard in 544; *Proc. BG* III 11.19, 11.22. A man of courage and valour; *Proc. BG* III 11.23, 11.25. With Sabinianus and Thurimuth he was sent by Belisarius to assist Magnus I at Auximum; they entered the city safely but on the following day while drunk Ricilas insisted on going out alone on a scouting mission and was killed by the Goths; his body was rescued by Thurimuth and taken back to Auximum; *Proc. BG* III 11.19-25.

Ricomeris patricius (in Burgundy) 607

Of Roman descent; appointed *patricius* in succession to Wulfus in 607 (in *patriciatum eius Ricomeris Romano generis subrogatur*); *Fredegar. IV* 29.

Riggo spatharius (of Totila) ?542

Quidam vero eius spatarius Riggo; disguised by Totila as himself and sent to St Benedict at Monte Cassino to test the saint's prophetic powers; the saint penetrated the disguise instantly; *Greg. Dial.* II 14. The date may have been in 542, when Totila overran Campania (cf. *Proc. BG* III 6.1); in any event it is earlier than the fall of Rome in Dec. 546, predicted by Benedict to Totila on this same occasion (*Greg. Dial.* II 15). The Gothic king had a bodyguard of several *spatharii* in attendance; he gave Riggo 'alia quoque obsequia atque spatarios' to reinforce the deception. See further *Rudericus*.

For an unnamed *spatharius* of Totila, recorded at Narnia in 544/546, when bishop Cassius cured him of demonic possession, see *Greg. Dial.* III 6.

Rigunthis daughter of Chilperic M/L VI

Daughter of Chilperic; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 38, 49, VI 34, 45, VII 9, 32, IX 34. Her mother was *Fredegundis*; *Greg. Tur. HF* VII 15, 39, IX 34. Niece of Guntram; *Greg. Tur. HF* VII 32.

She was at court in autumn 580, and a supporter of bishop Gregory of Tours; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 49. Possibly in this year she was betrothed to the Visigothic prince *Reccared*; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 38, VI 34. Certainly in 582 there were negotiations about her dowry; *Greg. Tur. HF* VI 18. Fresh negotiations confirmed the existing agreement in 584, but

arrangements for the marriage were postponed following the death of a son of Chilperic, Theoderic; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 34. In September 584 a major embassy came from Spain and Rigunthis left Paris with a huge train of carts containing valuables and accompanied by many notables, among them Bobo, Domegiselus, Ansoaldus and her own *maior domus* Waddo 2 (cf. *HF* vii 27); en route many valuables were plundered and many of the escort left or deserted; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45, cf. Fredegar. iii 93, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 35. The procession was resting at Toulouse when news of Chilperic's death arrived; Rigunthis' wealth was placed under lock and key by Desiderius and she herself given a small allowance to live on by him; she retired to the church of St Mary at Toulouse; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 9-10, 15. Shortly afterwards her property was seized by the usurper Gundovaldus and she herself given into the care of bishop Magnulfus of Toulouse; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 32, 35. In 585, after the end of Gundovald's rebellion, she was restored to her mother by Cuppa; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 39.

In 589 she and her mother quarrelled violently and frequently, her mother on one occasion attempting to kill her; the reason was Rigunthis' adulteries; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 34.

Risiulfus ('Ρισιοϋλφος) Lombard noble E/M VI

Cousin (ἀνεπιός; possibly nephew) of Vaces; by Lombard custom he was due to succeed Vaces as ruler of the Lombards but was banished on trumped up charges and escaped to the Varni only to be assassinated by them through bribery by Vaces; father of Ildiges (Ildigisal) and one other son; Proc. *BG* iii 35.13-16 (cited under Vaces).

He may have been son of Tato (or possibly grandson).

Rocco Frankish dux (in Burgundy) 613

Envoy of Theoderic II sent to Witteric in 607, with Eborinus 2 and bishop Aridius of Lyon, to fetch Ermenberga; Fredegar. iv 30.

dvx a. 613: with Aletheus, Eudela and Sigoaldus, in 613 he supported Warnacharius 2 and joined Chlotharius II against Brunichildis; Fredegar. iv 42 (consentientibus Aletheo patricio, Roccone, Sigoaldo et Eudelane ducibus).

In 607 Theoderic ruled Burgundy only; Rocco may or may not have been already *dux*, but was evidently in a position of trust under him.

Rocolenus agent of Chilperic 576

Sent to Tours by king Chilperic with an army from Maine to arrest Guntchramnus Boso, who had sought refuge in the church of St Martin after the death of Sigibert; he plundered the neighbourhood when

bishop Gregory refused to surrender Guntchramnus, but then fell seriously ill with jaundice and entered the city to attend church at Epiphany (Jan. 6, 576); his illness worsened and he withdrew to Poitiers during Lent but died on the last day of February; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 1, 4, *Mir. S. Mart.* ii 27.

Rodelinda wife of Audoin M VI

Wife of the Lombard king Audoin, mother of Alboin; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27.

Possibly identical with the unnamed sister of Amalafidas betrothed to Audoin by Justinian; Proc. *BG* iv 25.12 (soon after 540). If so, she was a Thuringian princess (daughter of Herminifred) and of royal Ostrogothic descent.

Rogatus 1 PVC VI/VII (?610/612)

Several glass weights are dated ἐπι 'Ρογάτου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 2999a and b, Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue C*, nos. 12a and b (b = Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 322, no. 7, where the name is read as 'Ρομάνου), and cf. Mordtmann, *BZ* vii (1898), pp. 605-6, no. 6.

He could be identical with the father-in-law of the emperor Heraclius, Rogatus 2; if so, he was doubtless PVC at the very beginning of Heraclius' reign (610/612, before Epiphania died). See Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), pp. 122-3, with n. 14-16.

Rogatus 2 father-in-law of Heraclius L VI/E VII

Father of Heraclius' first wife, Eudocia; native of Africa; Theoph. *AM* 6102. The Greek text in the MSS and de Boor gives 'Ρογᾶ τοῦ Ἄφρου but the name Rogatus is confirmed by the Latin translation of Anastasius; cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 123, n. 15.

Probably identical with Rogatus 1.

ROMANVS 1 ?praeses (in Egypt) M VI

Subject of verse encomia by Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Lit. Lond.* 98 = *P. Lond.* v 1817 (εἰς τὸν κύριον Ῥωμανόν; one poem, fragmentary, in iambs and one in hexameters with the name Romanus in acrostich).

His status is obscure, but he was perhaps a provincial governor.

Romanos 2 ('the melode') deacon

(at Berytus and Constantinople); author of kontakia L V-M VI

For a detailed discussion of the evidence for Romanos and an analysis of his works, see J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*, esp. pp. 159-98 (chap. iv, Questions biographiques). The hymns are published by P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica*, 1 (Oxford, 1963), II (Berlin, 1970)

and also by J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode, Hymnes (Sources chrétiennes, nos. 99, 110, 114, 128, 283)*.

Romanos was born no later than 493 and was still alive in 551 (see below). A native of Emesa in Syria, he was a deacon in the church of the Anastasis at Berytus before travelling to Constantinople during the reign of the emperor Anastasius; he then served until his death in the church of the Theotokos in the district of Τὰ Κύρου; in Constantinople he supposedly received the gift of writing kontakia directly from the Theotokos herself; she is said to have appeared to him during the night of Christmas Eve and given him a book to swallow; on the following morning he mounted the pulpit and sang a hymn in honour of the birth of Christ; in the *Synaxaria* and similar sources he is credited with composing some thousand hymns altogether (certainly an exaggeration); he was buried in the church of the Theotokos in Τὰ Κύρου, where autograph copies of many of his hymns were preserved; his festival was celebrated on October 1 in the Greek church; *Typikon of Constantinople* (ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgiceskich rukopisej*, 1, p. 10), *Paris Synaxarium of 1063* (Cod. Paris. 1590) (ed. Delehaye, *Prophylaeum ad ASS, Nov.*, cols 95-96), *Menologium of Basil* (Cod. Vat. gr. 1613) (ed. J.-B. Pitra, *Sanctus Romanus veterum melodorum princeps* (Rome, 1888), pp. 1-11), *Menaem of October* (Venice ed., 1871, p. 5, Athens ed., 1960, p. 9), *Synaxarium of Sirmond* (ed. Delehaye, *Prophylaeum*, cols 95-96), *Synaxarium of Jerusalem* (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 2 (1893), p. 599) (all texts cited by Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le mélode et les origines*, pp. 160-2). The works of Romanos were being performed in Constantinople under the reign of Heraclius; *Mir. Artem.* 18.

He was possibly of Jewish descent; cf. *Hymn to Romanos* (cited by Grosdidier de Matons, op. cit., pp. 167-70, strophe β, line 3 (γένος μὲν ἐξ Ἑβραίων, τὸν νοῦν δὲ εἶχεν ἑδραῖον). The minimum age for the diaconate was twenty-five; Romanos went to Constantinople no later than 518 and was therefore born no later than 493, and probably some years earlier. He was still alive in 551; the words of his *Fourth Hymn of the Resurrection* reflect the *Confessio Fidei* which was published by the emperor Justinian in that year, and it was therefore composed in or soon after 551; see Grosdidier de Matons, op. cit., p. 179 with n. 104. One of his hymns (*On the Earthquake and the Fire*) alludes to the Nika riot and other contemporary events, and others reflect the dogmatic controversies of the reign of Justinian; see Grosdidier de Matons, op. cit., p. 176 with nn. 86-7, and pp. 178ff.

### Romanus 3

?comes Gabalitanæ civitatis c. 572/573

He was ambitious to obtain the post of comes of the urbs Gabalitana

(Javols) (comitatum ambivit) after the dismissal of Palladius 3, probably in 571 and 572; at the time he lived in Clermont where he and Palladius met and quarrelled; he told Palladius mendaciously that king Sigibert wanted him killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 39. Gregory does not say whether he achieved his ambition.

### Romanus 4

MVM (East) 575/576-589

Son of Anagastes; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576.2.

MAGISTER MILITVM a. 575/576-589: *magister militiae*, in late 575 or early 576 (for the date, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 68-9) he brought the Suani (not the Suevi; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 84, n. 11) under Roman rule, capturing their king, his family and the royal treasure and carrying them off to Constantinople; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576.2. In 578 and 579 he served under Mauricius 4 in the war with Persia; in late 578 he was sent by him across the Tigris with Cours on a plundering mission, and in 579 (cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 91) was again sent on the same mission, this time with Theodericus 2 and Martinus 3, remaining in Persia all summer; Theoph. Sim. iii 16.2, 17.3-4. In 589 (the eighth year of Maurice; Theoph. Sim. iii 6.7), when the Persians under Bahram attacked Suania, Romanus was sent by the emperor Maurice to assume command in the war; Theoph. Sim. iii 6.17 (Ῥωμανὸν τοῦ πολέμου κηδεμόνα καθίστησιν), Theoph. AM 6080 (Ῥωμανὸν χειροτονεῖ στρατηγόν), Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 19. He was apparently made MVM *per Lazicam*; Theoph. Sim. iii 7.8 (ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς Κολχίδος), cf. iii 6.17, 7.3.8-15 (ὁ στρατηγὸς). He may have been MVM *per Lazicam* since 575/576, but could have been MVM *vacans* for some of the time. On arrival in Lazica he first consulted the bishop (probably at Petra, at the mouth of the Phasis; cf. Jones, *CERP*<sup>2</sup>, p. 429) and then marched against Albania where the Persians were encamped near the Araxes; Theoph. Sim. iii 6.17, Theoph. AM 6080. He resisted Persian attempts to lure him into a trap but had difficulty in restraining his troops; Theoph. Sim. iii 7.3 (cited in Suid. OI 32). For the campaign and final battle, a Roman victory, see Theoph. Sim. iii 7.1-18, and cf. Theoph. AM 6080, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 19.

Possibly identical with Romanus 7 (exarch of Ravenna).

### ROMANVS 5

v.c. (at Rome) 587

Witness of the donation made by Gregory (the future pope) to the monastery of St Andrew, on Dec. 28, 587; Marini, *P. Dip.* 89 = *MGH, Epp.* ii, App. I, p. 438 (ego Romanus vir clarissimus).

## Romanus 6

praetor (Siciliae?) before 591

In 591 Gregory ordered Faustus 1, the former *cancellarius* of Romanus, to be consulted on a matter concerning a monastery at Syracuse; Greg. *Ep.* 1 67 (a. 591 Aug.; Romani viri magnifici ex praetore cancellarius). In 599 he asked Gregory to commend to the care of certain ecclesiastical *rectores* and *defensores* (Romanus, in Sicily; Anthemius, in Campania; Savinus, in Bruttium; and Sergius, in Apulia) his men and estates in their areas; Greg. *Ep.* ix 88 (a. 599 Jan.; quoniam gloriosus filius noster Romanus ex praetore possessiones suas et homines qui in illis sunt partibus tuae voluit experientiae commendari).

Presumably *praetor Siciliae* before August 591. He evidently owned property widely in south Italy and Sicily.

## Romanus 7

exarchus Italiae 589/590-595/597

Possibly identical with Romanus 4 (son of Anagastes). If so, he was an experienced soldier when sent to Italy. He could not have arrived there before late 589.

PATRICIUS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE a. 589/590-595/597: successor of Smaragdus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 26 (successorem Romanum patricium accipiens). Patricius et exarchus Italiae; Greg. *Ep.* 1 32 (a. 591 Feb.), III 31 (a. 593 April), cf. *Lib. Pont.* 66 (= Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 8) (patricius et exarchus Ravennae). Exarchus per Italiam residens Ravennae; Greg. *Ep.* v 19 (a. 594 Dec.). Patricius; Greg. *Ep.* 1 16a, II 45, v 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 12. Alluded to simply as the (unnamed) *patricius*; Greg. *Ep.* IV 2 (cited below), v 11 (per excellentissimum patricium), 34 (domnus patricius; excellentissimus exarchus). Addressee of three letters from Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* 1 32, III 31, v 19 (see above). Mentioned in several others; *Ep.* II 45 (a. 592 July), IV 2 (a. 593 Sept.), v 6 (a. 594 Sept./Oct.), 11 (a. 594 Oct.), 34 (a. 595 May).

In 590 he wrote two letters to the Frankish king Childebert II about the military and diplomatic activities of the Franks and Romans in north Italy against the Lombards; Romanus was active in both spheres, occupying the cities of Modena, Altino and Mantua and receiving a Frankish embassy (cf. Olfigandus); *Ep. Austras.* 40, 41 (MGH, *Epp.* III, pp. 145-6), and see Goubert, II i, pp. 187-202.

In 592, following Lombard successes under Ariulfus, Romanus marched south and recaptured a number of cities (Sutrium, Polimartium, Horta, Tuder, Ameria, Perusium (cf. Maurisio), Luceolis and others); he visited Rome briefly before returning to Ravenna; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 8. He had been criticised by Gregory earlier in the

year for his refusal either to fight the Lombards or to allow peace negotiations; Greg. *Ep.* II 45. After the Lombards under Agilulf recovered Perugia in 593, Romanus came under increasing pressure from the pope to negotiate peace himself or to allow negotiations to take place; Greg. *Ep.* IV 2, v 34.

Romanus was hostile to pope Gregory's campaign against the schismatic Histrian bishops; Greg. *Ep.* II 45 (a. 592 July). In 591 the Histrian bishops wrote to the emperor praising Romanus for his efforts in improving conditions in Italy (laborante fideliter glorioso Romano patricio); Greg. *Ep.* 1 16a = *ACOec.* IV II, p. 134 = Mansi X 465. The new bishop of Milan, Constantius, was commended to him by Gregory in 593; Greg. *Ep.* III 31. He was accused of accepting a bribe to install Maximus as bishop of Salona; Greg. *Ep.* v 6 (in 594). He supported the claims of bishop John of Ravenna to be allowed to wear the *pallium*; Greg. *Ep.* v 11 (in 594).

He died in office and was succeeded by Callinicus 10; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 12. He is last attested in June 595 (Greg. *Ep.* v 40) and Callinicus is first attested in June 597 (Greg. *Ep.* VII 26). Possibly dead by April 596; cf. Greg. *Ep.* VI 63, and see Goubert, II II, p. 105.

## ROMANVS 8

man of rank (in Constantinople) 594

Styled 'domnus Romanus' by Gregory, he was in Constantinople in 594 when Gregory instructed the deacon and *apoerisiarius* Sabinianus to inform him that he was taking his advice and writing to the *magister officiorum* about bishop Felix of Sardica; Greg. *Ep.* v 6 (a. 594 Sept./Oct.; domno autem Romano dilectio tua dicat, quia... etc.; he was therefore in Constantinople and not to be identified with the exarch Romanus 7).

## ROMANVS 9

vir spectabilis (Italy) L VI

Owner of a *domus* in Naples; in his will he instructed that it be converted to a monastery; he was dead by late 598, when pope Gregory ordered the *defensor* Fantinus to collect slaves of his who had gone to Sicily; Greg. *Ep.* IX 10 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.; mancipia iuris Romani spectabilis memoriae viri, qui in domo sua quae in Neapolim sita est monasterium ordinari constituit, habitare in Sicilia perhibentur).

## ROMANVS 10

v.c. (at Naples) L VI

Owner of a *domus* at Naples in which, in his will, he ordered a church to be built; in 599 the church was finished and Gregory ordered bishop Fortunatus of Naples to consecrate it; Greg. *Ep.* IX 165 (a. 599 June; Romanus clarissimae memoriae vir).

**Romanus 11** illustrius M VI/M VII

Romano (i)llustrio; Zacos 2850 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: [+ ]RO/ΜΑΓΝΟΕ/LLUST/RIO+).

**ROMANVS 12**  
(vir magnificus); ?military commander (in Italy) 603

Magnitudo vestra; ordered by pope Gregory, with Gattulus and Wintarit, to help investigate reports of misconduct by priests at Nursia; Greg. *Ep.* XIII 38 (a. 603 June). See further Gattulus.

**Romanus 13** patricius 605 or 607

Ὁ πατρικίος; named by Constantina 1 as privy to the conspiracy of herself and Germanus 11 against Phocas; under torture he gave further names; Theoph. AM 6099. For the date, 605 or 607, see Constantina. If, as seems likely, the account in Theoph. AM 6099 has confused a conspiracy involving Constantina with a separate one involving Theodorus 150, this Romanus is not identical with the Romanus also named in Theoph. AM 6099 as a conspirator who was beheaded; this second Romanus is the *scholasticus* named in *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (Romanus 14). However the *patricius* Romanus was doubtless also among those executed.

**Romanus 14** scholasticus 605 or 607

On June 7, 605 or 607, he was executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (σχολαστικός), Theoph. AM 6099. See further Theodorus 150, and cf. Romanus 13.

**Romarius** servant of Theodebert II E VII

Temporibus autem illis erat in ministerio regis (i.e. Theodebert II) vir egregius nomine Romarius; *V. S. Arnulfi* 6 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 433).

**Romilda** wife of Gisulfus E VII

Wife of Gisulfus 2 and mother of his eight children; in c. 610 after her husband's death she betrayed Forumiulii to the khan of the Avars and was subsequently put to death by him; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 37.

**Romulfus 1** comes palatii (of Childebert II) 589

In 589 he and Florentianus were sent by Childebert II as tax-assessors (descriptores) to Poitiers and then Tours; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 30 (palatii sui comes), *Mir. S. Mart.* IV 6 (palatii comes), cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* X 11 title (versus facti in mensa in villa sancti Martini ante discriptores; the

unnamed *descriptores* served under Childebert and Brunichildis, line 25, and are asked to help the people, lines 27-8; probably they were Romulfus and Florentianus) and *Carm.* X 12 b title (Item pro eadem read Romulfum, the poems being written 'pro puella a iudicibus capta'; he is addressed as 'amice' by Venantius); cf. 12 d (to Florentinus; see Florentianus).

In 589 they were present at the festival of St Martin at Tours on July 4 and witnessed healing; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* IV 6.

Romulfus 2 bishop of Reims 590

Son of Lupus 1; already a priest, he became bishop of Reims in 590 in succession to Egidius; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 19.

Romulus (*Epigraphica* 33 (1971), 75-81) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**ROMVLVS 1** v.c., silentarius (at Ravenna) 540

On Jan. 4, 540, he was one of the witnesses to a deed of purchase of land by Montanus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. II, line 4 ego Romulus v.c. silentarius.

He evidently served at Ravenna in the palace of the Ostrogothic king Vitigis.

Romulus 2 son of Soterichus 556

Son of Soterichus 1; brother of Philagrius 1 and Eustratius 2; in 556 he and Philagrius, the two elder brothers, were just reaching manhood and were taken by their father to Lazica, for the experience; Agath. III 15.7. They both perished with him at the hands of the Misimiani; Agath. III 16.8. Cf. Soterichus.

Rosemu(n)d *qui et Faffo* at Reate 557

One of the three accusers of Gunduhulus at Reate; Marini, *P. Dip.* 79 = *P. Ital.* 7, lines 44, 58, 66-7, 79 (Rosemud qui et Faffo conno-minnatur). The others were Adiud *v.inl.* and Gundirit *v.inl.*

Rosimunda Gepid princess; wife of Alboin 572

Daughter of the Gepid king Cunimund; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 5 (= *MGH, AA IX*, pp. 337-8), *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27, cf. Theoph. Sim. VI 10.8 (unnamed).

Probably in 567 (see Cunimund), after the defeat and death of Cunimund, she was captured by the Lombard king Alboin and subsequently became his wife; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 27, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 5.

In 572 she conspired with Hilmegis and Peredeo to assassinate

Alboin; legend claimed that Alboin had forced her to drink from a goblet made from her father's skull; she then married Hilmegis but later fled with him to Longinus 5 at Ravenna, taking the royal treasures and Alboin's daughter, Alpsuinda; there she poisoned her husband, allegedly intending to marry Longinus, but Hilmegis made her drink the poison too and they both died; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 5, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 5, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 28, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 96 (Alboin died on June 28, 572), Mar. Avent. s.a. 572, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 5.

Rothari king of the Lombards 636-652

A Lombard, he was 'ex genere Arodus'; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 42. He was 'filius Nanding, ex genere Harodus'; *Ed. Roth.*, p. 2.

He was once *dux*, apparently of Brixia; Fredegar. IV 70 (unum ex ducibus de territorio Brixiae).

KING of the Lombards a. 636-652: successor of Arioald; *Ed. Roth.*, p. 2, *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 42. According to Fredegar, he was the choice of queen Gundoberga, who made him abandon his wife in order to marry her and become king; once on the throne he allegedly ignored his oaths to maintain her in her station and imprisoned her in the palace; Fredegar. IV 70 (recorded under 630, year nine of Dagobert). Under his reign the war against the Romans was resumed; he seized the coast from Luna round to the border with the Franks, sacked Opitergium (in Venetia) and defeated a Roman army at the river Scultenna, near Mutina; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 45. He caused the customary laws of the Lombards to be written down for the first time and he had them published in 643; *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 7, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 42, and see *Edictum Rotharii* (*MGH, Leg.* IV, pp. 1-90, esp. p. 1) (confirmed by an assembly at Pavia on Nov. 22, 643).

He died in 652 after reigning for sixteen years and six months and was succeeded by his son Rodoald; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 47, *Catal. reg. Lang.* (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Lang.*), pp. 491, 502, 504, 508, 509, cf. *Origo Gent. Lang.* 7 (seventeen years, succeeded by Aripert), *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 7 (sixteen years).

Described by Paul as a strong man and a just ruler, but an Arian; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 42.

Rudericus Gothic commander 542-546

'Ρουδέριχος; Proc. Ruderit; *Marcell. com. Addit.* Ruderic; Greg. For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 195.

Rudericus, Bledas and Vliaris were *comites* of Totila and his most loyal supporters; Greg. *Dial.* II 14 (tres, qui sibi (= Totila) praeceteris adhaerere consueverant, comites). They are described by Procopius as the most warlike of the Goths (Γότθων τοῦς μαχιμωτάτους); Proc. *BG* III 5.1. Rudericus was ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια; Proc. *BG* III 19.25 (a stock phrase).

In 542 they were given command of a Gothic army by Totila and sent to Florence where they laid siege to Iustinus 2; Proc. *BG* III 5.1. At the approach of Roman reinforcements they raised the siege and retired to Mucellis; Proc. *BG* III 5.5. For the ensuing events and the Gothic victory at the battle of Mucellis, see Ioannes 46 and cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542 (rursus in annonaria Tuscia ad Mucellos per Ruderit et Viliarid Bledamque duces suos Romanum exercitum superat, sc. Totila).

It was perhaps later in the same year (cf. Riggo) that the three men accompanied Riggo (dressed as Totila) to visit St Benedict at Monte Cassino; Greg. *Dial.* II 14.

In 546 Rudericus commanded a Gothic camp near Portus which was attacked by the Romans; he was wounded and the Goths withdrew but they later returned to retake the camp and capture the Roman commander Isaac 1; two days later Rudericus died (presumably from his wound) and Totila killed Isaac in reprisal; Proc. *BG* III 19.25-9.34.

RVFERIVS comes (in Corsica) 596

Ruferius and some fellow-citizens (Ruferius siquidem comes cum aliis concivibus suis; presumably Corsicans) were summoned to Africa from Corsica by the exarch Gennadius 1; they obtained a letter of support from pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* VII 3 (a. 596 Oct.).

Rufinus (*Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532); the QSP dismissed in Jan. 532 and replaced by Basilides was Tribonianus 1.

Rufinus (*PSI* 1309) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Rufinus: MVM per Thracias 515; patricius; MVM 530; envoy to Persia 530-532; *PLRE* II.

Rufinus (Elias, *V. Ioh. ep. Tell.*, pp. 50ff.) 525/542: *PLRE* II.

Rufinus 1 cavalry commander (in Africa) 533-534

Native of Thrace; Proc. *BV* I 11.10, II 10.3.

He was a prominent member of Belisarius' household (presumably one of his bodyguards) and because of his outstanding courage carried

his standard in battle as *bandifer*; Proc. *BV* I 11.7 (Rufinus and Aigan, ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες), II 10.4 (ἄμφω γὰρ (Rufinus and Aigan) λογίμω ἐς ἄγαν ἐν τε τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ ἦσθην καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματι, . . . ὁ δὲ ἕτερος (= Rufinus) ἅτε ἀπάντων εὐψυχότατος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν εἰσθῶς φέρειν, ὃν δὲ βανδοφόρον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι).

In 533 he was one of the four cavalry commanders (στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἰππέων μὲν sc. ἄρχοντες) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.7 (the other three were Aigan, Barbatus and Pappus). He is not mentioned again on this campaign; Procopius omits his name from the list of cavalry commanders who accompanied Ioannes 14 before the battle of Tricamarum (in mid December); possibly he had remained behind with Belisarius with the five hundred cavalry whom Belisarius kept with him while the rest went with Ioannes; cf. Proc. *BV* II 2.1-2, 3.4-6.

After Belisarius returned to Constantinople in summer 534, Rufinus and Aigan remained in Africa to serve under Solomon 1. Probably in late 534 they were in command of cavalry forces in Byzacena (τότε γὰρ τοῦτω τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἰππικῶν καταλόγων ἡγουμένω ἐν Βυζακίῳ) where they ambushed a Moorish raiding party, killing them and releasing their prisoners; Proc. *BV* II 10.5. They were themselves then attacked by a Moorish army in overwhelming numbers (said to be fifty thousand against five hundred, *BV* II 11.23) and were overcome after a brave struggle; Rufinus was captured and beheaded by the Moorish leader Medisinissas lest he cause further problems for the Moors; Proc. *BV* II 10.6-11, cf. 10.3, 11.1.22.

## Rufinus 2

?MVM vacans 539-540 (-?547)

Grandson of Pharesmanes (= *PLRE* II, Pharesmanes 3), son of Zaunas (in *PLRE* II), brother of Leontius 2; Proc. *BV* II 19.1, 20.19. He was therefore of Lazic origin.

?MVM VACANS a. 539-540: he and his brother were among the ἄρχοντες sent to Africa under Solomon 1 in 539; Proc. *BV* II 19.1 (= Theoph. AM 6026, p. 205 ed. de Boor). See further Leontius.

In 540 the two brothers fought in the battle of Toumar on Mount Aurasium when the Moors under Iaudas were defeated (cf. Solomon 1, p. 1174); Proc. *BP* II 20.19 (= Theoph. AM 6026, p. 207 ed. de Boor).

Possibly identical with Rufinus who sent a messenger to Ioannes 36 Troglita at Carthage, probably in spring/summer 547, reporting that the Moors in Tripolitana had risen again under Carcasan; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 221 (magno mandante Rufino). The messenger was a soldier (miles); Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 228. Rufinus was presumably an imperial official in

Tripolitana, and may have been the *dux Tripolitanae provinciae* (on this post, cf. Sergius 4); if identical with the brother of Leontius, he will have been MVM *vacans et dux Tripolitanae provinciae*.

## Rufinus 3

poet; domesticus M VI

Author of a poem included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* v 284 ('Ρουφίνου δομestικοῦ; in Planudes the name is 'Ρούφου). Possibly identical with Rufinus 4. See also Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 19 (rejecting other suggested identifications).

## Rufinus 4

law student M VI

Native of Alexandria ('Ρουφίνος Φαρίης) and a law student with Aemilianus 2, Agathias and Ioannes 60; *Anth. Gr.* I 35. See further Aemilianus.

## Rufinus 5

architectus 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born in 480; an *architectus*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 120 (Rufinus dixit: Rufinus dicor; architectus in hac civitate natus), p. 127 (architectus; aged seventy in 550). Cf. Eumolpius.

## Rufinus 6

vir inlustris; envoy of Childebert 556

Vir magnificus, legatus excellentiae vestrae; in late 556 he visited Rome as Childebert I's envoy to report to Pelagius concern in Gaul over heresy, and returned with Pelagius' reply to Childebert; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 3 (a. 556 Dec. 11), cf. *Ep.* 7 (a. 557 Feb. 3; addressed to Childebert and referring to the earlier embassy of Rufinus, 'vir magnificus, legatus excellentiae vestrae', whom Pelagius also styles 'vir inlustris').

## Rufinus 7

army officer (East) 591

Son of Timostratus; in 591 he served under Narses 10 on the expedition to restore Chosroes and was sent to occupy crossings on the Lower Zab; Theoph. Sim. v 8.4. He was brother of Ioannes 87. See *PLRE* II, stemma 36. Cf. also Ioannes 7.

## RVRICIUS

bishop of Limoges M VI

Grandson of Ruricius (bishop of Limoges c. 485-507; *PLRE* II, p. 960) and like him of noble birth and a relation of the Anicii; like him also he became bishop of Limoges; at his death he was buried in the same tomb as his grandfather and the two were commemorated in a joint epitaph by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 5 title (Epitaphium

Ruriciorum episcoporum civitatis Limovecinac), cf. lines 7-10 (Ruricii gemini flores, quibus Aniciorum iuncta parentali culmine Roma fuit, actu mente gradu spe nomine sanguine nexi exultant pariter hinc avus inde nepos), lines 19-20 (felices qui sic de nobilitate fugaci mercati in caelis iura senatus habent).

Ruricius was bishop in 535, 541 and 549, when he attended the First Council of Clermont and the Fourth and Fifth Councils of Orléans; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, pp. 110-11, 142, 145, 161. His successor Exotius was bishop for fifteen years and was already dead by 579; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* v 6, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* v 28 (Ferreolus was bishop in 579).

Rustam governor of Azerbaijan 637

On the name, and for other references, see Justi, p. 263, s.n. Rotstahm, no. 11.

Son of Khorokh Ormizd, whom he succeeded as *ishkhan* (governor) of Azerbaijan; Sebeos xxix, p. 92. Killed in battle by the Arabs in May/June 637; Sebeos xxx, p. 99.

Rustica patricia M/L VI

Patriciae recordationis Rustica; Greg. *Ep.* iii 58 (a. 593 Aug.). Rusticam quondam inlustrem feminam; Greg. *Ep.* ix 164 (a. 599 June). Wife of Felix 6 (see below).

At her death in c. 578 she made her husband her heir with instructions to found a monastery in Sicily and to pay certain legacies to her freedmen, but she ordered that, if within a year the payments were not made and work on the monastery not begun, one of her estates (portionem quam in fundo Comas habere visa est) was to go to the Roman church which would then fulfil her instructions; twenty-one years later, in a letter to the *defensor Siciliae*, Romanus, Gregory ordered an investigation into complaints that the terms of the will had still not been carried out; Greg. *Ep.* ix 164. She had also given instructions for a nunnery and an oratory to be founded at her own house at Naples, under the abbess Gratiiosa, and endowed with a third of all her estate; in 593 this provision of the will had likewise not been fulfilled; Greg. *Ep.* iii 58 (Gratiiosa abbatissa...postulavit, quod patriciae recordationis Rustica per ultimum voluntatis suae arbitrium in civitate Neapolitana, in domo propria, in regione Herculensi, in vico qui appellatur Lampadi, monasterium ancillarum Dei, in quo praefatam Gratiiosam abbatissam praeesse disposuit, simulque et oratorium extruxisse dinoscitur, cui et pro voto suo quattuor uncias totius substantiae suae dimisisse suggestit, quodque in honore beatae Mariae semper virginis genitricisque Dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi desiderat consecrari).

Rusticiana: wife of Boethius E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Rusticiana (*CIL* VI 32042) E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Rusticiana 1 honesta femina (at Ravenna) 591

H(onesta) f(emina); daughter of a *defensor* of the church of Rome called Felix; she first married Iustinus, and after his death married Tzitas; in a deed of sale dated 591 March 10, following instructions in her first husband's will, she sold property to the *adorator* Ioannes 103 at Ravenna; the sale was guaranteed by Tzitas; Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, lines 3-5, 27-9, 70.

Rusticiana 2 patricia (at Constantinople) L VI/E VII

Addressee of Greg. *Ep.* II 27 (a. 592 April), IV 44 (a. 594 Aug.), VIII 22 (a. 598 May), XI 26 (a. 601 Feb.), XIII 26 (a. 603 Feb.). Mentioned in Greg. *Ep.* IX 83 (a. 598 Dec./599 Jan.), XI 25 (a. 601 Feb.).

Mother of Eusebia 2; Greg. *Ep.* VIII 22. She was probably mother also of Eudoxius 2, mother-in-law of Apion 4 and Gregoria 1, and grandmother of Strategius 8 and his sisters; cf. *Ep.* II 27, IV 44, VIII 22 and XIII 26 (nobilissimae neptes), and see Eusebia. See stemma 9. Owner of estates in Italy and Sicily (see below). She was of Roman aristocratic descent, to judge by her name (possibly indicating descent from Rusticiana 1 or 2 in *PLRE* II), her high rank, her western estates and her marriage connections. She perhaps lived in Rome before going to live in Constantinople; see *Ep.* VIII 22 (cited below).

PATRICIA: styled *patricia* in Greg. *Ep.* IV 44, VIII 22, IX 83, XI 25-6, XIII 26. Addressed as *excellencia vestra* in all the letters sent to her. Styled *gloriosa* in the two other letters.

In 592 she abandoned plans to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land but in 594 went as far as Mount Sinai before returning to Constantinople; Greg. *Ep.* II 27, IV 44.

In 598 she sent a servant to Rome with ten pounds of gold for the ransom of captives; Gregory wrote renewing an invitation to her to revisit Rome and wondering what kept her in Constantinople (iamdudum vestrae excellenciae me scripsisse et saepius imminuisse reminiscor, ut beati Petri apostolorum principis limina revidere festinet. Et quae tanta sit Constantinopolitanae civitatis delectatio quaeve Romanae urbis oblivio, ignoro); Greg. *Ep.* VIII 22.

She owned property in Sicily which her steward Petrus 24 claimed in 598 to have been illegally invaded by the agents of bishop John of Syracuse (fines cuiusdam possessionis praedictae patriciae); Greg. *Ep.* IX 83. She also owned estates in Italy which in 603 were suffering



harassment by Beator; Gregory urged her to appeal to the emperor (Phocas) to protect her people and property; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 26.

In 601 the pope wrote to ask her advice on the future of the two daughters of Venantius 2, Antonina 3 and Barbara; Greg. *Ep.* xi 25. He wrote another letter at about the same time thanking her for letters and gifts; Ep. xi 26.

She is recorded as suffering from ill health; Greg. *Ep.* viii 22 (a. 598), xiii 26 (a. 603; gout).

Addressee of verses by the orator Andreas on the Virgin Mary; Rossi II 109, no. 63 with note (= *Anth. Lat.*, ed. Riese, no. 766) Andreae oratoris de Maria virgine ad Rusticianam carmen. The last line once read: protegat ille tuum Rusticana genus.

Rusticianus ?man of property (in Sicily) 591

In 591 pope Gregory instructed the *rector Siciliae* Petrus to reach a just settlement concerning Rusticianus' money (de argento Rusticiani causam suptiliter require et quicquid tibi iustum videtur exequere); Greg. *Ep.* I 42 (a. 591 May). The details of the affair are not recorded.

Rusticius (*Anth. Lat.* I 785c) V/VI: PLRE II.

RVSTICIVS ?tribunus (in Thrace) 587

In spring 587 he commanded a unit in Thrace under Comentiolus I ('Ρουστίκιον συντάγματός τινος ἡγεμονεύοντα); on his advice Comentiolus remained inactive at Marcianopolis instead of joining forces with Castus and Martinus 3; Theoph. Sim. II 11.2-3.

Rusticus (*CIL* x 4502) 503-552: PLRE II.

Rusticus I priest; envoy of Theodahad 536

A Roman and a priest, closely associated with the Gothic king Theodahad who sent him in late 535/early 536 as envoy to Constantinople with Petrus 6; Proc. *BG* I 6.13-14. Cf. Petrus.

RVSTICVS 2 (v.c.); nephew of pope Vigilius; deacon (at Rome) M VI

Nephew of pope Vigilius, his father being the brother of the pope (presumably Reparatus; PLRE II, pp. 939-40); created deacon at Rome by Vigilius; *ACOec.* II I, p. 188. He was therefore of Roman aristocratic family.

In 547 he accompanied his uncle to Constantinople and there revised the Latin version of the Council of Chalcedon by comparing the text

with the Greek original; Mansi VI 938, VII 79, 118, 183. He came to oppose the pope over the Three Chapters and disobeyed him, for which in 550 he was excommunicated; he later spoke against the decisions of the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 and was exiled with others of like mind to the Thebaid; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 188 (a letter of Vigilius) (= Mansi IX 351), Vict. Tonn. s.a. 553 (Rusticus Romanae ecclesiae diaconus).

Rusticus 3 patricius 553

He was a *patricius* and one of the seven prominent men sent on May 1, 553, to try to persuade Vigilius to attend the Fifth Ecumenical Council; *ACOec.* IV I, p. 27. See Belisarius, p. 217, for further details.

Perhaps identical with Rusticus 4.

Rusticus 4 sacellarius 554-556

Native of Galatia ('Ελληνογαλάτης τὸ γένος); Agath. III 2.4. Brother of Ioannes 47; Agath. III 3.1. Perhaps identical with Rusticus 3.

SACELLARIVS a. 554-556: Rusticus was in Lazica (from 554 to 556, see below), as Agathias explains with some care, not in any military capacity but as a financial official concerned with paying rewards to outstanding soldiers from imperial funds; as a close confidant of the emperor he was a man of influence and his approval of official reports sent in by other men gave them added weight; Agath. III 2.4-5 (παρῆν δὲ αὐτόσε οὐχ ὥστε στρατηγὸς ἢ ταξίαρχος ἢ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τῶν παρατάξεων μέρος, ταμίας δὲ μόνον τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων, οὐ μὴν τῶν ἐκ τῆς δασμοφορίας ἐραριζομένων (ἄλλω γὰρ τῷ ταῦτα ἐπετέτραπτο), ἀλλὰ τῶν ὅσα ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων θησαυρῶν ἐπεπόμφει, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς ἀριστεύοντας ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὰ προσήκοντα κομίζεσθαι γέρα. ἐντεῦθεν τε οὐκ ἄσημος ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν τῶν δυνατωτάτων, ὡς καὶ κοινωνὸς εἶναι τῶν ἀπορρήτων βέβαιά τε τότε δοκεῖν καὶ πιστότερα τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀναγγελλόμενα, ἠνίκα ἂν ἐκείνον ἀρέσκη; the same functions were later performed by Ioannes 66 Dacnas, sent to replace Rusticus in Lazica, cf. Agath. IV 17.3). The words ταμίας τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων imply that Rusticus was the *sacellarius* and therefore that he was administering funds from the *sacellum*; see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 84-5 and Narses I, p. 912. There is apparently a similarity with Narses, emphasised by the words κοινωνὸς τῶν ἀπορρήτων, which echo those used of Narses by Procopius at *BG* II 18.4; however there is no evidence that Rusticus was also *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (cf. Narses, p. 913, and Callinicus 2). His authority in Lazica among the *magistri militum* suggests that he was himself their equal in rank, i.e. *vir illustris*.

Rusticus and the *magistri militum* Bessas (PLRE II) and Martinus 2 were blamed by Gubazes for the Roman military disasters in Lazica in

554; Agath. III 2.3.11, 4.3, 14.2, and cf. Martinus. He and Martinus are said by Agathias to have long nursed a hidden dislike of Gubazes; Agath. III 2.9. Following unfavourable reports sent by Gubazes to Constantinople, they planned to assassinate him; Agath. III 2.10-11, 12.6. For details of their scheme and the murder of Gubazes in 555, cf. Agath. III 3.1-4.6 and see Martinus. The fatal blow was struck by one of the δορυφόροι of Rusticus; Agath. III 4.6. After the murder Rusticus accompanied the army to attack the fort of Onoguris and it was his advice to continue with the attack rather than first to deal with reinforcements approaching from Persia that prevailed, with disastrous results; Agath. III 5.8, 6.6-7, and see further Martinus.

Probably in spring 556, Rusticus was arrested by Athanasius 2 (sent to investigate the murder) and was held in captivity at Apsarus (in Pontus Polemoniacus) with his brother Ioannes, until there was an interlude in the warfare in Lazica; then they were brought back to Lazica to stand trial; Agath. III 14.5, IV 1.1.6, 2.1, 7.3. The trial is described in Agath. IV 2.1-11.1. He and Ioannes were condemned to death and executed; Agath. IV 11.2-4, 21.3, cf. III 8.3 (punished for his crime).

RVSTICVS 5 v.c., senior (at Naples) 598

In 598 Gregory ordered bishop Fortunatus of Naples to restore to Rusticus (Rustico viro clarissimo seniori) the aqueduct (of Naples) (and management of its revenues); Greg. Ep. IX 76 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.; to Fortunatus). See also Theodorus 48.

Rusticus 6 bishop of Cahors 623-630

A native of Albi, son of Salvius and Herchenfreda, brother of Desiderius 5, Syagrius 3, Avita and Selina; he entered the church and was bishop of Cahors from 623 to 630, when he was murdered; V. Desid. Cad. 1ff., 4, 7ff., 11ff., 14, 16 (MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer. IV, pp. 563ff.). He attended a council in 626/627; Conc. Gall. 511-695, p. 297.

S... (SEG XIX 414) V/VI: PLRE II.

SA.....PH ?v.c.; ?navicularius (Egypt) VI

A document from the Fayum (provenance unknown; dated to a fifteenth indiction) records the payment of a quantity of wine to this man while he was en route to Memphis; Stud. Pal. VIII 1129, lines 3-4

Σα[....]φ τῷ λ[αμ]πρ(οτάτω) στολάρχ(η). His function is uncertain; he was perhaps an official in charge of imperial barges conveying grain to Alexandria.

Sabaudus servant of Chlotharius; abbot M VI

Once a servant under king Chlothacharius I (qui quondam regis Clotarii minister fuerat), he became an abbot; he joined St Friard at Vindunitta *insula* near Nantes for a time, then returned to his monastery and soon afterwards was killed; Greg. Tur. V. Patr. x 2.

Sabbatius v.d., memorialis 535

*Memorialis*, in Constantinople in 535; formerly assistant of Tribonianus 1 'in legum confectione'; Just. Nov. 35 (a. 535 May 23). See further Theodosius 2.

Sabinianus officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 544

Officer (δορυφόρος) of Belisarius' bodyguard in 544; Proc. BG III 11.19. Sent with Ricilas and Thurimuth to assist Magnus 1 in Auximum, he and Thurimuth withdrew, following the death of Ricilas, and took refuge in Ariminum when surprised en route by the Goths; later they occupied and successfully defended Pisaurum; Proc. BG III 11.19-31, 11.34-6. See further Thurimuth.

Sabinus pagarchus VI

Addressee of a receipt for payment; Stud. Pal. III 94, line 2 παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ κυρ(ίου) Σαβίνου παγάρχ(ου), provenance unknown, referring to a fifth indiction.

Perhaps identical with Sabinus παγάρχ(ης) named on Stud. Pal. VIII 1187, possibly from the Fayum but assigned a seventh-century date by the editors.

Severus Sabocht man of learning; bishop of Qennesrin c. 630/640

'Eo tempore (in the 630s) celebris factus est studiis dialecticis, mathematicis et ecclesiasticis Severus Sabocht, episcopus Kenserinensis'; Bar Hebr., Chron. Eccl. I 51. Cf. also Justi, p. 293, s.n. Sebükht, no. 5.

Sacerdos bishop of Lyon 549-552

Uncle of Nicetius 1, whom he named on his death-bed in 552 as his choice to succeed to the bishopric of Lyon; Greg. Tur. V. Patr. 8.3, HF IV 36. He is attested as bishop in 549 when he presided over the Fifth Council of Orléans; Conc. Gall. 511-695, p. 157 = MGH, Conc. I, 108.

His epitaph is extant; CIL XIII 2398. He died aged sixty-five and was therefore born in 487.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 337.

Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ Arab general M VI

A member of Quraysh and an early Companion of the Prophet; *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> iv 1, pp. 29-30.

Arab general; under 'Umar he defeated the Persians at al-Qādisiyya (in ʔ637) and inflicted a series of defeats on them which destroyed the Persian empire; he also helped found al-Kūfa; Balādhurī, pp. 255-90 = Hitti, pp. 409-49, *Chron.* 1234, cxii, cxiii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 94-5, Agapius, p. 470, Anon. Guidi, p. 36 = 30. See also Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 175, 202-12, 226-9 (al-Kūfa).

Sadregiselus dux (in Aquitania) E/M VII

A Frankish noble, he became *dux* of Aquitania under Chlotharius II; *Gesta Dagoberti* 6 (Aquitaniae ducatus specialiter ei commisso), 7, 35 (*dux Aquitaniorum*; assassinated in year thirteen of Dagobert, i.e. c. 636).

Sagittarius bishop of Gap M/L VI

Brother of Salonius, with whom he grew up at Lyon, becoming first a deacon and then bishop of Gap; like his brother's his episcopal career was marred by criminal activities and both were finally deposed in 579; see Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42, v 20, 27, Mar. Avent. s.a. 579, and cf. Salonius.

After his escape from imprisonment Sagittarius eventually joined the revolt of Gundovaldus 2 who promised him the bishopric of Toulouse; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 28. He was with Gundovald during the siege of Convenae (Comminges) (a. 584-585) and took part in his betrayal, but was himself subsequently executed on Guntram's orders by Leudegiselus; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 38, 39.

Sahak Mamikonian Armenian noble L VI

A pro-Roman Armenian noble, he commanded a troop of one thousand Armenian cavalry levied at Maurice's request in Armenia and led them via Sebasteia (in Armenia Prima) to Constantinople; they were for use in Thrace (against the Avars); Sebeos x, pp. 36-7. See also Symbatius (Smbat Bagratuni). The date is uncertain; from its place in the narrative the events appear to be between the restoration of Chosroes (in 591) and the visit to Chosroes of Gagik Mamikonian and other Armenians (in c. 596); however in chapter x Sebeos also records some discontent in Armenia leading to the arrest of Smbat Bagratuni, which appears to be the same event as the Armenian revolt of 589 (cf. Symbatius and see Theoph. Sim. iii 8.6-8). The commission of Sahak Mamikonian probably therefore is to be dated sometime before 589.

David Saharuni

Sa'īd ibn Zayd emir of Damascus M VII

Said to have become emir of Damascus; *Chron.* 1234, cxix. Probably to be identified with Sa'īd ibn Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl, a member of Quraysh who served at Ajnādayn and Yarmuk; *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> iv 1, pp. 66-7, and cf. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, p. 358, no. 22, p. 363, no. 17.

Saitos (Nic. *Brev.* 9-11, 20): see Shāhīn.

Salaminius teacher of law (?at Berytus) 533

One of the eight teachers of law to whom Justinian addressed his *Constitutio* 'Omnem' regulating legal studies on Dec. 16, 533 (Salaminius viro disertissimo antecessori). He is named eighth and last, cf. Theophilus 1, and is the only one not of illustrious rank; he probably taught at Berytus, see Theodorus 7.

Saliar son of Chosroes E VII

Son of Chosroes and Seirem (Shirin); mentioned under the year 628; Theoph. AM 6118. Presumably murdered, with his other brothers and half-brothers, by Cavades II; cf. Cavades and Merdasas.

Salinga wife of the Lombard ruler Vaces E/M VI

Daughter of a king of the Heruls, third wife of the Lombard ruler Waccho (Vaces) and mother of his son and successor Waltari; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* 1 21.

Salonius bishop of Embrun M/L VI

Brother of Sagittarius; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42, v 20, Mar. Avent. s.a. 579. They were brought up together at Lyon by bishop Nicetius, both becoming deacons and Salonius then becoming bishop of Embrun; both disgraced the episcopal office by their criminal conduct and were briefly deposed after an episcopal enquiry at Lyon, only to appeal with Guntram's permission to pope John III (a. 559-572) and to be restored; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 20. Both men fought in the defeat of the Lombards near Embrun by Mummolus 2, probably in 571; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42, v 20.

After their restoration they continued to behave badly and Guntram shut them both up in separate monasteries (probably in 577), but released them again and they soon returned to their old ways; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 20.

In 579 they were finally deposed at the Council of Chalons; they were imprisoned but both managed to escape; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 27, Mar. Avent. s.a. 579. Saloniarius is not recorded again.

**Salventius** PVR 533

Brother of Praetextatus Salventius Verecundus Traianus 1, after whose death (on April 22, 533) he became PVR; *CIL* vi 32038 + p. 3814 = Rossi 1 1031 = *ILCV* 135 (*Inscr.*) (cited below). They were of senatorial descent; see Traianus.

PVR a. 533: appointed after death prevented his brother from taking up the post; *Inscr.*, lines 9-10 urbanos fasces gaudens tibi (i.e. Traianus) Roma parabat consilio fratris nunc moderata tui. Addressee of Cass. *Var.* ix 16 (late 533), 17 (a. 533/534) (both addressed 'Salventio v.i. praefecto urbis').

Praetextatus Salventius Verecundus Traianus

**Salvianella** incl. fem. (in Spain) ?VI

Inl(ustris) femina; buried at Lucena, near Astigi; Vives, *Inscriptiones cristianas*, no. 158.

**Salvianus** ?MVM (in Moesia) 588

Appointed ὑποστράτηγος by Priscus 6 in 588 when Priscus became MVM *per Thracias*; Theoph. Sim. vi 4.7, cf. Theoph. AM 6084, Cedr. i 697 (both call him ὑποστράτηγος). Sent by Priscus with cavalry to defend Moesia against the Avars, he defeated a detachment of the khan's army and then defeated Avar reinforcements under Samour but when the full Avar army under the khan drew near Salvianus withdrew to rejoin Priscus; Theoph. Sim. vi 4.7-12, Theoph. AM 6084, Cedr. i 697.

His rank was perhaps that of MVM (*vacans?*); cf. Cours, Gudin and Heraclius 3.

**Salvius** father of Desiderius of Cahors L VI/E VII

Husband of Herchenfreda, father of Desiderius 5, Rusticus 6, Syagrius 3, Avita and Selina; he died in c. 618; *V. Desid. Cad.* 1, 3, 7ff., 11 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, pp. 563ff.). Cf. Stroheker, no. 346.

**Salusius** ?bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546/547

He fought in the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 346. Possibly a member of the bodyguard of Ioannes 36 Troglita; see Germanus 2.

**SALVSIVS** v.c. (in Sicily) 599

Accused of using violence against slaves belonging to the church of Grumentum (in Lucania); pope Gregory instructed the *defensor* of Syracuse, Romanus, to protect them; Greg. *Ep.* ix 209 (a. 599 July; the slave Luminosus complained of violence 'a Salusio viro clarissimo'; Luminosus was 'servus sanctae Mariae, quod est parochiae ecclesiae Grumentinae'). Salusius presumably lived at Syracuse.

**SALVSTIVS** comes Arvernorum 555 -?560

Son of Evodius and brother of the priest Euphrasius, of senatorial family (apparently from the Auvergne); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 13, 35. In 555 he was appointed *comes civitatis Arvernorum* by Chramn in succession to Firminus 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 13. He perhaps held office until the death of Chramn in 560; cf. Firminus, and see Kurth, *Ét. franq.* i 190, 193. See also Stroheker, no. 340.

**Salutaris** vir inlustris (in Gaul) M/L VI

Addressee of a letter of consolation on the death of his ten-year-old daughter from Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 2 ad virum inlustrem Salutarem. Probably a Gallo-Roman noble, to judge by his name. Cf. Stroheker, no. 342.

**Samanazus** leading Iberian 535

Τῶν δὲ Ἰβήρων Σαμαναζός sc. ἐβασίλευσεν; Joh. Mal. 429 (named in a list of rulers contemporary with Justinian). Ὁ τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεὺς Ζαμαναρζός; visited Constantinople in 535 with his wife and leading nobles (τῶν συγκλητικῶν) seeking alliance with Rome; Justinian granted their wish and sent them home laden with gifts; Theoph. AM 6027, Cedr. i 650 (Ζαβαναρζός).

The king of the Iberians at this time was either Dach'i I or Bacurius II; Samanazus was probably an Iberian dynast; the name could be a corruption of words meaning 'brother of Dach'i' and so perhaps refers to Mirhdat (Mithridates), brother of Dach'i and a younger son of Vakhtang I Gorgasal (= Gurgenes, in *PLRE* II); see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), p. 45, n. 8.

**Samen** (Σαμέν) Persian 590

A Persian, captured by the Romans during the war with Hormisdas and released to Chosroes in 590; Theoph. Sim. iv 14.4. Cf. Chosroperozes. See further Justi, p. 281, s.n. Sāma, no. 8.

**Samo** ruler of the Wends M VI

A Frank by race, from the district of Sennonagum (either in Hainaut

or around Sens; see Wallace-Hadrill, p. 39, n. 1), he organised a group of merchants and took them to trade among the Wends, a Slav people; he was of great service to the Wends in a battle in which they defeated their overlords, the Avars, and they made him their king; he ruled them prosperously for thirty-five years, during which they were victorious in many battles against the Avars; said to have had twelve wives, twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters; Fredegar. iv 48 (a. 623; if this were the year when he became king, he would have ruled until 658). In 630 there began a protracted quarrel between him and Dagobert; Fredegar. iv 68, and cf. Sicharius. In 632 on his orders the Wends ravaged Thuringia; Fredegar. iv 75.

For a bibliography on Samo, see *CMH* iv i, p. 955.

Samour (Σαμούρ) Avar commander 592

Defeated by Salvianus in Moesia in 592; Theoph. Sim. vi 4.11.

Samson son of Chilperic 575-577

The younger son of Chilperic and Fredegundis, born during the siege of Tournai (in 575); he was baptised in 577 but fell ill and was dead before reaching the age of five; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 22 (recorded under the year 577). For the siege of Tournai, see Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51.

Samuel (*PSI* 891) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Samuel I ?v.c. (Egypt) M VI

A document from Oxyrhynchus records payments of corn and *solidi* πτα(ρά) τῶν διαφερ(όντων) τοῦ τ(ῆς) λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμης Σαμουηλίου; *P. Oxy.* 2195, lines 120-1. The document concerns the Apion estates and refers to a tenth indiction, possibly 576/577; cf. Strategius 3.

Samuel Vahewuni 2 Armenian noble L VI

An Armenian noble, he was one of the leaders of a revolt, probably in 595 (see Mamak Mamikonian), which aimed to secure the independence of Armenia from both Rome and Persia; his colleagues were Atat Khorkhoruni, Mamak Mamikonian, Stephanus of Siunia, Kotit of the Amatuni and Theodos(ius) 16 Trpatuni; when the revolt collapsed he and Atat Khorkhoruni offered their submission to the Romans; Sebeos vi, pp. 31-2. However, he seems immediately to have led another revolt against the Romans, this time largely of his own clan, the Vahewuni; his colleagues were Sargis, Varaz Narses, Narses 8, Vstam and Theodorus Trpatuni; after trying and failing to assassinate the Roman 'curator'

(possibly the *magister militum*, cf. Sebeos xxiv, p. 65 and Priscus 6) at Karin (Theodosiopolis) and plundering the countryside, they were pursued by a Roman army under Heraclius 3 and Hamazasp Mamikonian and heavily defeated in battle near the so-called Bridge of Daniel over the river Džermay; Samuel was among those slain; Sebeos vii, pp. 33-4.

Samuel 3 notarius (Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a letter from his brother Paul; *P. Fouad* 85 provenance unknown, addressed τῷ δα...η.ω...εμ...κ(α)ῖ ἐν[α]ρέτω ἀδελφῶ Σαμουήλ νοταρ(ίω).

Samuel 4 honorary consul VII

Σαμουήλ ἀ(π)ὸ ὑπάτων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2097 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΗ; rev.: ΣΑΜ/ΟΒΗΛΛΑ/ΟΒΠΑ/ΤΩΝ).

Sanatources king of the Himyarites M/L VI

On the name, see Justi, p. 283, s.n. Sanatrūk, no. 9.

King of the Himyarites in the reign of Justin II, he was captured by a Persian expedition led by Mirranes (= Bahram Gusnasp); Theoph. Byz. fr. 3 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64. For the date, before 573, see Bahram.

SANCTINVS v.c. (Italy) E/M VI

V(ir) c(larissimus); he died in 545 and was buried in the old basilica of St Paul; *CIL* vi 32044 = *ILCV* 139 note. For the date, see Rossi, *ICVR* I, p. 532, n. 1174.

Sandilchus ruler of the Utiguri 551-559

Σανδίλ; Proc. Σάνδιλχος; Agath., Men. Prot.

Ruler (king) of the Utigur Huns a. 551-559; in 551, Proc. *BG* iv 19.8 (ὁ τῶν Οὔτιγούρων βασιλεύς), 19.9 (βασιλεύς); in c. 557, Men. Prot. fr. 3 (ὁ τῶν Οὔτιγούρων ἡγεμῶν); in 559, Agath. v 12.6 (Οὔννος ἀνὴρ ἡγεῖτο μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ γένους). The Utiguri lived east of the Sea of Azov and south of the river Don; cf. Proc. *BG* iv 18.18, 18.24.

Described by Procopius (referring to 551) as a veteran of many wars, strong and brave, and with a reputation for intelligence; Proc. *BG* iv 18.23.

In 551, when the Cotriguri raided Roman territory (cf. Turisind and Chinialon), Justinian urged the leaders (τοὺς ἄρχοντας) of the Utiguri to attack the Cotrigur homelands, reminding them of the many gifts which he had already sent them and sending more; Sandilchus led a combined army of the Utiguri and the Tetraxitae (Goths), crossing the Don and invading Cotrigur territory; they defeated them, enslaved

women and children, and returned home; Proc. *BG* iv 18.18–24. Sandilchus subsequently sent envoys to Justinian to protest when the defeated Cotriguri (see Sinnion) were allowed to settle in Thrace; Justinian mollified the envoys with generous gifts and flattery; Proc. *BG* iv 19.8–22.

In c. 557/8 he was invited by Justinian to make war on the Cotriguri under Zabergan 2, to prevent them raiding Roman territory, and was promised the annual payments which hitherto the Romans had been making to the Cotriguri; Sandilchus refused to make war but agreed to seize their horses, so that they could not attack; Men. Prot. fr. 3.

In 559 he is described as an ally of the Romans, linked by treaty and receiving annual payments; Agath. v 12.6 (ἔσπονδος ὑπήρχε Ῥωμαίοις), 24.2 (ἔσπονδόν τε οἱ ὄντα καὶ μισθοφόρον), 24.5 (τὸ χρυσίον ἅπαν, ὁπόσον σοι, viz. to Sandilchus, ἄν' ἔτος ἕκαστον μισθοῦ χάριν δωρεῖσθαι εἰώθαμεν). This probably was the result of the events of 557/8 (see above); by 559 the Cotriguri no longer received annual payments (Agath. v 12.7), which had presumably been transferred to the Utiguri.

In 559 Sandilchus was again invited to make war on the Cotriguri; Agath. v 24.2–7. He invaded their land and enslaved women and children, and then attacked the army of Zabergan as it returned from Roman territory, killing many and taking their booty; Agath. v 25.1–2. There followed a period of mutual warfare, in which both tribes disintegrated; Agath. v 25.3–6.

Sapaudus

bishop of Arles 552–586

Son of Placidus 1; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 4.4, 9.3.

Bishop of Arles a. 552–586: first attested at the Council of Paris in 552; *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, p. 168. He attended several other councils; *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, pp. 172, 212, 214, 215, 216, 235, 249. Addressee of Pelag. I, *Ep.* 1, 2, 4, 5, 9 and 19, and mentioned in *Ep.* 8.2 and in Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 30. He died in 586; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 39.

Sapoos

Persian 577/578

On the name, see Justi, p. 284.

Son of Meairanes/Mairanes (Μεαιράνου, Μαϊράνου) (presumably Miranes, i.e. a member of the noble Persian family of Mihran; cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 104ff.); associated with Mebodes 2 in late 577/early 578 when diplomatic negotiations with Rome broke down and war resumed; Men. Prot. fr. 50, fr. 52.

Sarablangas: see Shahrplakan.

Sarames 1

?Persian satrap 589

\*Ἀρχων τις τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, sent by Hormisdas to arrest the rebel Bahram Chobin, he was himself captured by Bahram and put to death; Theoph. Sim. iii 8.10–11. Evidently holder of some office in Persia. His name is recorded as Σαράμης and as Βαράμης, but the Latin version of Theophylact has Sarames.

Sarames 2

Persian envoy and general 590/591

Called Σαράμης ὁ νέος; Theoph. Sim. iv 3.1.

In early 590 Sarames and Zoarab assassinated the general Pherochanes and joined the revolt against Hormisdas; at the time Sarames was one of the bodyguards of Pherochanes but later he became commander of the bodyguards of Chosroes; Theoph. Sim. iv 3.1 (τὸ τηρικαῦτα μὲν καίρου τοῖς δορυφόροις τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καταλεγόμενος, ὕστερον δὲ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Χοσρόου σωματοφυλάκων ἐπιστατῶν). He evidently supported the accession of Chosroes.

In Feb. 590 (cf. Higgins, pp. 29–30) he was put in command of the right wing of the army of Chosroes for the campaign against Bahram; Theoph. Sim. iv 9.2. In early 591 he was sent by Chosroes to complain to Maurice about Comentiolus; Theoph. Sim. v 2.7. Subsequently he commanded part of Chosroes' army which restored him to his throne and he fought in the battle of Blarathon in which Bahram was defeated; Theoph. Sim. v 5.4, 9.6, 9.8.

Sarapammon 1 (*PLRE* II, p. 977)

vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) V/VI

Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἰλλο[ύστρ(ιος)] Σαραπάμμων; he sent a *diocetes* to summon the (unnamed) writer to him; *PSI* xiv 1428 = *SB* 9453 provenance unknown.

Possibly the same man is mentioned in *P. Oxy.* 2006 (Sarapammon ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος) ἰλλούστριος, son of Ioannes).

SARAPAMMON 2

?v.c. E VII

Styled λαμπρός (and so possibly a *vir clarissimus*); son of Iulianus 37; as a young man, he was miraculously cured of a foot ailment by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 22 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3485).

To judge by his name and the location of the miracle, he was a native of Egypt, probably from Alexandria.

SARAPION 1

v.c. (in Egypt) V/VI

Named in a document from Hermopolis – π(αρά) Σαραπίωνος λαμπρο(τάτου); *Stud. Pal.* viii 982.

Fl. Sarapion 2 v.d., praepositus (in Eg, pt) ?VI  
 Named in the dating of a building inscription at Syene; *SB* I 1598, lines 1-3 ἐπὶ Φλ. Σαραπίωνος τοῦ καθοσιωμένου πραιποσίτου. Probably a military officer.

Sarapion 3 scholasticus (at Oxyrhynchus) VI/VII

A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus mentions τῶν παιδαρίων τοῦ ἄλλογιμωτάτου Σαραπίωνος τοῦ σχολαστικοῦ; *P. Giss.* I 57, line 5 Oxyrhynchus (VI/VII).

Sarapis infantry commander (in Africa) 533-536

Possibly from Egypt, to judge by his name.

In 533 he was one of the infantry commanders (ἄρχοντες... πεζῶν) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; he and his colleagues (see Theodorus 6) were under the overall command of Ioannes 16; *Proc. BV* I 11.7-8. He is not named again in Procopius' narrative of the Vandal war, but he evidently remained in Africa under Solomon 1 after the departure of Belisarius in summer 534; see below.

In summer 536 Sarapis and Terentius commanded the infantry forces in Numidia (ἡγεμόνες... πεζῶν) under the general authority of Marcellus 2; *Proc. BV* II 15.50-1. He marched under Marcellus against Stotzas and sought sanctuary together with the other Roman commanders in a church at Gazophyla (= Gadiaufala, near Constantina) when their troops deserted to the rebels; they left the church on pledges of safety but were executed by Stotzas notwithstanding; *Proc. BV* II 15.52-59, *Jord. Rom.* 369.

Sarbarus: see Shahrbarāz.

Sargis Armenian noble LVI

An Armenian noble, member of the clan of the Vahewuni who rebelled against the Romans, probably in 595; they were defeated and Sargis was captured and executed; he was an old man; Sebeos VII, pp. 33-4. See further Samuel 2 Vahewuni and Heraclius 3.

Sarmates landowner (in Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a letter from a certain Nilus ἡμέ(τερος) δοῦλος(ος); *P. Oxy.* 1861, verso: δεσπό(τη) ἐμῶ τὰ πά(ντα) τι(μῆς) ἀξίω γνη(σίω) μ(ε)τ(ᾶ) Θ(εὸ)ν ε. ( ) ἀδελφῶ Σαρμάτη ἀντιγε(ούχω). The letter mentions τοὺς τιμίους πόδας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐνδόξου μετὰ Θεὸν προστασίας; possibly the word before ἀδελφῶ was ἐνδ(όξω), but even if so it cannot be pressed as evidence of Sarmates' rank in view of the extravagant, if formulaic, flattery common in documents of this period.

Saroos king of the Alans 557-573

Σαρῶης; Theoph. Byz. Σαρῶσιος; Men. Prot. See Justi, p. 289.

In 557 he informed Iustinus 4 (in Lazica) of Avar overtures seeking contact with the Romans; Men. Prot. fr. 4 (τοῦ Ἀλανῶν ἡγουμένου). In 571/572 he greeted Zemarchus 3, returning from his embassy to the Turks, and advised him on the safest route home; Men. Prot. fr. 22 (ὁ ἐκείνη, = ἐν Ἀλανίᾳ, ἡγεμῶν). An ally of the Romans, in 573 he joined Ioannes 88, with Colchians and Abasgians, shortly before the battle of Nisibis (cf. Marcianus 7); Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 (ὁ Ἀλανῶν βασιλεύς).

The Alans lived in the Caucasus and were federate allies of Rome; cf. Agath. III 15.

Šat a Khazar; Roman ally in the Caucasus 627-628

Son of Jēbu Xak'an (Khak'an) and nephew of the khan of the Khazars (the 'king of the North'), he led an army against Albania and Atrpatakan early in 627 in fulfilment of his uncle's promises to Heraclius; Moses Dasxurançi II 12 (dated in year 37 of Chosroes = 626, but see Dowsett, p. 87, n. 4, citing Baynes, *BZ* 21 (1912), p. 121). In 628 he invaded Georgia (with his father) and took Tiflis, and then subdued Albania where the *catholicos* Viroy (who returned from Persia in 628) persuaded him to treat the inhabitants mildly; Moses Dasxurançi II 14.

Satfārī army officer (Egypt) 640/641

He and Jeqbārī were sent by Theodorus 166 in late 640/early 641 to Samnūd (Sebennytyos) to resist the Arab invaders; they defeated them in spite of the refusal of local troops to help; Joh. Nik. 114.3 (pp. 560-1 Zotenberg). Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 267. The name is clearly a corruption of a lost original.

Saturnilus (*IGC* 44) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

SATVRNINVS I son of Hermogenes MVI

Son of Hermogenes; his marriage to his cousin, daughter of Cyrillus 2, was interrupted by the empress Theodora who forced him to marry instead the daughter of Chrysomallo, a former dancer and courtesan then living in the palace; when he subsequently protested the empress had him flogged; *Proc. Anecd.* 17.32-7. Cf. also Leo 1.

Saturninus 2 vir illustis (in Sicily) MVI

In March 559 he was 'illustis memoriae' and only recently dead; apparently patron of the monastery and *xenodochium* of St John at

Catania; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 42 (a. 559 March; the letter concerns the appointment of an abbot there).

Savinella gloriosa filia (in Africa) 601  
Joint addressee of Greg. *Ep.* XII 2 (a. 601 Sept.). See Columba.

*SAVINVS* v.c.; ?defensor civitatis (at Lilybaeum) 594/5 and 597/8  
Savinus vir clarissimus; he complained to pope Gregory that he had paid the costs of the office of *defensor civitatis* at Lilybaeum out of his own pocket during the thirteenth and first indictions (a. 594/5 and 597/8) during the bishop's absence, costs normally defrayed out of church funds; the pope ordered the *defensor Siciliae* Fantinus to reimburse him; Greg. *Ep.* IX 198 (a. 599 July). It does not follow from this that Savinus was himself the *defensor* at Lilybaeum in those two indictions, still less during the period from one to the other, although he may have been; cf. also Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 17 with n. 32, for a different interpretation of this rather obscure affair.

Scaldor (Coripp. *Iust.* IV 390): see Ascel.

Scaphtharius follower of Chramn 555  
Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 13. See further Imnacharius.

Scaptimundus M/L VI

In c. 584/585 the Frankish king Childebert II asked Maurice to release from his service and return to Gaul the son of Scaptimundus, who was related to Childebert (famulum vestrum, parentem nostrum, filium Scaptamundi); *Ep. Austras.* 47 (MGH, *Epp.* III, p. 152).

Sceparnas (Σκεπαρνᾶς) king of the Abasgi 550

Chosen by the Abasgi as ruler of the western part of their country when in 549/50 they rejected Roman rule and restored their own rulers; Proc. *BG* IV 9.11 (cf. Opsites 2, ruler of the east). Summoned by Chosroes, he was absent in Persia when the Romans attacked Abasgia in 550 (under Ioannes 44 and Vligagus); Proc. *BG* IV 9.13 (ἄτερος μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς ἡγουμένων).

*SCHOLASTICVS* comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a note concerning an inheritance; *P. Oxy.* 2416 verso ἐπίδ(ος) τῷ κόμ(ετι) Σχολαστικίῳ. Possibly author of *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 12.

Cf. also Scholasticus 3 (also a *comes* at Oxyrhynchus).

Scholasticus 1 (?vir gloriosissimus); palatine eunuch 551

Early in 551 he was given overall command by Justinian of an expedition against the Slavs; the commanders under him were Aratius, Constantianus 2, Ioannes 64, Iustinus 4 and Nazares 1; Proc. *BG* III 40.35 (ἐπιστάτην δὲ Σχολαστικὸν ἐφ' ἅπασιν κατεστήσατο, τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ εὐνούχων ἓνα). For the date, see Aratius. For the events of the ensuing campaign, see the entries of his colleagues. His colleagues were high-ranking men but none is known to have been *magister militum* in 551; Iustinus however was certainly a *vir illustris* and presumably the rank of Scholasticus was comparable, if not higher. He was certainly one of the *cubicularii* but there is no certainty what post, if any, he held. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 524-5, with 525, n. 1, suggested that he was a military man and was the *protospatharius*, head of the *spatharo-cubicularii*.

*SCHOLASTICVS* 2 iudex (?consularis) Campaniae 592

Vir magnificus Campaniae iudex; while in Rome in autumn 592 he was urged by Gregory to investigate an assault on the ecclesiastical administrator of the church of Naples, bishop Paul of Nepet; Greg. *Ep.* III 1-2 (a. 592 Sept.; informing the *rector patrimonii* in Campania, Petrus, and bishop Paul himself), and cf. Clementina. Addressee of a letter from Gregory in 592 Dec., urging him to action over the selection of a new bishop of Naples; *Ep.* III 15 (addressed 'Scolastico iudici Campaniae'; he is styled 'magnitudo vestra').

*SCHOLASTICVS* 3 comes (in Egypt) ?L VI

Mentioned in accounts from estates probably owned by the Apion family; *P. Oxy.* 1912, line 149 ἐξ ἐπι[τρ]οπῆς τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Σχολαστικ(οῦ).

Possibly identical with τοῦ κόμ(ετος) Σχολαστικ(οῦ) named in another papyrus from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 2244, line 65 (sixth/seventh century).

Cf. also Scholasticus.

Scholasticus 4 (cubicularius) E VII

Σχολαστικὸς εὐνούχος, ἀνὴρ ἐνδοξὸς τοῦ παλατίου; he conveyed Constantina and her daughters to the Great Church, at the behest of Germanus 11, and then fled; Theoph. AM 6098. The date was either 603 (*Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603) or 606 (Theoph.); see Constantina 1. Evidently one of the imperial *cubicularii*, who conspired against Phocas.

Scipio comes patrimonii (in Spain, under the Visigoths) 592

In 592 he chose the *numerarii* who were to serve at the *fiscus* in



Barcelona (ex electione domini et filii ac fratris nostri Scipionis comitis patrimonii); Mansi x 473. The document, issued on Nov. 4 in the seventh year of Reccared and addressed to the *numerarii* by the local bishops, informs them of their appointment. Cf. Garcia Moreno, p. 72 with notes, and see Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 99 and 127.

Scipuar (Σκιποῦαρ) Gothic commander 551-552

A prominent Gothic commander, sent by Totila in 551 with Gibal and Indulf to capture Ancona, to which they laid siege; Proc. *BG* iv 23.1-3 (cited under Indulf). When Gibal and Indulf sailed with the fleet to encounter the Romans, Scipuar remained at Ancona to continue the siege; Proc. *BG* iv 23.12 (ἠγάειτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μεμενηκότων ὁ Σκιποῦαρ). When news came of the Gothic defeat at Sena Gallica, he retreated in disorderly haste to Auximum; Proc. *BG* iv 23.40.

In 552 after the battle of Busta Gallorum (perhaps in late June, cf. Totila) he was among the five men who accompanied Totila in flight and was wounded while attempting to defend him; Proc. *BG* iv 32.22-5.

Scutaeus (?) (Esqūtāws) E VII

A relation of Theodorus 166; he and his family were killed by the Arabs in summer 641, at Saūnā (a town near Nikiu, in Egypt); Joh. Nik. 118.9 (pp. 568-9 Zotenberg). Cf. Theodorus. On the name, see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 285, n. 1.

Fl. Se... ?CSL; honorary consul and patricius M VI

Recorded in a protocol on a much damaged document found at Antioe in Egypt; *P. Cairo Masp.* iii 67316 recto: ΦΛΣ Ση[...] ἐνδοξ(στάτου) κομ(έτου)/ἀπ[ὸ] ὑπ[ά]τ(ων) κ(αί) [πατρι]κ(ίου). Kómης refers to the office of CSL; see Just. *Nov.* 44.3, and cf. Fl. Victor 3. The verso of the document contains two poems by Fl. Dioscorus 5.

Sebastianus 1 military commander (East) 528

Ὁ χιλίαρχος (probably meaning *tribunus*); in 528 he was one of the Roman commanders sent in pursuit of Alamundarus III (*PLRE* II) after the murder of the Kindite Arethas (*PLRE* II); Joh. Mal. 435, cf. Theoph. AM 6021 (on the same events). For the date (April 528) and further details, see Gnouphas.

Shortly afterwards he was one of the commanders of the army sent against the Persians near Tanurin (for the occasion, the date (spring/summer 528) and his colleagues, see Belisarius, p. 183); he apparently commanded a unit of Isaurians (μετὰ τῆς Ἰσαυρικῆς χειρὸς); in the ensuing Roman defeat he was taken prisoner; Joh. Mal. 441-2.

He was perhaps a *tribunus* in command of a *numerus Isaurorum* or of an Isaurian legion (cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* xxix 7-8).

Sebastianus 2 PVC 580

PVC a. 580: he was PVC in 580 when rioting broke out in Constantinople over the acquittal of alleged pagans; he was himself suspected of paganism ('quamquam paganus esse dicebatur'), but voiced sympathy for the rioters when they sacked his *praetorium*, joining in their anti-pagan slogans and at the same time protesting that it was not his court which was responsible for the acquittals; in this way he pacified them and preserved the *praetorium* from total destruction; he was forced to join in their progress and board his official boat ('dromon'), though without his official robes and emblems, but escaped to the emperor to inform him of the situation; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.31 (called 'ὑπαρχος', but not named in this passage). When the disturbances had calmed down after the intervention of Tiberius, Sebastianus was dismissed and replaced by Iulianus 20; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.32 ('Sebastianum praefectum ('ὑπαρχος') amovit'). For the date of his dismissal, after Easter 580, see Iulianus.

Sebastianus 3 (?MVM and) magister scrinii (at Constantinople) 592

In 592 he and the deacon Honoratus, papal *apocrisarius* at Constantinople, were assigned by the emperor to examine the appeal of bishop Hadrianus of Thebes; Greg. *Ep.* III 7 (a. 592 Oct.; deputatis, ut diximus, Honorato diacono sedis nostrae et Sebastiano glorioso milite antigrapho). For *antigraphus* = *magister scrinii*, cf. Constantinus 1. The word *miles* is puzzling in this context; possibly Sebastianus was an (honorific) *magister militum* (to which he would owe his rank of *gloriosus*) and *gloriosus miles* (if the text is correct) refers to this.

Sebastianus 4 a secretis VI

Σεβαστιανοῦ a secretis; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1126 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (290) of Σεβαστιανοῦ; rev.: +GSE/CPE/CI/).

Sebochthes (Σεβόχθης) Persian envoy 572

Cf. Just. p. 293, s.n. Sebūχt, no. 2.

A Persian and a Christian; sent by Chosroes to Justin in spring 572 to demand the gold due to Persia under the terms of the fifty-year peace at the end of the first ten years; he found the emperor uncooperative and inclined to resume the war and tried in vain to dissuade him; Men. Prot.

fr. 36. The date was after the outbreak of the Armenian revolt (early 572) but before Roman troops were involved in active hostilities (cf. Justinianus 3).

Seccifrida h.f., wife of Waduulfus (in Italy) 535/542

Marini, *P. Dip.* 131 = *P. Ital.* 43. See Waduulfus. Her name is variously spelt in the document Siccifrida, Seccifrida and Sicchifrida.

Secundinus (*MAMA* III 691) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Secundinus man of influence with Theodebert ?c. 540

He and Asteriolus were men of education and influence under Theodebert, probably c. 540; Secundinus went several times on embassies from the king to Justinian (plerumque legationem imperatori a rege missus intulit); this led to violent quarrels between him and Asteriolus, whom he eventually murdered; subsequently Secundinus took poison to escape the vengeance of the son of Asteriolus who pursued him from place to place (de villa in villam); *Greg. Tur. HF* III 33. See also Asteriolus. Presumably a Gallo-Roman, to judge by the name. For the date, cf. Wisegardis.

Secundus v.d., *teonarius* (Italy) E/M VI

Owner of an estate near Faventia; he died before 539; Marini, *P. Dip.* 114 = *P. Ital.* 30, lines 13-14 Casanovam (?massam) iuris quond(am) Secundi v.d. *teonarii*. For *teonarius*, a landowner charged with producing recruits, see *CJ* XII 29.2, and Jones, *LRE* II, p. 615 with III, pp. 184-5, n. 16.

Seda (*CIL* XI 310) E/M VI: *PLRE* II.

Segetius (*CIL* XI 1711) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Segga Visigothic rebel ?587

A wealthy Visigothic noble, he conspired with the Arian bishop Sunna and other leading Visigoths (see also Vagrila) to murder bishop Massona of Merida and overthrow Reccared; the plot was discovered and suppressed by the *dux Lusitaniae* Claudius 2 and Segga was exiled to Gallaecia, his estates confiscated and his hands cut off; *Joh. Bici.* s.a. 588, cf. *V. Patr. Emer.* xvii-xviii and Garcia Moreno, pp. 72-3 (possibly *comes civitatis* in Lusitania. The object of the rebellion may have been to place him on the throne.) On the punishment by amputation of the hand, see King, *Law and Society*, p. 90, n. 1.

Selina sister of Desiderius of Cahors E VII

Daughter of Salvius and Herchenfreda, sister of Desiderius 5, Rusticus

6, Syagrius 3 and Avita; *V. Desid. Cad.* I (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, p. 563).

Senator ?tribunus (in Africa) 546/547

Of distinguished family (possibly senatorial), he was one of the officers serving in Africa under Ioannes 36 Troglita in winter 546/547 at the defeat of Antalas; stationed on the left flank, he is named by Corippus with Marcianus 5 and Marturius, who were both *tribuni*, and so was presumably a *tribunus* himself; *Coripp. Ioh.* IV 507-8 (nec non egregius clara de stirpe Senator).

Seneca doctor and poet ?E VII

Author of a four-line epigram on Sophronius; *PG* 87, col. 3421-4 (*Σενέκα ἰατροσοφιστοῦ*).

Senecius bodyguard of Sittas 531

Officer of the bodyguard of Sittas (*τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἕνα, Σενέκιον ὄνομα*), given as hostage to Persia in late 531 (with Martinus 2) to end the siege of Martyropolis; *Proc. BP* I 21.27.

Senitam Chosroes Persian general (in Armenia) c. 605-606

A Persian general, in c. 605/6 (after the victory of Datayan at Shirak) he invaded Armenia; he defeated and captured Theodosius 38 Khorkhoruni and established a governor in the fortress of Anglon; he continued his campaign, defeated another Roman force in Bascan (= Phasiana) and occupied a number of towns, before returning on orders from Chosroes; *Sebeos* xxii, pp. 59-60. Cf. *Justi*, p. 294.

Senuthes ?v.c. (Egypt) VI

*Σενούθης ὁ λαμπρό[ό]τατος*, entered into a contract with the church at Tentyra; *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67298 possibly from Tentyra, or from Antinoe where Senuthes apparently lived.

Senuthius I ?patricius; dux (Thebaidis) VI

Mentioned in a document from Hermopolis; *Stud. Pal.* III 271B, lines 2-4 *δ(ιὰ) τ(ο)ῦ πανευφ(ήμου) καὶ εὐκλεεστάτ(ου)/π[ατ(ρ)ικίου]?* *Σενουθίου δοῦκο(ς) καὶ φροντ(ιστοῦ)/[τῆς α]ύτ(ῆς) ἀγί(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) Ἑρμ(ου)π(όλεως)*. The epithets prove that he was a very high-ranking secular dignitary, and so *πατρικίου* is preferable to the *π[ρ(εσβυτέρου)]* of *Stud. Pal.* Senuthius was *dux* (*Thebaidis*) and *patricius* and exercised a special responsibility for the church at Hermopolis. His name is

Egyptian (Coptic) and he was perhaps a local citizen of Hermopolis. For a partial parallel, see *Damianus 10*; *Damianus* however was probably an honorific MVM, while *Senuthius* was an actual *dux* (implied by the Latin title).

*Senuthius* (Sīnōdā) 2

*dux Thebaidis* 641/642

Appointed to office by the Arabs after Egypt was surrendered to them ('and a man named Sīnōdā they – the Arabs – appointed prefect of the province of Rif'); *Joh. Nik.* 120.29 (p. 577 *Zotenberg*). For his office, *dux Thebaidis*, see *Maspero, Org. Mil.*, p. 74.

Probably not identical with *Sanutius, dux* at Alexandria after the Arab conquest; cf. *Severus of Ushmūnayn, Hist. Patr.* 1 14 (*PO* 1 9.495).

*Septimina*

conspirator against *Childebert* 589

Nurse of the children of *Childebert II*; convicted of plotting against the king, she was condemned to grind corn; *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 38. See *Sunnegiselus*.

FL. SERENVVS I

v.sp., comes (sacri?) *consistorii* 550

Son of *Martyrius*; owner of land at *Oxyrhynchus* where in 550 he made a contract with a trainer of horses; *P. Oxy.* 140, lines 4–6 Φλαουίω Σερήνω [τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμητι τοῦ[δ]ε τοῦ κουσιστωρίου, υἱῷ τοῦ[δ] τῆς λαμπρᾶς μνήμης Μαρτυρίου, γεουχοῦντι ἐ[ν]ταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὀξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει. The document is dated April 27, 550. On the text, see below.

Probably identical with the *comes* *Serenus* recorded on two other *Oxyrhynchus* papyri, *P. Oxy.* 2195, line 109 (sixth century) and 2244, line 17 (sixth/seventh century); both texts read ἐξ ἐπιτρόπ(ης) τοῦ κόμη(ιτος) Σερήνου.

Presumably this man was identical with *PLRE* II, *Fl. Serenus 6*, ὁ λαμπρότατος ἀπὸ τριβούνων in 525, son of *Martyrius* and a native of *Oxyrhynchus*; *P. Iand.* 43. If so he had the (?honorific) title of v.c., *ex tribunis* in 525 and by 550 had become *vir spectabilis* and *comes* (?sacri) *consistorii* (the text of *P. Oxy.* 140, lines 4–5 should perhaps be read: κόμητι τοῦ [θ]είου κουσιστωρίου).

(Flav)ius *Serenus 2* (= *PLRE* II, *Serenus 7*)

scholasticus and defensor of *Oxyrhynchus* M/L VI

Addressee of a petition at *Oxyrhynchus*; *PSI* VII 790, 1–3 (...ἰω Σερήνω τῷ ἔλλογιμ(ωτάτῳ) σχ[ο]λαστικῷ καὶ [ἐ]κδικῷ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξ[υ]ρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλεως) (*Oxyrhynchus*). Line 25 gives a date in or after the consulship of *Basilius*.

*Serenus 3* v.sp., comes; illustrius; scholasticus (in Egypt) c. 567

Alluded to in a complaint addressed to the *dux Thebaidis* in c. 567; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002, II 2 (τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμη(ητι) καὶ ἰλλο(υ)στρίῳ μεγ[αλ]οπρε(πεστατάτῳ) Σερήνω τῷ λωγιω(τάτῳ) σχολ(αστικῷ)). 4 (the complainants had been seized by the διοικηταὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἰλλ(ουστρίου) Σερήνο(υ)). 7 (τὸν εἰρημέ(νον) ἰλλο(ύ)στριον). 9 (ὁ αὐτὸς ἰλλ(ούστριος) Σερήνος) (?Antinoe). On the date, see *P. Lond.* v, p. 69.

His confusing titles suggest that he was a *scholasticus* with the imperial rank of *spectabilis comes*; his other epithets probably represent local flattery, although he could have become *illustrius* after becoming *comes*.

He was apparently a landowner and *scholasticus*, perhaps at Antinoe (he had a μεζότερος called *Victor*, II 9, and had διοικηταί, above).

*Serenus 4*

?v.c. (in Egypt) 579

*P. Oxy.* 2002 (a. 579; a receipt issued for money delivered δ(ιὰ) τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) Σερήνου [...]).

Fl. *Serenus 5*

illustrius; pagarch of Antaeopolis after 585

Φλ. Σερήνος ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἰλλούστριος καὶ πάγαρχος τοῦ τ' μέρους Ἀνταιουπόλεως (or similar); recorded several times in documents from *Aphrodito* as acknowledging the receipt of taxes for the sixth, seventh and eighth indictions; *P. Flor.* 298, lines 14–15, 19–20, 25, 36–7, 40, 44–5, 50–1, 59–60, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67325 III verso 9, 12, VII verso 25 and ?III recto 7. *P. Cairo Masp.* is dated after 585.

He was pagarch at the same time as *Fl. Ioannes 96*; cf. *Rouillard, Adm. Civ.*, p. 56. Cf. also *Alexander 6*.

*Serenus 6*

?v.c., banker (in Egypt) ?L VI/E VII

Ὁ λαμπρότατος τραπεζίτης; one of three individuals (cf. *Menas 25*) named in a letter from *Victor 15* as responsible for paying the rent of a bath; *P. Oxy.* 943.

SERGIA

noble lady (at the imperial court) ?E VII

She was τις γυνή τῶν ἐνδόξων τοῦ παλατίου; she had a sick son whom the martyr *Artemius* cured; *Mir. Artem.*, p. 44.

Sergius I

doctor (at Resaina) E/M VI

A native of Resaina, where he was famous as a doctor ('archiater'); he studied medicine and theology at Alexandria, read widely in Greek and Syriac, and became known for his eloquence; he was familiar with the teachings of Origen and was the author of a prologue and



MAGISTER MILITVM (VACANS) a. 544-559: after the death of Solomon 1 in the battle of Cillium, Sergius was given command of Africa by the emperor; Proc. *BV* II 22.1 (Σέργιος . . . δόντος βασιλέως, παρέλαβε τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν). He succeeded Solomon as both civil and military ruler; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541 (Sergius loco eius dux successit belli moderatorque provinciae; on the correct date of this entry, 544, not 541, cf. Diehl, *Justinien*, 58ff., Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 483, n. 1). For Sergius' titles, cf. Solomon 1. Military commander of Africa; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 559 (qui dudum Africanæ fuerat dux militiae). He probably became *magister militum vacans* in 544, seeing activity in Africa and then in Italy (cf. below) and retaining the title down to 559 at least. Ὁ στρατηγός; Agath. v 23.8 (a. 559). Στρατηλάτης; Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6051 (a. 559).

PPO AFRICAE a. 544-545: since he succeeded Solomon in both civil and military capacities (see above), he was PPO Africae. He probably continued as PPO until the arrival of Athanasius 1 with Areobindus 2 in 545.

According to Procopius the appointment of Sergius was a disaster for Africa; Proc. *BV* II 22.2 (φθορὰς πολλῆς αἰτιώτατος), *Anecd.* 5.28. He was widely disliked, by those in positions of authority (ἀρχοντες) who found him immature and stupid and a braggart who used his wealth and power to insult and snub them, by the soldiery who considered him feeble and unwarlike, and by the people of Africa generally for all these reasons and because he could not keep his hands off other people's money and wives; Proc. *BV* II 22.2, *Anecd.* 5.32. In particular he alienated by his ingratitude Ioannes 27; Proc. *BV* II 22.3, 23.32, *Anecd.* 5.31. Consequently no one was willing to take action against the enemy and Africa was overrun by the Moors under Antalas and by the rebels under Stotzas; Proc. *BV* II 22.4-6, *Anecd.* 5.30, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 543 (Sergius in Africa inquietatur a rebellionibus cum Stotza et Mauris; the date should be 544, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 549, n. 1). In a letter to Justinian, Antalas offered to return to his allegiance but demanded as a precondition that Sergius be recalled and another general sent to Africa (ἄλλον δὲ στρατηγὸν εἰς Λιβύην πέμπε); he said that peace was impossible while Sergius remained in command of the army (ἕως . . . οὗτος τῷ σῶ ἔξηγεῖται στρατῶ); Justinian however refused to dismiss Sergius, although aware of his unpopularity, allegedly out of respect for his uncle Solomon and the manner of Solomon's death; Proc. *BV* II 22.7-11.

When Paulus, a priest from Hadrumetum, came to him in Carthage and requested an army to recover the city, Sergius refused because the army in Carthage was too small but allowed Paulus to take eighty men

with him to make the attempt; Proc. *BV* II 23.20-1. This led to the recovery of Hadrumetum, which in turn led to such an increase in violence by the Moors and Stotzas that many Africans fled abroad, the more prominent to Constantinople; Proc. *BV* II 23.25-9. This probably influenced Justinian to change his mind about the role of Sergius in Africa. Procopius' own narrative was probably drawn from the stories told by these fugitives, which accounts for its hostility towards Sergius.

Justinian now sent another *magister militum*, Areobindus 2, to Africa, together with the praetorian prefect Athanasius 1; Proc. *BV* II 24.1-2. This was probably in spring 545; cf. below. Sergius was not recalled but the military command of Africa was divided, the territory and the army being partitioned between Sergius and Areobindus; Proc. *BV* II 24.4 (οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Σέργιον μετεπέμπετο, ἀλλ' αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον Λιβύης στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν εἶναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους διελομένους). At the same time Sergius presumably relinquished his post as PPO Africae to Athanasius. Sergius was ordered by Justinian to carry on the war against the barbarians in Numidia and he therefore departed there, taking his own army with him (σὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῶ) and leaving Areobindus to deal with the war in Byzacena; Proc. *BV* II 24.5-6. Areobindus, learning that Antalas and Stotzas were near Sicca Veneria (close to the border with Numidia), sent Ioannes 27 against them and wrote to Sergius asking him to unite with Ioannes against the enemy; Sergius ignored the request and took no action; Proc. *BV* II 24.6-8. As a result, Ioannes was heavily outnumbered at the battle which followed at Thacia and, although he killed Stotzas, he himself was killed; Proc. *BV* II 24.8-14, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 545, Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 35-7, 103-220.

Following this, Sergius was recalled from Africa and the military command was again united under Areobindus; Proc. *BV* II 24.16, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 546. The divided command had been disastrous for Africa; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 86-9 (tunc Africa clades persensit graviore malo saevasque rapinas inter utrumque ducem (viz. Areobindus and Sergius). Nescit commissa potestas aequales sufferre duos), 99-102 (dividitur geminas inter res publica partes: quisque suos tenuere duces. Dumque ille superbus se primum esse putat, non se tamen ille secundum, Africa barbaricis planxit nudata rapinis). Justinian now judged the dual command disadvantageous; Proc. *BV* II 24.16 (ἀσύμφορόν τε νομίσας εἶναι τοῖν δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διέπειν). The departure of Sergius from Africa took place two months before the revolt of Guntharis; Proc. *BV* II 25.1. It is therefore to be dated to autumn 545 and the arrival of Areobindus will have been earlier in the same year; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 551-3, with 553, n. 1.

Sergius was a suitor for the hand of a granddaughter of Antonina (the wife of Belisarius); he stood therefore high in the favour of the empress Theodora, who opposed any attempt to punish him or to dismiss him, in spite of the harm suffered by Africa; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.33.

After his recall from Africa Sergius was sent with an army to Italy; Proc. *BV* II 24.16 (σὺν στρατῷ). This probably refers to autumn 547, when in response to pleas from Belisarius Justinian began moves to reinforce the army in Italy by sending Pacurius and Sergius with a few troops (σὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν); they joined the rest of the army as soon as they arrived; Proc. *BG* III 27.1-2. Nothing is recorded of Sergius' activities in Italy.

PATRICIUS a. 559: by 559 he was a *patricius*; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 559.

In 559, when the Huns and Slavs overran Thrace, Sergius was robbed (ἐπραΐδουσσαν; perhaps referring to an estate owned by him) and taken prisoner together with Edermas by the forces of Zabergan 2; later in the year he was released for a ransom; Agath. v 23.8, Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6051, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 559, and cf. Cedr. I 677 (cited under Edermas).

Sergius 5 cancellarius (in Italy) 559/561

Addressee of a letter from Pelagius I explaining before what courts cases involving clergy should be heard; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 81 (a. 559 March/561 March 3; addressed 'Sergio cancellario'). He was perhaps rather the *cancellarius* of a provincial governor than one of the *cancellarii provinciae* from the *officium* of the PPO (whose duties were financial, not legal; cf. Anatolicus).

Sergius 6 nephew of Aetherius 562

Nephew (or possibly cousin - ἀνεψιός) of Aetherius 2; he conspired with Ablabius 1 and Marcellus 4 in 562 to assassinate Justinian and escaped to the church of the Virgin in Blachernae when the plot was disclosed; taken from there and tortured, he implicated Belisarius, Isaac 4, Paulus 18 and Vitus; his evidence was read out at a *silentium* on Dec. 5, 562, which met to discuss the matter; Joh. Mal. 493, Joh. Mal. fr. 49, Theoph. AM 6055.

His own fate is not recorded but he was perhaps exiled like others.

Sergius 7 MVM (vacans) and ?dux Mesopotamiae 567-573

It is possible, though not certain, that the man called Sergius by John of Ephesus and John of Epiphancia, referring to events of 572 and 573, was identical with the man called Sergona (Srgwn) by Michael the Syrian, referring to 567. Sergona is a diminutive form of Sergius.

Native of 'Rhabdis' (Tur 'Abdin, south of Amida); Joh. Epiph. fr. 3 (on the place name, see Baynes, *CQ* VI (1912), pp. 89-90). Son of 'Špny'; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.5.

MVM (VACANS) and ?DVX MESOPOTAMIAE a. 567-573; in 567 he was in command of Dara; he received from Justin a letter, which he circulated, urging monophysite leaders to go to Constantinople to discuss church unity (for the date of 567, cf. Ioannes 81); Mich. Syr. x 2 ('You, Sergona, commander-in-chief (στρατηλάτης) of Dara'). In autumn 572 Sergius, Theodorus 32 and Iuventinus were sent by Marcianus 7 with three thousand men to plunder Arzanene and returned laden with booty; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Sim. III 10.3. In 573 he was in command of Dara with Ioannes 87, son of Timostratus; during the siege of Dara by the Persians he was wounded and died; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.5 ('et principes in ea (sc. Dara) erant Ioannes... et Sergius filius Špny qui ipse etiam magister militum (στρατηλάτης) erat et ceteri').

Sergius could have been stationed at Dara in command of the troops there continuously from 567 to 573; he was possibly MVM *vacans et dux Mesopotamiae*.

Sergius 8 tractator (in Syria) ?M VI

Τρακτευτής, with Leontius 8 in Syria; *IGLS* II 316 Rasm el-Hagal. See further Leontius.

Sergius 9 interpreter M VI

An interpreter (ἐρμηνεύς), highly regarded for his skill by both Romans and Persians and admired by Chosroes himself (ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἐρμηνέων ἄριστος ἀπάντων καὶ οἷος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Χοσρόου θαυμάζεσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ τὰ πρωτεῖα λαχῶν τῆς ἐπιστήμης); on a visit to Persia, at the urgent request of Agathias, he secured access to the Persian Royal Annals and translated into Greek many details concerning Persian kings, their dates and the principal events of their reigns, which Agathias used in his digressions on Persian religion and history; Agath. IV 30.3-4. See further Averil Cameron, in *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70), pp. 69-183.

Possibly a Syrian; cf. Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

Sergius 10 PVC M VI

Named in cruciform monograms (296) on several glass weights from the reign of Justinian; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue A*, nos. 1a-d (1a = Schlumberger, *REG* 8 (1895), p. 75, no. 39) (all bear the inscription: D. IVSTINIANVS PP AV). Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 130, with n. 67-8.

**SERGIUS 11** tribunus and argentarius 578/582

In 578/582 he donated a silver lamp (now in the Abegg collection) for himself and in memory of his late wife Maria and their parents; Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, no. 3 with plates v and vi (+ ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς κ(αί) σωτηρίας Σεργίου τριβ(ούνου) κ(αί) ἀργυροπράτου κ(αί) ἀναπαύσεως Μαρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ συμβίου κ(αί) τῶν αὐτῶν γωνέων; the lamp is dated by imperial control stamps on the base to the reign of Tiberius).

The same man earlier had donated a silver paten (found at Stuma in Syria), dated by the control stamps to c. 577; Dodd, *BSS*, no. 27 = *IGLS* 698 (similar inscription, but omitting the title *tribunus*; he perhaps acquired it later).

Both silver objects were perhaps donated by Sergius locally to a church in Syria; cf. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures*, pp. 7-12, 40-8.

**Sergius 12** army officer 586

He served in the war against Persia under Philippicus in 586; he was given command of the Roman garrison at Mardin and was sent by Philippicus, together with the Arabs Ogyrus and Zogomus, to lead a scouting party from Mount Izala to spy on the Persian movements; Theoph. Sim. II 2.5 (Σεργίω τε τῷ λοχαγῷ, ᾧ ἡ τοῦ Μάρδιος φρουρὰ ἐγκεχείριστο). The meaning of λοχαγός is uncertain here, but it is likely that Sergius was a *tribunus*, if not a *comes*; cf. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 109 and 385.

**Sergius 13** follower of Alamundarus L VI

A leading follower of Alamundarus, he was also sent into exile under Maurice (c. 582); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.55 (index capitum only) (de uno e primoribus Mondir cui nomen Sergius viro fideli qui ipse etiam in exsilium pulsus est).

**Sergius 14** ?PVC VI

The name occurs on a number of glass weights: Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue D*, nos. 7a (+ CEP...I...), 8a (+ CΕΡΓΙΟV\*), and cf. Pink, col. 60 (from Africa). Cf. also Anonymus 10.

**Fl. Sergius 15** defensor (of Arsinoe) VI

+ Φλ. Σέργιος σὺν Θεῷ ἔκδικος ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοῖ(τῶν) πόλεως; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1306 Fayum.

**Sergius 16** consiliarius (in Italy) VI

Κονσιλιάριος; husband of Marouse, father of Anastasius 19, grand-

father of Mamalus; *CIG* 9853 Orbetello (Etruria). Three generations of the family are recorded on the one inscription, all buried together with their wives and an archdeacon Moschus (cf. Mamalus) at Orbetello.

**Sergius 17** adiutor VI

Sergiu adiutoris; Zacos 2919A (seal; obv.: SER/ΓΙΥ; rev.: ΑΔΙ/ΥΤΟ/ΡΙΣ).

**Sergius (?) 18** chartularius VI

Sergiu(?) χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1387 (seal; obv.: monogram (298), possibly of Sergiu; rev.: a horse, and monogram (354), of ΧΑΡΤΩΛ-ΑΡΙΩ).

**Sergius 19** honorary consul VI

Sergiu ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 485 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3577 (seal; obv.: SER/ΤΙΥ; rev.: square monogram (32) of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων).

**Sergius 20** illustrius VI

Σεργίου ἰλλ(ουστρίου). Sergii; Zacos 990 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.765 (seal; obv.: + CΕΡ/ΓΙΟV/ΙΛΛ'; rev.: SER/ΓΙΙ). Possibly the same man owned another seal, Zacos 991 (obv.: CΕΡ/ΓΙΟV/ΙΛ'; rev.: SER/ΤΙΥΙΛ/Λ'), which however is dissimilar and assigned by Zacos to the seventh century.

**Sergius 21** MVM M/L VI

Σεργίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 2823 = Fogg Art Museum seal 290 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, M/L VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (295) of Σεργίου; rev.: + CTP/ΑΘΗΛΑ/ΤΟV).

**Sergius 22** MVM VI

Σεργίου στρα(τηλάτου); Fogg Art Museum seal 1215 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child between two crosses; rev.: + CΕ/ΡΓΙΩ/CTPA).

**Sergius 23** notarius VI

Σεργίου νοτ(αρίου). Sergius not(arius); Zacos 993 (seal; obv.: CΕΡ/ΓΙΟVΝ/ΟΤ' +; rev.: + SER/ΤΙΥS/ΝΟΤ).

**Sergius 24** palatinus VI

Sergiu palatinu; Zacos 488A (seal; obv.: monogram (297) of Sergiu; rev.: PALA/TINΥ).

**Sergius 25** scholarius VI

Σεργίου σχολαρίου; Zacos 489, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.18 (two

similar seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: monogram (291) of Σεργίου; rev.: monogram (330) of σχολαρίου).

Sergius 26                      *commerciarius Africae* (at Carthage) VI/E VII

Sergii *commerciarii Africae*; *CIL* VIII 22656, nos. 25 (CERG/(I)VS CO./MAFR), cf. 26, 26a Carthage. Cf. also *BCTH* 1926, p. cxlvi, no. 3 (from Carthage) CΕΡΓ[ΟV]/KOMMEP/[K]I]APIOV/[ΠA]TPIKIC (?).

Sergius 27                      *illustris et commerciaris* M VI/M VII

Sergii *ill(ustris) et comm(erciaris)*; Zacos 2975 (seal; obv.: saint on horseback; rev.: SERGI/ILL<sup>S</sup>ET/COMM<sup>S</sup>).

Sergius 28                      *domesticus* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου δομεισ(τίκου); Zacos 1600, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3656 (two similar seals, dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: CΕΡΓ/[I]ΟΝΔΟ/ΜΕῚ).

Sergius 29                      *illustris* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 488 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2798 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (294) of Σεργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (150) of ἰλλουστρίου).

Sergius 30                      *praefectus* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου ἐπάρχου; Zacos 1308 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2635 (seal; obv.: bust, perhaps of St John Prodromus; rev.: CΕΡΓ/ΙἸΕΠΑ/ΡΧἸ). Possibly the same man owned another seal, Zacos 1309 (obv.: bust, as on 1308; rev.: + CΕ/ΡΓΙΟV/VIΠAΡΧ/OV).

Sergius 31                      *ex praefectis* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 484 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5558 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (292) of Σεργίου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Sergius 32                      *ex praefectis* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 983 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2236 (seal; obv.: CΕΡ/ΓΙἸ; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Sergius 33                      *ex praefectis* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 984 = Fogg Art Museum seal 656 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: + ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΙ; rev.: CΕΡΓ/ΙἸΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡΧ/ΩΝ).

Sergius 34                      *scriniarius* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου σκρινιαρίου; Zacos 999 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2106 (seal; obv.: + /CΕP/ΓΙΟV/+; rev.: CKPI/NIA/ΠΙΟV).

Sergius 35                      *imperialis spatharius* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου βασιλικοῦ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 490 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.177 (seal, dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (293) of Σεργίου; rev.: BAC[I]/ΛΙΚἸC[Π]/ΑΘΑΠΙ/OV). A second example in Zacos' series is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.178.

Possibly identical with Sergius 45 (PVC under Heraclius); see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 130, n. 66.

Sergius 36                      ?*zygostates* M VI/M VII

Σεργίου ζυγοστάτου(?); Zacos 491 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.179 (seal; obv.: CΕP/ΓΙ/Ἰ; rev.: cruciform monogram (92), possibly of ζυγοστάτου).

Sergius 37                      *commerciarius* (of Tyre) M VI/E VII

Ἰουλιανοῦ, Σεργίου, Στεφάνου, κομμερκιαρίων Τύρου; Zacos 130 bis, note, no. 4 (seal, naming three *commerciarii* of Tyre). Sergius was perhaps the owner of a seal of his own, Zacos 486 (obv.: cruciform monogram (424) of Σεργίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (278) of κομμερκιαρίου).

Cf. Iulianus 34 and Stephanus 38.

Sergius 38                      ?*vir illustris* L VI/E VII

Son of Ioannes 102 (of Resapha) and a leading citizen of Edessa, he was his father's only surviving heir; he was carried off to Persia with his mother when Chosroes captured Edessa (in c. 607) (cf. Ioannes 102) but treated with honour and included by the Persian king among his close associates ('inter commensales suos'); when he eventually returned home (presumably in 628/629, after Heraclius made peace with Persia) he was unable to discover the family treasures which had been buried by his mother for safety but nevertheless he married, had a family and enjoyed the family properties (listed as 'pagi, horti, molendina et tabernae', as well as his 'domus' at Edessa); *Chron.* 1234, lxxxvii.

Possibly a *vir illustris* like his father.

He was evidently a man of some eminence, since Michael the Syrian notes that 'it is from this prince Sergius (identified as the son of John of Resapha) that the Chronicle of Lord Denis, called "of Tell Mahrē", continues for six generations'; *Mich. Syr.* xi 3.



Sergius 39 demarch of the Greens 602

He and Cosmas 18 were summoned to the palace by Maurice in 602, when the rebellion of Phocas occurred, and asked for numbers of the faction members; Sergius gave a list of 1,500 Greens; Theoph. Sim. viii 7.10-11 (καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἰσκαλεσάμενος πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία, οὓς διοικητὰς τῶν δήμων εἶωθε τὸ πλῆθος ἀποκαλεῖν). Later he was approached by Germanus 11 for Green help with his imperial ambitions; he reported the matter to the faction leaders, who refused to support Germanus; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.14-15 (δήμαρχος τῆς Πρασίνου πλῆθους), Theoph. AM 6094.

FL. SERGIUS 40 comes (in Egypt) 603

Native of Arsinoe; son of Petrus τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης; in 603 he leased a *triclinium* at Arsinoe; *P. Lond.* iii, p. 269, no. 871, lines 6-7 (Φλ. Σεργίω τῷ μεγαλο(πρεπεστάτῳ)/κόμετι).

Sergius 41 patricius; father-in-law of Phocas 604

Father-in-law of the emperor Phocas (and so father of Leontia), he was a *patricius*; apparently in 604 he conspired against the emperor; *V. Theod. Syc.* 120 (τῆς τοῦ πατρικίου Σεργίου, τοῦ πατροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, γενομένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναιρεσεώς). Cf. also *Domniziolus* 2.

Sergius 42 patricius and iudex pedaneus 610/641

In the reign of Heraclius he had a sick relative whom he sent to be cured to the martyr Artemius; *Mir. Artem.* 17 (p. 17) (ἀνὴρ τις τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ Σέργιος ὀνομάτι, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Ὁ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, ὃς ἦν πατρικίος καὶ θεῖος δικαστής). The meaning of his nickname is not clear. For θεῖος δικαστής = iudex pedaneus, cf. *Menas* 2 and *Victor* 1.

Sergius 43 ?patricius, candidatus and dux Palaestinae 634

He is identical with the Patricius named in *Chron.* 724, pp. 147-8 = p. 114 and Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093-4; in both the title *patricius* is mistaken for a proper name.

In *Nic. Brev.* 23 he is identified as Sergius ὁ κατὰ Νικήταν. For this use of κατὰ with an accusative as equivalent to a genitive, see Alan Cameron, *Glossa* 56 (1978), pp. 87-94. Sergius was either a son of Nicetas or perhaps had served under a Nicetas (possibly in the bodyguard of Nicetas 7). The notice in *Chron.* 724, pp. 147-8 = p. 114, which describes him as 'filium Iardan', is perhaps garbled.

In early 634 he was in office at Caesarea in Palestine, with military authority over the region (he had troops, see below) and perhaps also

civil; Theoph. AM 6124, Cedr. 1751, Mich. Syr. xi 4, *Chron.* 1234, cviii ('Caesareae Palaestinae degentem, cui ab Heraclio commissa fuerat urbs et regio'), Agapius, p. 454 (governor of Caesarea). In Syriac and Arabic sources he is styled *patricius*; Balādhurī, p. 109 (= Hitti, p. 168) ('the patrician of Gaza'), Agapius, p. 454, p. 469, Mich. Syr. xi 4, *Chron.* 1234, cviii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, *Chron.* 724, pp. 147-8 = p. 114, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093-4. He may be identical with the unnamed κανδιδάτος whose death at Arab hands near Caesarea (see below) is recorded in the *Doctrina Iacobi*; *Doct. Iac.* v 16. If so, he possibly combined the court dignity of *candidatus* with the post of *dux Palaestinae*; he may also have been *patricius*, but Syriac and Arabic sources seem to apply the term loosely to imperial officials of high standing and it cannot be assumed therefore to be always correct.

Early in 634 an Arab army under Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān overran the land around Gaza; Sergius left Caesarea to encounter them and was defeated and killed; the date was Feb. 4, 634; Theoph. AM 6124, Cedr. 1751, Balādhurī, p. 109 (= Hitti, p. 168) (at the village of Dāthin, near Gaza), Agapius, p. 454, p. 469, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1093-4, *Chron.* 724, pp. 147-8 = p. 114 (giving the precise date), Mich. Syr. xi 4, *Chron.* 1234, cviii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, 93, cf. *Doct. Iac.* v 16 (citing a claim from a contemporary: ὅτε γὰρ ἐσφάγη ὁ κανδιδάτος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, εἰς Καισαρείαν ἤμην), *Nic. Brev.* 23 (describing the manner of his death and claiming that he had provoked the Arabs by ending the customary payments which the empire made to them).

'Sergius' 44 (PPO Africae E VII)

'Sergius' is the name in the Ethiopic and Arabic versions of the *Doctrina Iacobi* of the PPO Africae in c. 640 (the Syriac version gives the name as Georgius; see Georgius 51); *PO* 3 (1909), p. 555 (Ethiopic version, 11) ('Sargis of Aberga, who served in the army of the king. Behold: the king made him governor of two provinces Afrāgyā and Tartāgyā, i.e. Africa and Carthage), *PO* 8 (1912), pp. 717-18 (Arabic version, 11) (he is called Sergius al-Abrah and styled 'governor of the city of Ifriqiya and of Carthage'). The name was perhaps changed from Georgius to Sergius through confusion with Sergius 4, whose evil reputation long survived him (see Nau, *PO* 8, p. 716).

Sergius 45 PVC E VII

Several glass weights, Grégoire, *BCH* 31 (1907), p. 321 (= Monneret de Villard, Catalogue B, nos. 1a, 2a and b), Zacos 3000B, read: +TΘ ΕΝΔΟΞΙ ΕΠΑΡΣ ΡΟΙ and have a monogram (293) which reads Σεργίου. The same monogram occurs in stamps on silverware from the reign of

Heraclius; Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos. 41–50. These probably date early in the reign of Heraclius; see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), pp. 130 with n. 66, 139–40 with n. 110. Cf. Sergius 35.

Sergius 46 apocrisiarius E/M VII

Sergius (sic) apocrisiari(o)u; Zacos 2851 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΣΕΡΓ/ΙΥΣΔΡΟ/CRISID/ΡΙΥ+).

Sergius 47 cancellarius VII

Σεργίου καγκελλαρίου; Zacos 987 (seal; obv.: ΣΕΡΓ/ΟΝΚΑΓΚ/[ΕΛ]ΛΑΡΙ/ΟΝ; rev.: ΔΟΝΛΟ/ΥΤΗC[Θ]Ε/ΟΤΟΚ[Ο]/Υ).

Sergius 48 chartularius VII

Σεργίω χαρτουλαρίω; Zacos 988 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΗ; rev.: ΣΕΡΓΙΩ/ΧΑΡΤΟΝ/ΛΑΡΙΩ).

Sergius 49 honorary consul VII

Σεργίω υπάτω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2208 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, with ΤΩ – Δδ/ΛΩ – Cδ in the quarters; rev.: +/ΣΕΡΓ/ΙΩΥΠ/ΑΤΩ).

Sergius 50 patricius VII

Σεργίω πατρικίω; Zacos 994 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ; rev.: +ΣΕΡΓ/ΙΩΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩ). Possibly the same man owned four very similar seals; Zacos 995a (obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ+; rev.: +ΣΕΡΓ/ΙΩΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩ), Zacos 995b (obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ; rev.: ΣΕΡΓ/ΙΩΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩ), Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3947 (obv.: +/ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/[Ο]ΗΘΙ; rev.: [+]/ΣΕΡΓ/ΙΩΠΑΤΡ/ΙΚΙΩ+), 58.106.5316 (obv.: [Θ]Ε/[Ο]ΤΟΚΕ/ΒΟΗΘΗ; rev.: +ΣΕΡ/ΓΙΩΠ[Α]/ΤΡΙΚ[Ι]/Ω).

Sergius 51 patricius VII

Θεοδοσίου πατρικίου (καί) Σεργίου πατρικίου; Zacos 2929A (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙδ/ΠΑΤΡ/ΚΙΟΝ; rev.: +ΣΕΡ/ΓΙΟΝΥΠ/ΑΤΡΙΚ/ΙΟΝ). The seal was owned by two men. Cf. Theodosius 47.

Sergius 52 scholasticus VII

Σεργίου σχολαστικοῦ; Zacos 998 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1328 (seal; obv.: +/ΣΕΡ/ΓΙΟΝ/+; rev.: +CΧΟ/ΛΑCΤΙ/ΚΟΝ+).

Sergius 53 silentiarius ?VII

Σεργίω σιλεντιαρίω; Zacos 2357 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3859 (seal, dated VIII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Χριστέ βοήθει, with ΤΩ – ζω/Δδ – Λω in the quarters; rev.: +/ΣΕΡΓΙΩ/CΙΛΕΝΤ/ΙΑΡΙΩ/+).

Sergius 54 imperialis spatharius VII

Σεργίω βασιλικῶ σπαθαρίω; Zacos 1000 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2107 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΗCΕΡ/ΓΙΩ; rev.: +BAC/ΙΛΙΚΩ/CΠΑΘΑ/ΡΙΩ). A similar specimen in Zacos' series is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2108.

Sergius 55 ex praefectis and dux (in Italy) VI/IX

He died aged fifty-three and was buried at Rhegium in Calabria on June 23 of a fourth indiction; *IG* XIV 629 = *Arch. Class.* v (1953), 116 = *SEG* XIII 469 ('Ενθάδε κατὰκειται ὁ δοῦλ(ος) τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ Σέργιος ὁ ἐν ἐνδ(οξοτά)τῃ μνήμῃ γενόμενος, ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ δούξ). The date is certainly after the reconquest of Italy under Justinian; Sergius may perhaps belong to the middle Byzantine period, when he was possibly *dux Calabriae* (if so, not before the late seventh century); see Turano, in *Arch. Class.* v (1953), 117–19. Cf. also Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 57, line 14, with pp. 351, 356 (on the *dux Calabriae*) and p. 296 (the title ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων survived to at least 899).

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon Anastasius Dominus Theodorus Callinicus

Sergona (Mich. Syr. x 2: commander at Dara in 567); see Sergius 7.

Sergounas (?Sergius) financial official (in Damascus) L VI

Father of Mansur; he was appointed to collect taxes at Damascus under Maurice; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1089 ('Mansur Serjuni filius, tributis exigendis nomine Mauricii imperatoris praefectus (sic)' – for chronological reasons it was probably Sergounas who held office under Maurice, not Mansur).

Serotinus (*MAMA* III 711) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

FL. SERVANDVS v.sp., comes et praeses (Scythiae) V/VI

'Επί Φλ. Σεργάνδου τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου) κόμ(ιτος) καὶ ἀρχοντ(ος) ἐγένετο τὸ ἐξάγι(ον) ΛΥΚΕ; Popescu, *Epigraphica*, 1977, pp. 264–72 = *AE* 1977, 718 Tuzla (in Dacia). He was a *spectabilis comes* holding the post

of governor of Scythia; Scythia was still subject to governors of praesidial rank in 535 (Just. *Nov.* 8, *Notitia* 48). He was possibly *comes commerciorum* (cf. Popescu) but not necessarily so.

Servatus envoy of Dagobert 630

Envoy of Dagobert to Heraclius with Paternus 2; they returned in 630; Fredegar. iv 62. Presumably a Gallo-Roman. Cf. Paternus.

Servilio ?maior domus (in Gaul); priest M VI

Known only from his epitaph, composed by Venantius Fortunatus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 13 Epitaphium Servilionis presbyteri. Of noble family; line 4 nobilis et merito nobiliore potens. He had a son, who became a bishop; line 11 pontificem genitum vidit dehinc munere Christi. He held office as controller of a royal court, whose property he so managed as to increase its wealth; lines 5-6 ipse palatinam rexit moderatius aulam commissaeque domus crescere fecit opes. The word *aula* implies the royal court itself rather than a royal property or estate, and so Servilio was probably *maior domus* under one of the Frankish kings, perhaps Sigibert, although there is no evidence apart from Venantius' connections with Sigibert's court.

Subsequently Servilio became a priest; lines 7-8 presbyter inde sacer mansit venerabilis urbi, servitioque Dei libera vita fuit. The identity of the *urbs* is unknown.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 353.

Sesi... (*Not. Scav.* 1928, 293, n. 13) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Sethus MVM (at Singidunum) 579

He was at Singidunum in 579 when Baianus, khan of the Avars, began moves to cross the Save, with a huge army, between Sirmium and Singidunum; with too few troops and boats to prevent the crossing, Sethus agreed after an exchange of oaths to send an embassy from the khan to Constantinople; Men. Prot. fr. 63 (τοῦ ἐν Σιγγηδόνι στρατηγοῦ Σήθου τοῦνομα). Apparently a *magister militum* at Singidunum, he was perhaps predecessor of Theognis 1 as MVM *per Illyricum* or possibly was *dux Moesiae Primae* with the title of MVM (*vacans*); cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 110.

Severianus (*CIL* VIII 9585 + 20958) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Julius Severianus: writer on rhetoric IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Severianus cavalry officer (in Byzacena) 544

A Phoenician from Emesa; son of Asiaticus; in 544, still young

(σεβάνιος), he was commander of a cavalry unit (καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ ἀρχῶν) under the *dux Byzacena* Himerius 1; when Himerius and his troops were captured by the Moors, Severianus fought well with his fifty immediate followers (σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις, πεντήκοντα οὔσι - perhaps his *bucellarii*) but eventually surrendered to superior numbers; Proc. *BV* II 23.6-9. He later escaped and returned to Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 23.17.

Severinus 1

vir illustris (in Italy) 534

One of the 'viri illustres et magnifici' to whom pope John II wrote in early 534, before March 24; *ACOec.* iv ii, p. 206 (= Mansi VIII 803 = *PL* 66, 20). Cf. Ampelius 1.

Severinus 2

pope 640

Natione Romanus, ex patre Abieno; he became pope in 640 and died the same year; *Lib. Pont.* 73. The names suggest descent from senatorial families; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 24 with n. 7.

Severus: corrector Lucaniae et Bruttii c. 527; *PLRE* II.

Severus 1

tabellio (at Ravenna) 553

He copied a document at Ravenna on April 4, 553, at the dictation of Ranilo; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 = *P. Ital.* 13, line 51 Severo for(ensi) civ(itatis) Rav(ennatis) scribendam dictavi, line 64 quae (the *signa* of Ranilo and Felithanc) ego Severus for(ensis) inclusi, line 82 ego Severus for(ensis) et scriptor.

Severus 2

doctor (Spain) M/L VI

He was given a slave under the will of bishop Vincentius of Huesca (Severo arciatro puerulum nomine Dalmatium donari volo); *Bol. Real. Acad. Hist.* 49 (1906), p. 157 (the will of Vincentius). Possibly a doctor at Huesca, where Vincentius, still a deacon in 551, was bishop in the second half of the sixth century.

Severus 3

father-in-law of Guntchramnus Boso L VI

Father of Burgolenus and Dodo and father-in-law of Guntchramnus Boso; he was accused by his sons before the king (?Chilperic) on serious charges, probably in 578; on his way to answer them, taking rich bribes to distribute, he was attacked and robbed and was subsequently exiled and died; his property was confiscated; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 25.

SEVERVS 4 vir magnificus, scholasticus of the exarch (Italy) 595

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory in May 595 strongly urging him to persuade the *exarchus* (Romanus 7) to conclude a peace treaty with the Lombard king Agilulf; Greg. *Ep.* v 34 (a. 595 May; addressed 'Severo scolastico exarchi'; he is styled 'magnitudo vestra').

Possibly identical with 'filius noster Severus vir magnificus' who planned to visit Sicily in 599 and secured from Gregory a letter of commendation to bishop Leo of Catania; Greg. *Ep.* ix 238 (a. 599 Aug.). Cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 27 and p. 28, n. 13.

Shāhīn

Persian general E VII

Σάϊν, Σάης; *V. Anastas. Pers.*, Theoph., Cedr. Σάϊτος; Nic. Σάην ὁ ἐνδοξότατος Βαβμανζαδαγῶ; *Chron. Pasch.* (on Βαβμανζαδαγῶ, see Justi, p. 375, s.n. Wohu-manank; a patronymic = son of Bahmanzādak; and cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, p. 448 Shāhēn Vahmanzādaghān). Shāhīn (or similar); Sebeos, Moses Dasxurançi, Mich. Syr., Bar Hebr., Severus. Cf. Justi, p. 274, s.n. Šāhēn, nos. 6 and 7 (wrongly divided into two people).

Sent to Armenia by Chosroes in 608 or 609 (cf. Ashtat Yeztayar), he defeated the Romans near Theodosiopolis; Sebeos xxiii, p. 63 (styled 'Patgosapan' = pādghōspān, an army commander under a spāhbadh; cf. Christensen, p. 519).

In 611 he invaded Roman territory and seized Caesarea in Cappadocia, remaining there under siege for a year before breaking out in late summer 612 to winter in Armenia; Sebeos xxiii, p. 63, xxiv, p. 65, and cf. Priscus 6. In summer 613 he again invaded Roman territory, seizing Theodosiopolis and Melitene and then uniting his forces with those of Shahrbaraz; Sebeos xxiv, p. 65. In 614 he advanced as far as Chalcedon but hastened back when Philippicus in turn entered Persia; *V. Anastas. Pers.* (ed. Usener), p. 3. In 615 he again reached Chalcedon which he took and sacked; after talks with Heraclius he accepted gifts and withdrew taking a Roman embassy with him to discuss peace with Chosroes (cf. Olympius 6); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 615 (he is styled τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ ἕξαρχος in Heraclius' letter to Chosroes), Nic. *Brev.* 9-11, Theoph. AM 6108, Mich. Syr. xi 1. The precise date is disputed; cf. Stratos 1, p. 115. Nic. *Brev.* 11 and Cedrenus 1 718 add that Shāhīn (Σάϊτος) was ordered to be flayed to death by Chosroes for not arresting Heraclius; possibly there is confusion with Shāhīn's fate in 626 (see below).

According to a tradition recorded in Nic. *Brev.* 9 and repeated in Severus of Ushmunayn, *Hist. Patr.* 1 14 (Andronicus) (= PO 1, pp. 485-6)

Shāhīn (Σάϊτος) led the Persian conquest of Egypt (616-18); other sources attribute this to Shahrbarāz. Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 70, with n. 1 (accepting Severus), and Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 291-2, with 292, n. 1.

In the 620s he took part in the defence of Persia against Heraclius; Theoph. AM 6114 (joined Shahrbarāz against Heraclius in summer 623), AM 6115 (defeated by Heraclius, near Tigranocerta, with Shahrbarāz and Shahraplakan, later joining up with Shahrbaraz), Sebeos xxvi, pp. 81ff. (same events as Theoph. AM 6115). In 626 with fresh troops and reinforcements he was sent to oppose Heraclius while Shahrbaraz was away attacking Constantinople; heavily defeated by Theodorus 163, he shortly afterwards fell ill and died, and his body was subsequently mutilated by Chosroes in anger; Theoph. AM 6117.

Shahraplakan

Persian general 624-627

Sarablangas; Theoph. Sarbarancas; Cedr. Shahraplakan; Moses Dasxurançi. On the name, see Justi, p. 276, s.n. Šahraplakan.

A Persian general, he commanded a new regiment (στρατὸν τοῦ λεγομένου Χοσροηγέτας καὶ Περοζίτας) in 624, went to Albania and followed the army of Heraclius into Persia; Theoph. AM 6115, Cedr. 1 722, Moses Dasxurançi 11 10. He joined forces with Shahrbarāz and they pursued Heraclius but joined battle without waiting for the arrival of Shāhīn and were defeated; Theoph. AM 6115, Cedr. 1 722. In 627 Shahraplakan went to the relief of Tiflis, then threatened by the Khazars (cf. Jebu Khak'an) and the Romans; Moses Dasxurançi 11 11.

Perhaps identical with the Persian governor of Persarmenia, Shahraplakan, 'who fought a battle in Persia (against a Roman army) and was victorious'; Sebeos xxiv, p. 66 (he preceded Roč Vehan (= Rhazates), who died in the battle of Nineveh on Dec. 12, 627), and cf. Macler's note, p. 66, n. 5 (perhaps identical with the Sarablangas in Theophanes).

Shahrbarāz

general under Chosroes II; king of Persia 630

His name was Farrukhān, but he also bore the name Rāzmiozan and acquired the nickname Shahrbarāz ('wild boar', conferred by Chosroes allegedly for his enthusiasm for fighting the Romans, cf. Mich. Syr. x 25, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxvi, Moses Dasxurançi 11 10). See Justi, p. 95, s.n. Farrukhān, no. 9; p. 260, s.n. Rāzmiozan; pp. 277-8, s.n. Šahrwarāz, no. 1 ('title of Ferruhān, who had the surname Razmiuzan'). In Greek sources he is called 'Ρασμιόζαν (Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.*), 'Ρουσμιάζας (Theoph. AM 6097), Σαλβάρας (*Chron. Pasch.*), Σάρβαρος

and Σαρβαραζᾶς or similar (Theod. Sync., Theoph. AM 6113, etc., Cedr.). In non-Greek sources he is called, variously, Khoream entitled Erazman, Razmiozan that is to say Khoream, and Sahr Varaz (Sebeos); Rumiazan, renamed Šahrbaraz by Chosroes (*Chron.* 1234); Chorean, also named Razmiozan and Šahrvaraz by Chosroes (Moses Dasxurançi); Feruhān (Anon. Guidi); Rūmīzān, nicknamed Shahrbarāz (Bar Hebr.); and Šahrbaraz, or similar (Mich. Syr., *Chron.* 724, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* (Schahriar), Agapius, Euty chius).

In 590/1 he perhaps deserted the rebel Bahram and joined Chosroes; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii. The name here is uncertain, however; cf. Mich. Syr. x 23 (trans. Chabot, p. 372, n. 2) and Justi, p. 8, s.n. Ahura-mazdāh, no. 24, and see also Dolabzas (already with Chosroes in 590).

He led Persian forces in attacks on Roman territory in the reign of Phocas, earning the nickname 'wild boar' for his enthusiasm (see above). He and Cardarigan 2 are said to have sacked many Roman cities; Theoph. AM 6097, Sebeos xxiii, pp. 61-2. The date was perhaps 607/8; see Cardarigan 2. He overran Mesopotamia and penetrated almost to Constantinople (perhaps alluding to the same events); *Chron.* 1234, lxxxviii.

In summer 613 he and Shāhīn joined forces; Sebeos xxiv, p. 65. He took Damascus (in year 4 of Heraclius, perhaps late 613); Mich. Syr. xi 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1082-3. In the following year (614) he overran Galilee and Jordan; Mich. Syr. xi 1, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87. He overran Palestine and took Jerusalem (in year 6 of Heraclius, actually 614); Leontius, *V. Ioh. El.* 9, Sebeos xxiv, p. 68, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 614, Nic. *Brev.* 15, 20, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Moses Dasxurançi ii 10, Mich. Syr. xi 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxviii, Anon. Guidi, p. 25 = 22, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1082-3. For these events, see also Stratos 1, pp. 104-9. Subsequently (year 7 of Heraclius, perhaps 616) he invaded Egypt; he took Alexandria and extended Persian control to the frontier with Ethiopia; Mich. Syr. xi 1, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxviii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87, Euty chius, *Annales*, col. 1082-3. He was probably engaged in Egypt until the conquest was completed in 619/20; cf. Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 87 (three and a half years) and see Stratos 1, pp. 113-14. Cf. also Shāhīn, to whom the conquest of Egypt is attributed by some sources.

Possibly in 622 (the year of Mohammed's appearance) he took Ancyra and captured a number of islands; Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, lxxxvii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89, Agapius, p. 458, cf. Theoph. AM 6111 (the fall of Ancyra is placed in c. 620).

In 622 he returned from Cilicia to oppose Heraclius' invasion of Persia; he pursued Heraclius, who invaded from Armenia, and when

they finally met in battle Shahrbarāz was defeated; Theoph. AM 6113, Cedr. 1718, Zon. xiv 15, Sebeos xxvi, pp. 81-2. In 623 he was first sent to invade Roman territory by Chosroes but recalled, again to oppose Heraclius, joining his forces with those of Shāhīn to do so; Theoph. AM 6114, Cedr. 1721. In 624 he again pursued Heraclius and then, joined by Sarablangas, met him in battle and was heavily defeated; subsequently joining forces with Shāhīn he was taken by surprise by Heraclius as winter approached and fled with heavy losses; Theoph. AM 6115, Cedr. 1722-5. In 625 he reassembled an army and followed Heraclius as the Romans crossed the Euphrates to Samosata and Germanicia; Heraclius defeated him at the battle of the river Sarus and he withdrew; Theoph. AM 6116, Cedr. 1725. On the events of these years, see Stratos 1, pp. 137-44, 151-72.

In 626 he was present at Chalcedon during the Avar siege of Constantinople; after the siege was abandoned by the Avars he remained at Chalcedon for some while, apparently wintering there; Theod. Sync., 300.27, 306.39, 307.5, 308.18, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626, Nic. *Brev.* 17, Sebeos xxvi, pp. 77ff., Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Theoph. AM 6117, Cedr. 1727-9, 731, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89, Agapius, p. 458.

Perhaps while at Chalcedon he turned against Chosroes and refused to help him against Heraclius; according to a tradition repeated in Greek and oriental sources, a letter from Chosroes to his fellow-general at Chalcedon, Cardarigan 2, ordering his assassination was intercepted by the Romans and disclosed to him; in consequence he made peace with the Romans; Theoph. AM 6118, Cedr. 1733, Zon. xiv 16, Nic. *Brev.* 17, Sebeos xxvii, pp. 85-6, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, xcvi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 89, *Hist. Nest.* ii 87, 93, Agapius, p. 461ff.

He subsequently supported the overthrow of Chosroes and his replacement by Cavades II, but in 630 he himself overthrew and murdered Cavades' son, Ardashir, and assumed the throne of Persia; he was king for two months only, April to June 630, before he himself was murdered; Theoph. AM 6120, Cedr. 1735, Nic. *Brev.* 21, *Capt. Hieros.* xxiv 6, Sebeos xxviii, pp. 88-9, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Mich. Syr. xi 3, *Chron.* 1234, cvii, cv, Anon. Guidi, pp. 29-30 = 25, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 90, 93, *Chron. Eccl.* ii 26, Agapius, pp. 452-3, 467, *Hist. Nest.* ii 89, 93, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 327 = 251. For the date, see Noeldeke, *Tabari*, p. 433.

His military activities in the west are alluded to in general terms in Moses Dasxurançi ii 11 (he, Shāhīn and Cardarigan 2 were Chosroes' generals) and *Hist. Nest.* ii 89 (frequently invaded Roman territory). After the breach with Chosroes he pursued a policy of peace with the

Romans; cf. Nic. *Brev.* 21, *Chron.* 724, pp. 139 = 108, 147 = 114, Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* II 26, Agapius, p. 452.

A son of his is mentioned as a hostage with the Romans in c. 627, Mich. Syr. XI 3; and two sons were with Siroes (Cavadēs II) when Chosroes was overthrown in 628, Theoph. AM 6118. He was father of Nicetas 9.

He removed the Holy Cross from Jerusalem after its capture (614) and is credited in some sources with restoring it (c. 628/9); cf. Nic. *Brev.* 20, 21, Sebeos XXIV, p. 69, *Chron.* 1234, ciii, Thomas Artsruni II 3, Cedr. I 733, Anon. Guidi, pp. 29-30 = 25.

See also Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 290-2, 294ff., 299ff., 388-90.

Shirin wife of Chosroes II L VI/E VII

On the name, see Justi, p. 302, s.n. Širīn, no. 2. In Greek sources her name is spelt Σιρήν (Evagr., Nic. Call.) or Σαρπέμ (Theoph. Sim., Theoph.).

Native of Khuzistan; Sebeos IV, p. 28. Of Aramaic origin; Anon. Guidi, pp. 16-17 = 15-16, cf. Theoph. Sim. V 13.7 (said to be γένους Ῥωμαϊκοῦ, presumably a misunderstanding). She was a Christian; Theoph. Sim. V 13.7, Evagr. HE VI 21, Sebeos IV, p. 28, Anon. Guidi, pp. 16-17 = 15-16, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 22, *Hist. Nest.* II 58, 65, 67, and cf. Fredegar. IV 9 (the 'Caesara' there named may be based on Shirin; cf. Anaulfus).

Wife of Chosroes II and queen of Persia; Theoph. Sim. V 13.7, 14.1ff., Evagr. HE VI 21, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 22, Theoph. AM 6118, Sebeos IV, p. 28, Anon. Guidi, pp. 16-17 = 15-16, *Hist. Nest.* II 58, 65, 67. Proclaimed queen in 592; Theoph. Sim. V 13.7. Still alive in 627; cf. Theoph. AM 6118, *Hist. Nest.* II 93.

See also Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 283, n. 2, 358ff.

Shurahbīl ibn Ḥasanah Arab commander 633-634

A member of the tribe of Kinda, he grew up in Mecca as ally of Quraysh and served Abū Bakr in the *rida* wars; cf. Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 86, 111.

One of the commanders sent by Abū Bakr to attack Syria, he led the conquest of Jordan in 633 and 634 and was present during the siege of Damascus; *Chron.* 1234, cvi, Balādhurī, p. 107 = Hitti, p. 165, p. 108 = Hitti, p. 167, p. 116 = Hitti, pp. 178-9, pp. 120ff. = Hitti, pp. 186ff., and cf. Donner, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-16, 129-31, 134-40 (for an alternative reconstruction of events), 152-3.

He died of the plague in 639, aged sixty-nine; Balādhurī, p. 140 = Hitti, p. 215.

Sicharius 1 ?dux (in Gaul) (under Guntram) 584

In late 584 he and Willacharius led an army levied in the districts of Tours and Bourges against Poitiers, expelled Childebert's men and exacted oaths of allegiance to Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 13.

He was perhaps a *dux* in command of the expedition; less probably he was *comes civitatis* at Bourges co-operating with the *comes civitatis* at Tours, Willacharius.

He can hardly be identical with Sicharius, son of Ioannes, a native of Tours, who was involved in feuding in 585 and killed in 587, aged about twenty, and who was under the protection (in verbo suo) of Childebert's mother, Brunichildis; cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 47, IX 19.

Sicharius 2 Frankish envoy to the Slavs 630

Envoy of Dagobert to the Slavs under Samo in 630, seeking redress for wrongs done to traders; the mission failed and war followed; Fredegar. IV 68.

Sichildis wife of Chlotharius II 625-626

Sister of Gomatrudis; she was queen (regina) in 625 and 626 and wife of Chlotharius II; Fredegar. IV 53, 54. He married her after the death of Bertethrudis (which was in 618); she was mother of Charibertus; *Gesta Dagoberti* 5.

SICORIVS senator (in Spain) M/L VI

Owner of a servant girl whose blindness was cured by Saint Aemilianus (Sicorii quoque senatoris ancilla); Braulio, *V. Aem.* 18. He perhaps lived in Cantabria in c. 560/70; see Garcia Moreno, pp. 56-7, notes 80, 2 and 3, and p. 73, no. 129. *Senator* probably denotes a wealthy landowner claiming descent from Roman senatorial ancestors; see Stroheker, *Spanische Senatoren*, pp. 78ff., Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, pp. 115ff.

Sidifan Moorish leader 546/547

Siclifan; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 47. Sidisan; *Ioh.* IV 637. Sidafen; *Ioh.* V 270. A leader of the Moors, with Antalas in winter 546/547; a cavalry commander, he fought in the battle in which the Moors were defeated; he killed Zudius; Coripp. *Ioh.* II 47-9, IV 637-8, V 270-5.

Sidocus bishop of Eauze 626

Son of Palladius 7; bishop of Eauze (?co-bishop with his father); exiled in 626 with his father for aiding a Gascon rebellion (cf. Aighyna); Fredegar. IV 54.

Sidonia wife of Mummolus M/L VI

Her name is given only in Fredegar. iv 4.

Wife of Eunius *qui et* Mummolus 2, she accompanied his flight from Guntram's kingdom in 581, was captured in 584 and in 585 after her husband's death revealed to Guntram the location of his treasures in Avignon; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 38, 40, Mar. Avent. s.a. 581, Fredegar. iv 4.

Sigarius citizen of Poitiers c. 568

In c. 568 he and Basilius 5 defended Poitiers for Chilperic against Mummolus 2, were overwhelmed and killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 45. In some MSS the name is written 'Siagrius'.

Siggo referendarius (of Sigibert) M/L VI

He was *referendarius* of Sigibert, after whose death (575) he was promoted to the same post under Chilperic; he soon chose to leave Chilperic and serve Sigibert's son Childebert II instead; his estates near Soissons (perhaps given to him by Chilperic, cf. Dalton II, p. 535, and see Godinus) were then granted to Ansoaldus; shortly afterwards his wife died but he remarried; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 3 (Siggo quoque referendarius, qui annulum regis Sigiberti tenuerat et ab Chilperico rege provocatus erat ut servitium, quod tempore fratris sui habuerat, obtineret).

He was once miraculously cured of deafness in one ear while in the company of Gregory of Tours at Reims; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* III 17 (Siggo referendarius quondam Sigiberti).

Sigibertus I king of the Franks 561-575

Son of Chlotharius I (*PLRE* II, Chlothacharius) and Ingundis I; brother of Charibert and Guntchramnus (Guntram) and half-brother of Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 22, Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, Fredegar. III 47, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 27. He married (c. 567) the Visigothic princess Brunichildis; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 1, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 27, Fredegar. III 57, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 31, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10. Father of Childebert, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51, v 1, ix 20, Mar. Avent. s.a. 576, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10; and of Ingundis 2, Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 38, v 38, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 579. See stemma 18e.

He died aged forty in 575 (see below) and so was born in 535.

KING of the Franks a. 561-575: on the death of Chlotharius I in 561 the kingdom was divided between his four surviving sons, Sigibert, Charibert, Guntram and Chilperic; Sigibert obtained the former kingdom of Theoderic (cf. Dalton I, p. 144) with his capital at Reims;

Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 22 (Reims), Fredegar. III 55 (at Metz), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 29 (Reims), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10 (Metz). King of the Franks; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 1, 1<sup>a</sup>, Mar. Avent. s.a. 561, s.a. 576, Men. Prot. fr. 23 (ὁ τῶν Φράγγων ἡγεμῶν), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 7, 10.

In 562 he campaigned successfully against the 'Huns' (Avars) who had attacked Gaul and made peace with them but on his return found his kingdom under attack from Chilperic and some of his cities overrun; he took Soissons and captured Chilperic's son Theodebert before defeating Chilperic himself and recovering his lost cities; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 23, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 30, Fredegar. III 55, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10. In 566 another Avar attack resulted in the defeat and capture of Sigibert; by gifts and diplomacy he secured his own release and a treaty with the khan Baian which ended warfare with the Avars; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 29, Fredegar. III 61, Men. Prot. fr. 23, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 10.

At some time before c. 567 Sigibert won a notable victory in Thuringia over the Saxons and the Thuringians, as a result of which they apparently accepted some degree of subjection to him; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VI 1, lines 74-6 (*de patre virtus, quam Nabis ecce probat, Toringia victa fatetur, proficiens unum gemina de gente triumphum*), VI 1<sup>a</sup>, lines 11-14 (*Saxone Thoringo resonat, sua damna moventes, unius ad laudem tot cecidisse viros. quod tunc ante aciem pedibus prior omnibus isti, hinc modo te reges unde sequantur habes*). These were perhaps the peoples whose help he called on against Chilperic in 574 and 575 (see below). The language of Paul the Deacon concerning the Avar defeat of 562 (*Hist. Lang.* II 10 *quibus ille in Turingia occurrens, eos iuxta Albem fluvium potentissime superavit*) suggests that he is referring to the same events as Venantius Fortunatus, but the circumstances seem to be different, even though both events apparently occurred in the same geographical area.

He sent an army to capture Arles from Guntram but it was defeated and he lost Avignon as well, although Guntram later restored Avignon to him (see Celsus and Firminus 1); Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 30. In 567 he lost Tours and Poitiers to Chilperic after the death of Charibert, but recovered them thanks to Mummolus 2 and the support of Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 45. He sent envoys to Constantinople (?c. 570/572) to negotiate peace with Justin; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 40, Fredegar. III 64 (and see Warinarius and Firminus 1). Perhaps c. 572 he allowed Saxons who had left their homelands to accompany the Lombards into Italy in 568 to return to their original homes; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 42, Fredegar. III 68. According to Paul the Deacon their former homes had been settled by Suavi and other peoples during the reigns of Chlotharius and Sigibert; *Hist. Lang.* II 6.

In 573 Sigibert and Guntram were in dispute and called an assembly of bishops in Paris, which failed to resolve their differences; then Chilperic's son Theodebert overran Tours and Poitiers and districts south of the Loire and took them from Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 47. In 574 Sigibert recovered them, forcing Guntram to allow him access to Chilperic's territory and alarming Chilperic into suing for peace; he had levied forces from the tribes across the Rhine (*gentes illas quae ultra Rhenum habentur*; cf. above) but found them not amenable to discipline; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 49.

In 575 he was attacked by Chilperic and again summoned the help of the tribes from across the Rhine; he defeated and killed Theodebert and forced Chilperic to take refuge in Tournai (cf. Godegiselus and Guntchramnus Boso); he overran the kingdom of Chilperic and accepted the offer to become its king in place of Chilperic; while laying siege to Chilperic in Tournai, he was proclaimed king at Vitry but was immediately assassinated, supposedly by agents of Fredegundis; he was buried first by Chilperic at a nearby village but then his body was translated to the church of St Medard at Soissons; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 50-1, Fredegar. iii 71, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 32, Mar. Avent. s.a. 576, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 10.

He died aged forty, in the fourteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his young son Childebert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51.

## Sigibert II

son of Theoderic II 602-613

Born to Theoderic in 602 by a concubine; Fredegar. iv 21. He was Theoderic's eldest son (Fredegar. iv 40) and brother of Childebertus, Corbus and Meroveus. See stemma 18e.

After Theoderic's death in 613 Brunichildis tried to secure the throne for him but lacked support in Burgundy and Austrasia; Sigibertus was captured with Corbus and Meroveus by Chlotharius and executed; Fredegar. iv 39-42.

## Sigibertus III

king of Austrasia 634-656

Son of Dagobertus; Fredegar. iv 59, 61, 75, 76, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42, *Gesta Dagoberti* 39. His mother is named as Ragnetrudis in Fredegar. iv 59 (probably correctly), but as Nantechildis (wife of Dagobert) in *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42. He was born in 629/30; Fredegar. iv 59. His godfather was Charibertus; Fredegar. iv 62. See stemma 18f.

Probably in 634 (the eleventh year of Dagobert) he was made king of Austrasia, with Metz as his capital, and with Adalgisel and bishop Charibert of Cologne in control of affairs; Fredegar. iv 75, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 42. His tutor was Otto 2; Fredegar. iv 86. At Dagobert's death in

638 Sigibert remained king of Austrasia, in accordance with arrangements made by Dagobert and the Frankish leaders in 634/5; he was supported by Pippin, bishop Chunibert and other Austrasian *duces*; Fredegar. iv 76, 85. In 639 (recorded as the eighth year of Sigibert) he accompanied the disastrous expedition against the rebel *dux* in Thuringia, Radulf; Fredegar. iv 87. After the murder of Otto in 641/2 (recorded as the tenth year of Sigibert) the kingdom was dominated by the *maior palatii* Grimoald; Fredegar. iv 88.

Sigibert died on Feb. 1, 656, and was succeeded by his young son Dagobert II; cf. Grimoald, and see *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* vii, pp. 493-4.

Author of two surviving letters among those of bishop Desiderius of Cahors, Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* ii 9, 17; and addressee of two from Desiderius, *Ep.* i 3, 4. Mentioned in Desid. Cadurc. *Ep.* i 2 (gloriosus princeps domnus Siggebertus rex).

## Sigila

follower of Sigibert M VI

Originally from 'Gotthia' (*qui quondam ex Gotthia venerat*) (presumably a Visigoth either from Spain or Septimania; perhaps he had accompanied Brunichildis to Gaul when she married Sigibert); in late 575 when Sigibert was murdered at Vitry Sigila was badly wounded; later he fell into the hands of Chilperic and was tortured to death; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51.

## Sigmundus

?Frank, at Sigibert's court M VI

Brother of Alagisilus; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vii 21.

Addressee of poems by Venantius Fortunatus; *Carm.* vii 20, 21 (jointly with his brother), *App. Carm.* iv.

He lived somewhere north of Venantius (who was in Poitiers) and is asked for news of his doings, whether in Italy or Gaul; *Carm.* vii 20. He apparently wrote in praise of Magnulfus; *Carm.* vii 10, lines 5-6 *sic tuba praeconis Sigmundi missa cucurrit, ut tua diffuso sint bona nota loco*. He and his brother, living near the Rhine, are wished increased honours from the king; *Carm.* vii 21, line 9 post *Italas terras mittis mihi*, Rhene, parentes, line 14 *sic vester crescat munere regis honor*. This suggests that he served at court in Austrasia, perhaps under Sigibert, and, perhaps, travelled widely on official business.

He and his brother once visited Poitiers, to Venantius' great delight; *Carm.* vii 21.

## Sigivaldus 1

?dux (of the Auvergne) c. 525/527 (or ?532)

Relative of the Frankish king Theoderic I (= *PLRE* ii, Theodericus 6); Greg. Tur. *HF* iii 13, 23. Father of Sigivaldus 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* iii



23. Ranichildis was his daughter; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 12. 3. His wife is alluded to in Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Iul.* 14.

A man of influence with Theoderic, he accompanied him on the attack on the Auvergne after the revolt of Arcadius (*PLRE* II, p. 131), in c. 525/527 (or possibly in 532, see below); Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Iul.* 14 (cited below), *V. Patr.* 5. 2 (qui tunc primus cum eo habebatur). Cf. also *PLRE* II, p. 572, Hortensius 2.

?DVX ARVERNORVM c. a. 525/527: dux, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 12. He remained in command of the Auvergne when Theoderic withdrew; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 13 (Sigivaldum parentem suum in ea quasi pro custodia dereliquit), *Mir. S. Iul.* 14 (Sigivaldus cum rege praepotens cum omni familia sua in Arverna regione ex regis iussu migravit), cf. *V. Patr.* 12. 2 (erat autem tunc temporis apud Arvernam urbem Sigivaldus magna potentia praeditus), *Mir. S. Iul.* 13. He and his men are said to have robbed and murdered without restraint; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 16, *Mir. S. Iul.* 14.

He was executed by Theoderic in 532/533 (shortly before Theoderic's own death); Greg. Tur. *HF* III 23 (no reason is recorded). His property was confiscated by Theoderic but restored to his son by Theodebert after Theoderic's death; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 24.

How long he remained in office is unknown; he was probably not at Clermont when he was killed (cf. *HF* III 23; Sigivaldus was with Theoderic while his son was apparently at Clermont with Theodebert).

An alternative chronology, which rejects the evidence of Gregory that the revolt of Arcadius occurred when Quintianus was bishop (*HF* III 12-13, *V. Patr.* 4.2-3, cf. *Mir. S. Iul.* 23), dates the revolt to 531 and the attack on the Auvergne to 532; in this case Sigivaldus was dux in the Auvergne in 532; see Kurth, *Ét. franq.* I 187-9, Stroheker, 119-20.

Sigivaldus 2 son of Sigivaldus 1 M VI

Son of Sigivaldus 1; at his father's death he was helped to escape by Theodebert and fled to Arles and then Italy; after Theodebert became king (in 533) he returned from Italy, receiving many gifts and recovering all his father's property; Greg. Tur. *HF* III 23, 24. Brother of Ranichildis; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 12. 3.

Sigivaldus 3 comes (in Gaul) L VI

Sigivaldus; Greg. Tur. Sigoaldus; Ven. Fort. On the name, cf. Schönfeld, pp. 206-7, Förstemann 1332.

Addressee of three poems by Venantius Fortunatus, all written in the reign of Childebert II; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 16-18.

In c. 567 on Sigibert's orders he escorted Venantius Fortunatus 2

safely across Gaul from the Italian border; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 16, lines 1-4.

COMES of Childebert II a. 576/596: his appointment by Childebert was celebrated by Venantius Fortunatus, who hoped that in due time he would become dux (there is no evidence that he did); *Carm.* x 16 title (Pro comitatu eius Sigoaldo), lines 11-12 (rex Childebercthus crescens te crescere cogat: qui modo dat comitis, det tibi dona ducis). Comes; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 17 title (cited below), line 43, x 18, lines 2-8. Described as a 'famulus' of Childebert; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 17, line 25. In 584 he was one of Childebert's envoys to Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 14.

In one poem Venantius records how Sigivaldus distributed food to the poor and needy on behalf of the king, apparently at Tours after mass in St Martin's; *Carm.* x 17 title (Ad Sigoaldum comitem, quod pauperes pro rege paverit), cf. lines 25-42. In another Sigivaldus seems to have attended a feast given by a *defensor* and Venantius hopes that he will long enjoy high office under Childebert; *Carm.* x 18.

He was possibly comes of Tours and perhaps also Poitiers, although the evidence is slim; cf. Ven. Fort. *Carm.* x 16, line 7 (perhaps at Poitiers), x 17, line 27 (probably at Tours), x 18, line 1 (perhaps at Poitiers).

Sigoaldus Frankish dux (in Burgundy) 613

Dux; in 613 he joined Aletheus, Eudela and Rocco in supporting Warnacharius 2 and joining Chlotharius II against Brunichildis; Fredegar. IV 42 (cited under Rocco).

Sigulfus 1 follower of Sigibert ?573

A follower of king Sigibert, he forced Chilperic's son Chlodovechus to leave Bordeaux and return to his father (perhaps in 573); Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 47. In Fredegar. III 70 he is named wrongly as the dux whom Chilperic defeated near Tours and Poitiers (who was Gundovaldus 1).

Sigulfus 2 pretender to the Frankish throne before 585

A pretender to the Frankish kingdom, he harassed bishop Magnulfus of Toulouse before, apparently, he was killed; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 27.

Sigulfus 3 dux (in Gaul) 585

Dux; sent by Guntram in 585 to instal Theodulfus as comes at Angers after the people had expelled him; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 18.

Silco king of the Nobades ?530/540

An inscription from Kalabshah (Talmis) records his victories over the Blemmyes; Lefebvre, no. 628 (ἐγὼ Σιλκῶ βασιλίσκος Νουβάδων καὶ

ὄλων τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν). For his date, see Kraus, *Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien*, pp. 26-30, 100-9, 116 and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II, p. 301, n. 1, and *Rev. d'hist. eccl.* 36 (1940), p. 133, n. 2.

**Fl. Silvanianus**

vir illustris (in Africa) ?VI

Fl. Si + Iba/nianus ill(ustris); died aged forty, buried at Ammaedara in August of an eighth indiction; *CIL* VIII 451 with p. 926 = 11650 = *ILCV* 214 Ammaedara.

Silvanus (*IGLS* II 297 = Robert, *Hell.* IV, pp. 136-7) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Silvanus scholasticus (in Egypt) VI

Named in a document from Aphrodito listing payments; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67330, III 15 Σιλβάνω σχο(λαστικῶ) (four *solidi*).

**Silverius**

vir illustris (in Italy) 534

One of the 'viri illustres et magnifici' to whom pope John II wrote in early 534, before March 24; *ACOec.* IV II, p. 206 (= Mansi VIII 803 = *PL* 66, 20). Cf. Ampelius I.

**Silvester**

Gallo-Roman; bishop elect of Langres 572

A relation of Gregory of Tours and of bishop Tetricus of Langres, he was chosen to succeed Tetricus as bishop of Langres and was ordained priest but suffered from epilepsy and died of a fit in 572; he had a son who blamed Petrus 12 (brother of Gregory) for his father's death and murdered him two years later, in 574; *Greg. Tur. HF* V 5. Cf. Stroheker, no. 359.

**Silvia I**

mother of pope Gregory M VI

Mother of pope Gregory, she was of aristocratic descent; Monk of Whitby, *V. Greg.* I, Paul. Diac. *V. Greg.* I, Phot. *Bibl.* 252. She was the wife of Gordianus and sister of Pateria. See stemma 11.

**SILVIA 2**

(c.f.) (in Gaul) VI

Of senatorial family, she claimed descent from consuls (consulibus atavis pollens); mother of Celsus 2 and of other sons who were in holy orders; she died aged seventy-eight on March 9, 579, and was buried in Vienne in the church of St Peter; her sons (but not Celsus) outlived her (pignora desistant lacrimis planctuque gravari); *CIL* XII 2094 = *ILCV* 181 Vienne (preserved mainly in a MS copy). Cf. Stroheker, no. 360.

**SIMMAS (Σίμμος)**

dux (East) 531

A Hun; *Proc. BP* I 13.21. On the name, cf. Justi, p. 301.

In 527 he and Sunicas with a number of followers were stationed in Dara, which they successfully defended from Persian attacks; he is styled 'χιλιάρχος Romanus'; *Zach. HE* IX 3. Perhaps *tribunus*; cf. also Sebastianus I.

He served under Belisarius at the battle of Dara in June 530, commanding a cavalry force six hundred strong with Ascan; *Proc. BP* I 13.21, 14.44.

DVX A. 531: styled δοῦξ, *Joh. Mal.* 462; and ἑξαρχος, *Joh. Mal.* 464-5. He perhaps had the title, but not the office, of *dux*; see Sunicas.

In 531 he served under Belisarius against the Persians and fought in the Roman defeat of Callinicum (April 19, 531); *Joh. Mal.* 462 (at Barbalissus), 463-5 (at Callinicum). See further Sunicas.

Simplicius (*CIL* V. 1678 + p. 1026) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Simplicius I**

philosopher VI

A native of Cilicia, a pagan and a philosopher, he was one of those who accompanied Damascius (*PLRE* II) to Persia under Chosroes in 531/532 (the others were Eulamius, Priscianus, Hermeias I, Diogenes I and Isidorus 2); all were unhappy at the dominance of Christianity in the empire and hoped to find a more congenial atmosphere in Persia; they were disillusioned and returned to the empire but with their freedom and security guaranteed under the terms of a treaty; *Agath.* II 30-1, esp. 30.3 (= *Suid.* II 2251), and cf. Alan Cameron, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 195 (1969), pp. 18-19.

He was a student of philosophy at Alexandria under Ammonius (*PLRE* II) and then at Athens under Damascius; *Simpl. in Cacl.* 271.19, 462.20, in *Phys.* 59.23, 183.18, 192.14, 1363.8 (ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγεμών Ἀμμώνιος), in *Phys.* 642.17, 774.28 (ὁ ἡμέτερος καθηγεμών Δαμάσκιος) and see *index nominum*, p. 1442.

Author of numerous commentaries on Aristotle and other philosophers. He wrote a Commentary on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus (ed. Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1840), possibly at Athens in 529/531 (see Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-17). Perhaps after his return from Persia he wrote the Commentary on the *De Caelo* of Aristotle (ed. Heiberg, *CAG* VII, Berlin 1894) (in it he alludes to something which he himself had seen at the river Aboras; see *CAG* VII 525.13, and see Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-4). He subsequently wrote his Commentaries on the *Physica* (ed. Diels, *CAG* IX-X, Berlin, 1882-95; it alludes to the *De Caelo*; see Diels' *index nominum*, p. 1454, s.n. Simplicius), the *Categorías* (ed. Kallfleisich, *CAG* VIII, Berlin, 1907; it alludes at *CAG* VIII 435.24 to the *Physica*) and the *De Anima* (ed. Hayduck, *CAG* XI, Berlin, 1882; it alludes to the *Physica* at

CAG xi 35.14, 198.5). He also wrote a (lost) Commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysica* (Simpl. in *de Anima* 28.20, 21 7.27) and a (lost) Epitome of the *Physica* of Theophrastus (Simpl. in *de Anima* 136.29). Other works of his surviving in MS and unpublished are Scholia on the Τέχνη of Hermogenes, a Commentary on the Three Books of Iamblichus' Περὶ Πυθαγόρου αἰρεσέως, and a Treatise *de Syllogismis*.

He may have written his works at Harrān (Carrhae): see M. Tardieu, "Sabiens Coraniques et 'Sabiens' de Harrān", *Journal asiatique* 274 (1986), pp. 1-44, and I. Hadot, "The Life and Work of Simplicius in Greek and Arabic Sources", in R. Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle transformed. The ancient commentaries and their influence* (London, 1990), pp. 278ff., with pp. 500-502 (for bibliography on Simplicius).

He was a bitter opponent of Ioannes Philoponus (*PLRE* II, Ioannes 76); Simpl. in *Cael.* 25.23, 26.19 (he never actually met him), 119.7, and see *index nominum*, p. 771.

Simplicius is the subject of two epigrams; Cougny III iii, 181 (εἰς Σιμπλίκιον, τὸν ἐξηγητὴν τῶν δέκα κατηγοριῶν. Σιμπλίκιος μὲν ᾄσμα κατηγορίας φαάνθη, ἐκ δ' ὁ κατηγορίας λῦσεν Ἀριστοτέλους), 182 (εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν Σιμπλίκιος μέγα φῶς φύσιος περὶ κύκλον ἀνῆψε, νοῦν δὲ γ' Ἀριστοτέλους εὔρεν ἀριστοπόνως).

Simplicius 2 ?doctor VI

Pupil of the iatrosophist Agnellus at Ravenna; see O. Temkin, *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine* III (1935), p. 409 (cited under Agnellus).

Sinceris ?man of property (in Sicily) 596

Son-in-law of Hilarus; in 596 he approached the pope on his wife's behalf, since creditors were pressing her to settle her dead father's debts although she had no involvement in his affairs; Gregory instructed the bishop of Tauromenium (Taormina) to examine the case and give his protection; Greg. *Ep.* VI 33 (a. 596 May).

Sinderith Gothic dux (in Sicily) 535

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 207.

Dux in command of Gothic forces besieging Syracuse in 535; he and his men voluntarily surrendered to Belisarius (cf. p. 194 above); Jord. *Get.* 308, *Rom.* 369. He is not named by Procopius or Marcellinus *comes*.

Sindual Herul leader; MVM (?554-559(-c. 556)

Sindewala; Mar. Avent. Sindula, Sindua; Pelag. Sindual; *Lib. Pont.* Sinduald; Paul. Diac. Σίνδουαλ; Agath. Σινδούαλδος; Evagr. Σιλδο-ύανδος; Nic. Call. For the name, see Schönfeld, p. 208.

A Herul; Agath. I 20.8, Mar. Avent. s.a. 566, s.a. 568, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3.

An energetic and experienced soldier, he was one of the Heruli who served with Narses I in Italy in 553; after Fulcaris died he was one of the two favourites (cf. Aruth) to succeed to the command of the Heruli, and was the one chosen by Narses; Agath. I 20.8 (τοῦτόν γε αὐτοῖς ἐπίστησι στρατηγόν). For the date, late 553/early 554, see Narses, p. 921. Ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγεμὼν (in autumn 554); Agath. II 7.6.

MVM a. (?554-559(-c. 566): magister militum, Pelag. I, *Ep.* 31 (a. 559 Feb.), 73 (a. 559 April). He may have received the title from Narses in 553/554, since Agathias calls him στρατηγός; Agath. I 20.8 (cited above), II 9.13 (autumn 554; ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων στρατηγός). He presumably retained it until his rebellion in c. 566 (see below).

In autumn 554 he resisted the refusal of the Heruli to fight for Narses following the execution of one of their number; he persuaded them to change their minds and led them to the place left for them by Narses in the centre of the Roman lines, joining in decisively when the battle of Capua was already in progress and driving back the Franks; Sindual personally distinguished himself in the fighting; Agath. II 7.6-7, 8.6, 9.7-9.13.

In 559 he was the addressee of two letters from Pelagius I, both advising him on the legal position in particular cases; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 31, 73. He was evidently one of the *magistri militum* serving under Narses and helping to consolidate the reconquest of Italy.

Possibly in 566, after the death of Justinian, the Heruli in north Italy revolted and proclaimed Sindual king but he was shortly afterwards defeated and executed by Narses; Mar. Avent. s.a. 566 (tyrannidem adsumpsit), s.a. 568, *Exc. Sang.* 710, Evagr. *HE* IV 24, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 13, *Lib. Pont.* 63, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3. In Paul the Deacon he is styled 'Brentorum rex', presumably referring to the district where he and the Heruli were stationed and where he was proclaimed king; the Brenti are unknown, but could perhaps be located around the river Brenta and the Brenta mountains near Tridentum.

Sindual is described as originally a loyal follower of Narses who conferred many benefits on Sindual, but defeated and executed him when he rebelled; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 3.

SINDVIT ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 547-548

For the name, see Schönfeld, p. 208.

One of the army officers who served in Africa under Ioannes 36 Troglita in 547 and 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* VI 521-2 (stationed with Geisirith

and Putzintulus on the left flank at the battle of Marta, in summer 547), viii 374-6 (stationed with Ifisdaia at the battle of the Plains of Cato, in summer 548).

For his rank and post, cf. Putzintulus.

Sinnion (Σιννίων) Hun leader 533, 551

In 533 he and Balas commanded a contingent of mounted archers six hundred strong from the Huns allied to Rome which accompanied the expedition of Belisarius against the Vandals; he was noted for his strength and bravery; Proc. *BV* I 11.11-12, cf. *BG* IV 19.7. On these Hun allies, cf. Proc. *BV* I 12.10, II 1.5-11, and for their activities in the Vandal war, *BV* I 12.8ff., 17.3, 18.3, 18.13-19, 19.18, 19.33, II 2.3, 3.7, 3.16. Presumably they were sent home, as promised by Belisarius (*BV* II 1.11), after the campaign ended. These Huns, allies under their own leaders, are not to be confused with the Huns who served as *foederati* under Roman officers (cf. e.g. Althias).

In 551 (for the date, cf. Aratius) Sinnion was a leader of the Cotrigur Huns who, after their defeat by the Utigurs (under Sandilchus), took their wives and children into the Roman empire and were allowed by Justinian to settle in Thrace; Proc. *BG* IV 19.7.

(A)emi(lius) Sinsicio (*Libyca* I (1953), p. 167 = *AE* 1954, 134) V/VI:  
*PLRE* II.

Sinthues (Σινθούης) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; sent with Magnus I in autumn 537 to occupy the fort of Tibur and harass the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 4.7. See further Magnus and Belisarius, p. 201. After a while he was disabled from further fighting by a wound to his right hand; *BG* II 4.15.

Sinzera Moorish chief 546/547

One of the Moorish 'duces' with Carcasan and Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 634. During this winter he took part in the battle against Ioannes 36 in which Antalas was defeated; Coripp. *Ioh.* V 200.

Siphilas (Σιφίλας) officer of the bodyguard of Constantianus 2 536

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Constantianus 2; in 536 he took part in the capture of Salona; Proc. *BG* I 7.34. See Constantianus.

Siricius physiologus VI/VII

Σιρικίου φυσιολόγου; Zacos 686a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2886, Zacos 686b (two seals; obv.: eagle; rev.: ΚΙΡΙ/ΚΙΟΝΦ/VCIOΛ/ΟΓΟΝ. The name on the reverse could perhaps be Κιρικού).

SIRIS v.sp., comes (Egypt) 596

Recorded as owner of a *domus* in a papyrus from Heracleopolis Magna, dated in Aug./Sept. 596; *SB* 9153, line 8 (α τροπεζίτης (Fl. Ioannes 108) τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου Σίρεως] τοῦ περιβλ[έπτου κόμε]τος), cf. line 30 for the name.

Siroes: see Cavades II

Sisbertus assassin of Hermenegildus 585

Presumably a Visigoth.

Sent by Leovigild in 585 to murder Hermenegildus in Tarragona; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 585, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 28, Greg. *Dial.* III 31 (Leovigild sent 'suos apparitores'). He was himself put to death by Reccared in 587; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587. Cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 73.

Sisebutus king of the Visigoths 612-620

On the name, cf. Schönfeld, p. 208.

He had two sons, Theudila (who became a monk), *Ep. Wisig.* 8; and Reccared (his successor), *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 61.

KING of the Visigoths a. 612-621 Feb.: successor of Gundemar (died Feb./March 612); *Lat. reg. Visig.* 32 (*MGH, AA* XIII, p. 467) (reigned for eight years, ten months, twenty days), *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 60 (reigned for eight years, six months), cf. Fredegar. IV 33 (succeeded Witteric; an error).

He waged two successful campaigns (perhaps in 614 and 615) against the Romans in Spain, inflicting a heavy defeat and capturing several cities, including some coastal cities which he razed to the ground; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 61, Fredegar. IV 33. His correspondence with Caesarius 2 to end the fighting survives; *Ep. Wisig.* 3-6 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 663-7), and see Caesarius. For the date, cf. *Isid. Chron.* 415 (*MGH, AA* XI, p. 479). He is recorded to have subdued the Astures (through Richila) and the Roccones (per duces; cf. Suinthila); *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 61. He subdued Cantabria (perhaps the home of the Roccones, cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 161) and extended Visigothic control from the sea to the Pyrenees; Fredegar. IV 33. He apparently created a Visigothic fleet; *Isid. Hist. Goth., Recap.* (*MGH, AA* XI, p. 294), and cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-2 with 162, n. 1.

He passed anti-Jewish laws very early in his reign (before July 612), *Lex Visig.* xii 2.13, 14; and in c. 615 ordered the forcible baptism of the Jews, *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 60, *Chron.* 416, *Etym.* v 39.42 (cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 166, n. 2).

He died allegedly of an overdose of medicine, whether intentionally or by accident was disputed, in 621, and was succeeded by his son Reccared II; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 61, cf. Fredegar. iv 73 (succeeded within a year by Suinthila).

Described as wise and pious and much respected throughout Spain; Fredegar. iv 33. He was famed for his eloquence and his learning; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 60. In addition to the correspondence with Caesarius (see above), four letters of his survive, *Ep. Wisig.* 2 (to bishop Caecilius of Mentesa), 7 (to bishop Eusebius of Tarragona), 8 (to his son Theudila), 9 (to the Lombard king Adaloald and queen Theodelinda). He wrote an extant Life of bishop Desiderius of Vienne (in *MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.*, iii, 620ff.). Author of an extant poem on eclipses of the moon, dedicated to Isidore of Seville and composed in 613; he was himself the dedicatee of Isidorus' work *De Natura Rerum* (ed. J. Fontaine, pp. 1ff.; cf. also pp. 151ff., 328ff., for the poem on the eclipses).

He is praised by Isidore for using public money to ransom Roman prisoners captured by his own troops; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 61.

Sisegutia Suevic queen 584

Wife of Miro, king of the Sueves; after the overthrow of Eboricus, she was married by his successor Audeca; *Joh. Bicl. s.a.* 584, *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 43.

Sisenandus king of the Visigoths 631-636

A Visigothic noble (quidam ex proceribus), in 631 he led the rebellion which, with help from the Frankish king Dagobert, overthrew Suinthila; Sisenandus was proclaimed king in succession to Suinthila by the army at Saragossa (on March 26); Fredegar. iv 73. He reigned for four years, eleven months, sixteen days (dying on March 12) and he was succeeded in 636 by Chintila; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 35 (*MGH, AA* xiii, p. 467), cf. Fredegar. iv 82 (succeeded by Chintila), *Cont. Isid. Hisp.* (*MGH, AA* xi, p. 340) (five years).

Sisigis Gothic commander (in the Cottian Alps) 539/540

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 208.  
Commander of the Gothic garrisons in the Cottian Alps in late 539/early 540 (ὄς τῶν ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίων ἤρχεν); he went over to the Romans under Thomas 8 and urged the other Gothic commanders to do

likewise; *Proc. BG* ii 28.30. He and Thomas, besieged by Vraias, were relieved by the arrival of Ioannes 46 and Martinus 2 (in 540); *Proc. BG* ii 28.33-5.

Sisiniolus father of Ioannes 27 E VI

See Ioannes 27. Nothing further is known of him.

Sisinnius 1 MVM (Italy) 574

Stationed in Susa (Segusium, in the Cottian Alps) in 574, when the Lombard *dux* Zaban came there; he received a letter supposedly from Mummolus 2 which caused Zaban to flee; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 44 (cum Sisinnius magister militum a parte imperatoris in hac urbe resideret) (= *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* iii 8). He was probably one of the *magistri militum* left by Narses 1 to guard the northern borders of Italy; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 612-13.

SISINNIVS 2 governor (praeses) of Samnium L VI

Formerly governor of Samnium, living in poverty in Sicily in 592; pope Gregory ordered the *rector Siciliae* Petrus to make him an annual allowance of wine and money; *Greg. Ep.* ii 38 (a. 592 July; *cognovimus autem Sisinnium qui iudex Samnii fuit gravi inopia in Sicilia laborare, cui volumus xx decimatos vini et quattuor solidos annuos debeas ministrare*).

SISINNIVS 3 comes (in Phrygia) ?VI/VII

Son of Epiphanius; recorded on an inscription at Laodicea Combusta; *MAMA* i 256 Σηίνιος κόμης ὁ ἡὸς Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Κουσαῖνι δοῦλος Χ(ριστο)ῦ.

SISINNIVS 4 comes τοῦ ἄρτου VII

Σισιννίῳ κόμητι(ι) τοῦ ἄρτου; *Zacos* 2920A (seal; obv.: +C[ ]/CI[N]N/IΩ+; rev.: KOM/HTHTΘ/APTΘ). Presumably an official concerned with the bread supply at Constantinople. Cf. also Leontius 32.

Sisinnius 5 candidatus et imperialis spatharius VII

Σισιννίου κανδιδάτου καὶ βασιλικοῦ σπαθαρίου; *Zacos* 1001 = *Dumbarton Oaks seal* 55.1.2110 (seal; obv.: +CIC/INNIOV/KANΔI/[Δ]ATΘ; rev.: ΣBAC/IΛIKOV/CTΠAΘA/PIO[V]).

Sisiphridos commander of the Roman garrison in Assisi 545

For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 208.

A Goth distinguished by his loyalty to the Romans; he commanded the Roman garrison of Assisi in 545 when Totila besieged the city (τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἀσίση (sc. φυλακτηρίου) Σισίφριδος, Γότθος μὲν γένος, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ λίαν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ βασιλείως πράγματα ἔχων); Proc. *BG* III 12.12. He lost his life in making a sortie; many others were lost too and the people of Assisi surrendered; Proc. *BG* III 12.17.

Sisisclus vir inluster; ?dux of Baetica 619

He and Suanila attended the second Council of Seville, in 619; *Conc. Hispal.* II, c. 1 (= Vives, *Concilios*, p. 163) (consedentibus igitur nobis in secretario sacrosanctae Ierusalem Spalensis ecclesiae cum inlustribus viris Sisisclo rectore rerum publicarum atque Suanilane actore rerum fiscalium). The meaning of *rector rerum publicarum* was possibly *dux* of the province (in this case, Baetica); Sisisclus, to judge by his name a Visigoth, could have been either *dux provinciae* or *comes civitatis*, but see Helladius 2.

## Sittas I

MVM praesentalis 530-538/539; patricius 535-536; ex consul 536

His name occurs in various forms in the sources. Σίττας; Proc., Zach. Ζίττας; Joh. Mal. 430. Τζίττας; Just. *Nov.* 22, Joh. Mal. 465, Proc. *Aed.* III 6.6. Ζίττας; Joh. Mal. 470. Zetas; *CJ* I 29.5. Tzitta; *Marcell. com. Addit.* Τζίτας; Theoph., Cedr. To judge by his name, he was possibly of Gothic origin; cf. Schönfeld, p. 244. See also however Detschew, pp. 452-3 and 497 (the name may be Thracian). He was still a young man in 527; Proc. *BP* I 12.21 (cited under Belisarius).

He married Comito, a sister of the empress Theodora; Joh. Mal. 430, Theoph. AM 6020 (= Cedr. I 643). The betrothal and marriage are recorded by John Malalas among events of 528.

He served as an officer (δορυφόρος) in the bodyguard of Justinian, when the future emperor was still MVM (a. 520-527); Proc. *BP* I 12.21. In 527 he and Belisarius led a Roman invasion of Persarmenia; they plundered widely and took many Armenian prisoners before returning home; Proc. *BP* I 12.20. Later in the same year (but before Justinian became sole emperor, in August) they invaded Armenia again but were defeated by Aratius and Narses 2; Proc. *BP* I 12.21-2, 15.31.

MVM PER ARMENIAM a. 528 (-?529/530): this office was created in 528 and Sittas was the first to hold it; *CJ* I 29.5 (this law created the command and conferred it on Sittas as one commended by his past record - ex ante gestis; it is addressed 'Zetae viro illustri magistro militum per Armeniam et Pontum Polemoniacum et gentes'; the *gentes*

are enumerated and comprise several former satrapies; for the date of the law, 528, cf. Joh. Mal. 429). Στρατηλάτης Ἀρμενίας; Joh. Mal. 429-30 (describing the creation of the post in 528 in similar terms to the law (see above), and naming Sittas as the first holder), cf. Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 643 (both deriving from Joh. Mal.). He apparently insisted on recruiting his staff (*scrinariii*) from Armenians since they knew the country; Joh. Mal. 430, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. I 643.

It was presumably during this office (in 528 or 529?) that he defeated the Tzani and then persuaded them by words and deeds to change their way of life by giving up paganism and brigandage, accepting Christianity and serving in the Roman armies; Proc. *BP* I 15.24-5 (dated πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου, probably before 530 when Procopius' main narrative of the war begins, rather than before 527 as implied by *BP* I 15.31), *Aed.* III 6.6-7 (dated ἐπὶ τοῦτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος . . . Τζίττα στρατηγοῦντος Ῥωμαίων). For the submission of the Tzani under Justinian, cf. also Just. *Nov.* 1, praef., *Nov.* 28, praef.

MVM PRAESENTALIS a. 530-538/539: in 530 Sittas was MVM *praesentalis*, present in Armenia with authority over the army in Armenia and the MVM *per Armeniam*, Dorotheus 2; Proc. *BP* I 15.3 (Σίττας δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῶ ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ στρατῶ ἐφειστήκει), cf. 15.11 (senior to Dorotheus). Ὁ στρατηλάτης πραισέντου, in 531; Joh. Mal. 465. Ὁ ἐνδοξότατος στρατηγὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πραισέντου, ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίος, on March 18, 536; Just. *Nov.* 22, epil. Ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, at his death in 538/539; Proc. *BV* II 27.17.

In 530 Sittas and Dorotheus took action against a Persian army gathering to invade near Theodosiopolis; they routed them and looted their camp before returning home; Proc. *BP* I 15.1-8. Later they successfully defended Satala against a Persian army superior in numbers by a manoeuvre in which Sittas attacked them from the rear; they chose not to pursue the Persians as they retreated back to Persia after this setback; Proc. *BP* I 15.9-17. Cf. Dorotheus for details of both affairs.

In 531 he was in Armenia at the time of the Roman defeat at Callinicum (April 19); Joh. Mal. 465. After the recall of Belisarius following that defeat, Sittas was ordered by Justinian to go and defend the east; Proc. *BP* I 21.3, Joh. Mal. 465. He captured a number of places in Persia and then crossed the Armenian mountains (presumably the anti-Taurus) to Samosata; Joh. Mal. 465. He had command of a large army and was accompanied also by Arethas the Ghassānid; Zach. *HE* IX 6. When the Persians for the second time besieged Martyropolis (c. Aug./Sept.), Sittas, accompanied by Hermogenes, advanced as far as Attachas (about twelve miles north) and made camp there; Proc. *BP* I 21.9-10. His route had taken him to Amida and then on to Martyropolis

where he arrived in October; Zach. *HE* ix 6. According to John Malalas, the rumour of his approach sufficed to make the Persians abandon the siege and withdraw; Joh. Mal. 470. However, according to Procopius, Sittas and Hermogenes found themselves unable to help the city and so sent envoys to the Persian generals offering hostages if they would withdraw and so allow negotiations for peace to resume; this offer was accepted and the Persians, who had recently heard of the death of Cavades and the accession of Chosroes and moreover feared an attack by some Huns, withdrew from Martyropolis; Proc. *BP* I 21.23-7. One of the hostages, Senecius, was an officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Sittas; Proc. *BP* I 21.27.

After the conclusion of peace with Persia (on which agreement was reached after long negotiations in September 532; cf. Hermogenes) Sittas remained in Constantinople; Proc. *BP* II 3.8. The absence of references to him in connection with the Nika riot (January 532) suggests that he was not present in Constantinople at the time and was therefore probably still in the east.

PATRICIUS a. 535-536 (-?538/539): *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535 (cited below), Just. *Nov.* 22, epil. (cited above).

In 535 he defeated a Bulgar army in Moesia near the river Iatrus; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535 (Tzitta patricius in Mysia cum hoste Bulgarum congregiendi ad Iatrum superior invenitur).

EX CONSVLE (i.e. honorary consul) a. 536 March 18; Just. *Nov.* 22, epil. (cited above).

In 538 or 539, after the murder of Acacius I by the Armenians, Sittas was sent to Armenia by Justinian; at first he tried to win back the Armenians by peaceful tactics, hoping to persuade the emperor to abolish the new taxes which had angered them; Proc. *BP* II 3.8-9. Then, under pressure from Justinian who complained of delay, he turned to more vigorous methods; he sought to weaken the resistance of the Armenians by winning some of them over; the clan of the Aspetiani had already agreed to desert to the Romans but following various accidents and misunderstandings they changed their minds and remained with the others; Sittas went with his army to a place called Oenochalacon where the Armenians were encamped and there, during fighting, which was very scattered because of the nature of the terrain, he was attacked when accompanied by only a few men and was killed; Proc. *BP* II 3.10-27, 3.52. He was said to have been killed by the Arsacid Artabanes 2; Proc. *BP* II 3.25, *BV* II 27.17. Procopius however also records an alternative, that he was killed by an obscure Armenian called Solomon; Proc. *BP* II 3.27. His successor in the war against the Armenians was Buzes; Proc. *BP* II 3.28. For the date, 538/539, see Buzes.

The manner of his death is described as unworthy of his skill and of his record in war; Proc. *BP* II 3.26. He was a great asset to the Romans; Joh. Mal. 430 (καὶ γέγονεν ἔκτοτε μεγάλη παραφυλακὴ Ῥωμαίοις, i.e. after becoming *MVM per Armeniam*). Said to have been an excellent warrior; Proc. *BP* II 3.26, Joh. Mal. 430, Theoph. *AM* 6020, Cedr. I 643. As a general he was, according to Procopius, the equal of any of his contemporaries; Proc. *BP* II 3.26.

Said to be of handsome appearance; Proc. *BP* II 3.26.

Sittas 2 decarchus (at Martyropolis) 589

A Roman officer (*decarchus*) in Martyropolis in 589, he betrayed the city to the Persians, allegedly after being insulted by a superior officer; Evagr. *HE* VI 14 (Σίττας δὲ τις τῶν ἐν Μαρτυροπόλει δεκαάρχων, πρὸς τινα τῶν αὐτόθι στρατιωτικῶν ἀρχόντων λυπηθεὶς καταπροδίδωσι τὴν πόλιν), Theoph. *Sim.* III 5.12-13, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 17, *Chron.* 1234, lxxviii ('vir itaque Romanus, cui nomen Sitas, custos erat civitatis'). On the office of *decarchus*, see Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 109ff., with n. 85.

In late 590 when Maurice decided to help Chosroes to regain the throne of Persia, Martyropolis was returned to the Romans and Sittas, who had supported the Persian rebel Bahram, was handed over also and executed by Comentiolus; Theoph. *Sim.* IV 15.13-16, Evagr. *HE* VI 19 (stoned by the citizens of Martyropolis), Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 20.

Sizabulus khan of the Turks M VI

Σιζάβουλος, Σιλζίβουλος; Men. Prot. For the forms Silzibil, Sindjibu, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, p. 373; for the name Istāmi, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 35, n. 19.

Father of Tourxanthus (his successor); Men. Prot. fr. 43.

Khan of the Turks (in Sogdia); Men. Prot. fr. 1, 18, 20, 21. The Turks were divided into four khanates (ἡγεμονίαι) but Sizabulus was their supreme ruler; Men. Prot. fr. 18. He ruled from 552 to 576; cf. Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 17, and see below.

He campaigned against the Ephthalite Huns and threatened vengeance next on the Avars who had meanwhile caused much damage to the Turks; Men. Prot. fr. 1.

At the request of the Sogdians he sent an embassy to Chosroes offering to sell him silk; after Chosroes burnt the silk and then murdered members of a second embassy, Sizabulus followed the advice of Maniach and sought the friendship of the Romans (in 567-568); Men. Prot. fr. 18. He subsequently received in friendly fashion the embassy of Zemarchus 3, taking him with him on a campaign against Persia, and then sent him

back with Tagma after accepting the terms of a treaty with the emperor Justin II; *Men. Prot. fr.* 20, 21, cf. 43 (for the treaty).

He had recently died when the embassy of Valentinus 3 arrived in 576; *Men. Prot. fr.* 43.

Smarac(du?) scholasticus (in Egypt) VII

A payment to Σμαρακ[... ]/σχολαστικ(ῶ) is recorded; *Stud. Pal.* viii 933 Fayum.

Smaragdus I notarius (in Egypt) 557

In a set of accounts for various Apion estates, dated in 557, is recorded a plot of land σπειρομένη ποτὲ (ὑπὲρ) Σμαράγδου νοταρ(ίου) Νυμιδ( ); *P. Oxy.* 1911, line 97. He was perhaps a Numidian, but may have been *notarius* of a military unit of Numidians stationed locally.

Smaragdus 2 patricius; ex PSC et exarchus Italiae 603–608

Two of his titles, viz. *chartularius sacri palatii* and *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (see below) imply that he was one of the eunuch officials at the imperial court.

PATRICIVS: he is attested as *patricius* from the earliest reference to him (Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 18) in c. 585 to the latest (*CIL* vi 1200 = D 837) in 608, and see also Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 26, iv 25, 28, 32, *Greg. Ep.* xiii 36 (all cited below).

CHARTVLARIVS SAGRI PALATII: in 585/586 he is styled 'filius noster excellentissimus domnus Zmaragdus exarchus et chartularius sacri palatii'; Pelag. II, *Ep.* 3 (*ACOec.* iv ii, p. 105). In 591, in a letter to Maurice from the bishops of Histria, after his first term as exarch was over, he is referred to as 'Smaragdus gloriosus chartularius'; *Greg. Ep.* i 16a. For the title *chartularius*, borne by a eunuch official and possibly equivalent to *sacellarius*, see Narses I. Smaragdus perhaps bore the title before he became exarch and continued to hold it afterwards, suggesting that, whether it was also an actual office or just a dignity, it could certainly be combined with another actual office.

EXARCHVS ITALIAE a. 584/585–?589/590: the man who probably preceded him as exarch, Decius 2, is attested in Italy on Oct. 4, 584 (Pelag. II, *Ep.* 1) and Smaragdus therefore assumed office after that date. He is styled *exarchus* in Pelag. II, *Ep.* 3 (cited above, in 585/586) and *Ep.* 4 (*ACOec.* iv ii, p. 112) ('excellentissimus domnus filius noster Zmaragdus exarchus Italiae'; in 585/586).

Probably in 585 he made peace with the Lombard king Authari for three years; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 18 (cum Smaracdo patricio, qui tunc Ravennae praecerat). In a letter written shortly afterwards pope

Pelagius II alludes to the restoration of peace in Italy through the efforts of Smaragdus; Pelag. II, *Ep.* 3. Later (in c. 586) the pope alluded to his attempts to obtain the help of Smaragdus in ending the schism of the Histrian bishops; Pelag. II, *Ep.* 4. Smaragdus evidently put pressure on bishop Elias of Aquileia and other schismatics to communicate with Pelagius, because Elias (ob. 586/587) wrote to complain to the emperor Maurice and the emperor ordered Smaragdus to stop his harassment of them; *Greg. Ep.* i 16a = *ACOec.* iv ii, p. 133 (a. 591). Probably in 588 however Smaragdus himself visited Aquileia (Grado) and forcibly carried off bishop Severus, successor of Elias, and three other Histrian bishops to Ravenna where he compelled them to communicate with bishop John of Ravenna; a year or so later however he was replaced as exarch and returned to Constantinople; his successor was Romanus 7; according to Paul he was replaced after going mad; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 26 (Smaracdu patricius a daemónio non iniuste correptus, successorem Romanum patricium accipiens, Constantinopolim remeavit), and cf. Goubert, ii ii, p. 88. Probably in 588 or 589 he is mentioned in a letter written by Childebert II to the bishop of Milan, Laurentius, a fugitive at Genoa; he is to be informed of Childebert's intention to mount a campaign against the Lombards and asked to send Roman forces to help; *Ep. Austras.* 46 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 151) (virum praeclsum Smaragdum), and cf. Goubert, ii i, pp. 179–86 for the date. During his first exarchate Smaragdus assisted with the foundation of a monastery at Ravenna by bishop John (578–595); Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 98.

PRAEPOSITVS SAGRI CVBICVLI: in an inscription from Rome dated 608 (see below), Smaragdus is given the titles: ex praepos(ito) sacri palatii ac patricius et exarchus Italiae; *CIL* vi 1200 = D 837. Unless the first title was honorific, he was PSC before returning to Italy (in 603) as exarch. Comparison with the career and titles of Narses I (pp. 912–14) suggests that the date when he held this office was not necessarily between the two exarchates (c. 589/c. 603) but could have been before the first one, at an earlier stage of his career. The use of the title *chartularius* (cf. above) does not exclude the possibility that Smaragdus had already been PSC.

EXARCHVS ITALIAE (II) a. 603–608: he succeeded Gallinicus I (last attested in 602) and returned as exarch to Ravenna; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 25 (rediit Smaracdu, qui prius fuerat Ravennae patricius). He was in office by June 603, when pope Gregory wrote to him recalling his earlier efforts against the Histrian schismatics, seeking his help for bishop Firminus of Trieste who had abandoned the schism, and also mentioning a truce which Smaragdus was negotiating with Cilla (a Lombard *dux*);



Greg. *Ep.* XIII 36 (a. 603 June; addressed 'Smaragdo patricio et exarcho'; he is styled 'vestra excellentia' and addressed as 'excellens filii'). It is a reasonable inference that he was appointed exarch in place of Callinicus by Phocas, the new emperor, but by no means certain; Callinicus had provoked the Lombards by his seizure of Agilulf's daughter and her family and this may have led to his dismissal by Maurice before the latter's overthrow (Nov. 602). One of Smaragdus' first recorded acts was to restore his daughter to Agilulf and to negotiate peace; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 28 (the peace ran from Nov. 603 to April 605). Subsequently peace was renewed with the Lombards for one year (Nov. 605–Nov. 606) and then for three years (606–609); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 32. Smaragdus is last attested in office on Aug. 1, 608, the date when he dedicated a statue to Phocas at Rome; *CIL* VI 1200 = D 837 = *ILCV* 30 (cited above). The supposed inscription from Carthage recording the dedication to Phocas of another statue by Smaragdus is a modern forgery; *CIL* VIII 10529 = *ILCV* 30, note (Smaragdus exarchus Italiae), and see *Eph. Epigr.* V 1224. His name also occurs on a fragmentary inscription found at Ravenna and recording, apparently, repairs to an aqueduct; *CIL* XI 11 = D 836 = *ILCV* 29 (Smaragdum v...) (dated under an emperor, name lost, who styled himself 'Gepidicus'; Maurice is known to have used this epithet, Phocas is not; cf. Bormann, in *CIL* XI 11, note).

It is not known whether Smaragdus left office under Phocas or was dismissed by Heraclius; cf. *Fasti*.

A late source records a Smaragdus πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός who owned a *domus* in Constantinople and built a church and baths in the reign of Tiberius; *Patr. Const.* III 197 (τὰ δὲ Σμαράγδης σὺν τῷ λοετρῷ ἐκτίσθησαν παρὰ Σμαράγδου πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Τιβερίου τοῦ Θρακός, διότι οἶκος αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐκεῖσε), and cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 215, 391. Possibly this was the same man.

Smbat Bagratuni: see Symbatius

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Armenian satrap E VI

Father of Thomas 17 and one other son who died young; he 'was formerly a great, renowned and distinguished man before the kings (? = Roman emperors) and he held the office of the satrapy in the districts of Syria and Armenia for many years' (possibly Balabitenē; so Brooks, in *PO* 17, p. 284, note, citing Proc. *Aed.* III 1); he acquired large estates and grew wealthy; he gave Thomas an expensive education so that he might succeed him in the satrapy but died before it was complete; Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 21 (= *PO* 17, pp. 284–5).

Fl. So... comes domesticorum and discussor (in Palestine) 527/48

Φλ. Σο[... ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος)]/κόμ(ης) τῶν καθ(οσιωμένων) δο[μεστικῶν κ(αί)]/δισκούσσωρ; named in a fragmentary inscription from Palestine; *SEG* VIII 310 Hafir el-'Auḡā, now in Jerusalem (two fragments, a) *Rev. Bibl.* 29 (1920), 123, n. 15 and Alt, *Gr. Inscr. d. Pal. Tertia* II (1921), n. 141; b) *Biblica* VIII (1927), pp. 253–5) (the date is under Justinian and Theodora). Fl. So..., holder of the honorific dignity of *comes domesticorum*, was presumably sent as *discussor* to Palestine. On the *discussor*, cf. Alexander 5 and Ioannes 11 (the Cappadocian) (p. 627).

Socratius in Gaul L VI

Brother of the (half-)sister of Eulalius, who murdered him; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 8. See Eulalius 2.

Solachus Avar envoy c. 580

Avar envoy sent to Tiberius by the khan Baian to demand the surrender of Sirmium; Men. Prot. fr. 64.

Solchanes (Σολχάνης) Persian commander (at Nisibis) 590–591

Persian commander at Nisibis, loyal to Chosroes during the revolt of Bahram; he sent Rhosas against Zadespras with a cavalry force; Theoph. Sim. V 1.3–6, 1.9. After the murder of Zadespras, he sent his head to Chosroes at Constantina; Theoph. Sim. V 1.16–2.1.

Solida (*CIL* V 1710) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

Solomon 1

MVM and PPO Africae 539–544; honorary consul; patricius

*Inscr.* 1–2) Capsa, 1) *CIL* VIII 101 = *ILT* 290 = Durliat, no. 12 = Pringle, no. 20, 2) VIII 102 = *ILT* 291 = Durliat, no. 13 = Pringle, no. 21; *Inscr.* 3) VIII 259 + p. 926 = VIII 11423 = Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* II (1903), p. 245, no. 85 = Pringle, no. 9 Sufes; *Inscr.* 4–5) Bulla Regia, 4) VIII 1259 = Durliat, no. 2 = Pringle, no. 15, 5) VIII 14547 = Durliat, no. 1 = Pringle, no. 16; *Inscr.* 6–7) Theveste, 6) VIII 1863 + 16507 = D 831 = *ILAlg.* I 3059 = Durliat, no. 8 = Pringle, no. 23, 7) VIII 1864 + p. 1576 = *ILAlg.* I 3042, II = Durliat, no. 9 = Pringle, no. 24; *Inscr.* 8) VIII 2095 + p. 943 = Durliat, no. 11 = Pringle, no. 7 near Theveste; *Inscr.* 9) VIII 4648 + p. 956 = VIII 16851 = Monceaux (above), no. 90 = Durliat, no. 10 = Pringle, no. 12 Thagura; *Inscr.* 10–11) Madaura, 10) VIII 4677 = 16869 = Monceaux, no. 91 = *ILAlg.* I 2114 = Durliat, no. 6 = Pringle, no. 5, 11) Durliat, no. 7; *Inscr.* 12) VIII 4799 = Durliat, no. 17 = Pringle, no. 28 Gadiaufala; *Inscr.* 13–15) Calama, 13) VIII

5352 + p. 1658 = *ILAlg.* 1 276 = Durliat, no. 3 = Pringle, no. 17, 14) viii  
 5353 = 17491 = *ILAlg.* 1 277 = Durliat, no. 4 = Pringle, no. 19, 15) viii  
 5359 = *ILAlg.* 1 278d = Durliat, no. 5 = Pringle, no. 18; *Inscr.* 16) viii  
 8483 = Durliat, no. 23 = Pringle, no. 6 Sitifis; *Inscr.* 17) viii 9738  
 Tiaret; *Inscr.* 18-20) Timgad, 18) Durliat, no. 19 = *AE* 1911, 118 =  
*BCTH* 1911, p. 200 = Pringle, no. 26, 19) Durliat, no. 20 = *BCTH*  
 1941/1942, p. 133 = Pringle, no. 27, 20) Pringle, no. 25; *Inscr.* 21) *AE*  
 1935, 62 = Pringle, no. 22 = Durliat, no. 18 Ksar Bellesma (North of  
 Lambaesis); *Inscr.* 22) Durliat, no. 15 = Pringle, no. 4 Cululis  
 Theodoriana; *Inscr.* 23) *Antiquités africaines* 3 (1967), 152-5 = *AE* 1967,  
 583 = Durliat, no. 16 = Pringle, no. 21 Bagai.

His name is partly preserved on *Inscr.* 1, 5, 7, 10, 15 and is wholly lost  
 on *Inscr.* 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, and also on Pringle, nos. 8, 10, 11 and 13. *Inscr.* 16  
 is a fragment containing little apart from his name. The following pairs  
 of inscriptions, now mostly fragmentary, seem each to have originally  
 had identical texts; *Inscr.* 1 and 2, *Inscr.* 4 and 5, and *Inscr.* 18 and 19.

He was a native of Idriphthon, a fortress in the district known as  
 Solachon, close to Dara on the eastern frontier; Zach. *HE* ix 2 ('de  
 Idhribht arce', identifiable as the προῦριον called Ἰδριφθόν near Dara,  
 cf. Proc. *Aed.* ii 4.14), Proc. *BV* i 11.9 (an easterner from the Roman  
 frontier near Dara), Theoph. Sim. ii 3.13 (a native of Solachon, the plain  
 (τὸ πεδῖον) at the foot of Mount Izalas, near Dara). Brother of Bacchus  
 1; Proc. *BV* ii 21.1, 21.19. Uncle of Cyrus 3, Sergius 4 and Solomon 2;  
 Proc. *BV* ii 21.1, 21.16, 21.19, 22.1, 22.9, 22.12, *BG* iii 27.2. As the result  
 of an accident when a baby, he was a eunuch; Proc. *BV* i 11.6, cf. ii 12.28  
 (a prophecy concerning a 'beardless man', cf. below), Zach. *HE* ix 2,  
 Theoph. Sim. ii 3.13 (ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐνοῦχος). Possibly born  
 c. 480/490, since he was evidently not a young man in 527; cf. below.

By 527 when he joined Belisarius (cf. below) he was already a man  
 skilled and experienced in affairs; he had served as secretary (notarius)  
 to Felicissimus (*dux Mesopotamiae* a. 505/506; *PLRE* ii) and also served  
 under a number of other governors (or possibly *duces*; the word 'mbrn'  
 seems usually to denote military men); Zach. *HE* ix 2 ('Solomon . . . vir  
 fuit astutus et mundi negotiis versatus; et Felicissimo duci notarius fuerat  
 et ceteris gubernatoribus adhaeserat, et ob experientiam rerum  
 arduarum versutus erat'). Since the date when Felicissimus left office is  
 unknown, it is impossible to know how long before 527 Solomon served  
 him; he could have been with him as early as 505/506, judging by the  
 remarks in Zach. *HE* ix 2.

DOMESTICVS of Belisarius (?a. 527-533; in 527 when Belisarius be-  
 came *dux Mesopotamiae*, Solomon is said to have 'accompanied him',  
 perhaps already as *domesticus*; Zach. *HE* ix 2. In 533 he was the *domesticus*

of Belisarius; Proc. *BV* i 11.5-6 (Σολόμων, ὃς τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπετρόπευε  
 στρατηγίαν - δομεστικὸν τοῦτον καλοῦσι 'Ρωμαῖοι). He presumably  
 had remained with Belisarius when the latter became *MVM per Orientem*  
 in 529.

In 533 Solomon was appointed one of the nine commanders of the  
*foederati* (ἄρχοντες . . . φοιδεράτων) on the expedition under Belisarius  
 against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* i 11.5 (for the others, see Althias).  
 Although not named by Procopius in his account of the campaign,  
 Solomon was evidently with Belisarius when Carthage was occupied (cf.  
 below) and may have been one of the commanders of the *foederati*  
 involved in events at Ad Decimum on the day of the battle there (Sept.  
 13, 533); cf. Althias. After Carthage was occupied by the Romans (on  
 Sept. 15), Solomon was sent by Belisarius to Justinian to report on what  
 had happened; Proc. *BV* i 24.19. He presumably remained in  
 Constantinople during the winter of 533/534. In the spring of 534, after  
 the capture of Gelimer, accusations were made against Belisarius and  
 Solomon was sent back to Africa by Justinian to offer Belisarius the  
 choice of remaining in Africa or returning to Constantinople with  
 Gelimer and the Vandal captives; Proc. *BV* ii 8.4.

The departure of Belisarius from Africa (summer 534) coincided with  
 a rebellion by the Moorish tribes and it was Solomon who remained in  
 charge of Africa with the task of restoring order; Proc. *BV* ii 8.23 (cited  
 below).

MAGISTER MILITVM a. (534?-)539-544: the evidence suggests that he  
 became *magister militum*, a title which he held until his death, in 534 (if  
 not earlier), seeing active service in Africa from 534 to 536 and again  
 from 539 to 544; in addition he held the civil office of PPO Africae,  
 probably from 534 to 536 and again from 539 to 544 (see further below).  
 In 539/540, in his second term in Africa, he is styled 'vir excellentissimus  
 magister militum, ex consule ac patricius cunctaque pr(a)ecelsus et per  
 Africa(m) praefectus'; *Inscr.* 18, 19, 20 (dated in the thirteenth regnal  
 year of Justinian and Theodora). In other inscriptions from his second  
 term in Africa he is similarly styled 'excellentissimus magister militum,  
 ex consule, bis pr(a)efectus praetiorum Africae hac (sic) patricius',  
*Inscr.* 12; and 'magister militum, ex cons(ule), praefectus Africae et  
 patricius', *Inscr.* 23. For the other inscriptions, it is impossible to  
 determine to which of his terms in Africa they belong, but all apparently  
 record building activities under his control, which suggests the second  
 term; Procopius (see below) lays stress on activities of this nature in his  
 second term but makes no mention of them in his first; moreover,  
 circumstances during his first term were not propitious for such  
 measures. Also styled 'magister militum'; *Inscr.* 1, 2, 6, 10 (bilingual;

στρα[τηγός] and *magister militum*), cf. *Inscr.* 17 (an inscription recorded by Ibn Khaldūn describing Solomon as 'serdeghos', presumably στρατηγός). Dux belli moderatorque provinciae; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541 (at his death, in 544). Magister militiae ac patricius Africae (sic), (also) utriusque potestatis vir strenuus; *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 543 (at his death also). That he was already *magister militum* in 534 to 536 is suggested both by his military responsibilities in Africa (cf. below) and by his personal rank; as PPO he was *vir gloriosissimus*.

PPO AFRICAE a. 535 Jan. 1–536 April 1: a. 535 Jan. 1, *Just. Nov.* 36; a. 535 Aug. 1, *Just. Nov.* 37. Both laws were addressed 'Solomoni p(rae)f(ecto) p(raetorio) Africae'. His predecessor in this office, Archelaus (*PLRE* II), is last recorded on April 13, 534 (*CJ* I 27.1). Still in office a. 536 April 1: a Latin copy (not extant) of *Just. Nov.* 18, dated April 1, was sent to him (the Greek copy to the PPO Orientis was dated March 1, 536); *Just. Nov.* 66.1.2 (ἡ δὲ τῆ Ῥωμαίων φωνῆ γεγραμμένη πρὸς Σολομώντα τὸν ἐνδοξότατον τῶν ἐν Ἀφροῖς ἱερῶν ἡγούμενον πραιτωρίων καλάνδας Ἀπριλλίας προσγεγραμμένης ἔχει).

In summer 534, when Belisarius returned to Constantinople, he handed over the command of Africa to Solomon and left with him the majority of his own bodyguard to help with the suppression of the Moorish revolt; *Proc. BV* II 8.23 (Σολόμωνι δὲ διέπειν τὸ Λιβύης κράτος παρέιχετο). Justinian sent another army under Theodorus 8 and Ildiger to Solomon; *Proc. BV* II 8.24 (βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατίαν ἄλλην Σολόμωνι ἔπεμψε). Solomon was now in command of the army in Africa; *Proc. BV* II 10.1 (τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ παραλαβὼν στρατεύμα). These texts imply that the authority of Solomon was commensurate with that of his predecessor, Belisarius, and therefore that he also was *magister militum*; whether he was given the title on his appointment to succeed Belisarius or was already *MVM vacans* before the appointment is not clear from the evidence.

After further activity by the Moors in Byzacena and Numidia, including the deaths in Byzacena of Aigan and Rufinus 1, Solomon began preparing for war; *Proc. BV* II 10.1–3, 11.1. He is said to have appealed to the Moors to remember their oaths of loyalty and abandon their revolt; *Proc. BV* II 11.1–13. After the rejection of his appeal, he arranged affairs in Carthage and marched into Byzacena; *Proc. BV* II 11.14. This was apparently in 535, presumably in spring; the winter had probably been spent in receiving the reinforcements under Theodorus and Ildiger and in war-preparations and diplomacy. In Byzacena he made camp at a place called Mammes where the four Moorish rulers Cutzinas, Esdilasas, Iourphouthes and Medisinissas had their forces encamped in a level space at the foot of some mountains; *Proc. BV* II 11.15–16. Their forces were drawn up in a circle, but Solomon chose to

array his army against one side only of the circle, lest his men be attacked from the mountain to their rear; *Proc. BV* II 11.17–22. The battle which followed and which ended in a victory for the Romans is described by Procopius, *BV* II 11.47–55. During the fighting Solomon made his cavalry dismount and fight on foot when their horses were frightened by the enemy's camels; *Proc. BV* II 11.50. After their victory the Romans returned with their spoils to Carthage to celebrate; *Proc. BV* II 11.56.

Barely had Solomon re-entered Carthage when news came that the Moors in full strength were overrunning Byzacena; with his whole army he quickly set out against them; *Proc. BV* II 12.2. The Moors were encamped on a mountain called Bourgaon and Solomon made camp facing them and waited several days, hoping to fight them on level ground; he arranged his army in battle order but the Moors refused to come down from the mountain to fight; *Proc. BV* II 12.3–4. Solomon therefore decided to force the issue and he sent Theodorus 9 with a thousand infantry secretly to scale the heights behind and above the Moors; this was accomplished under cover of darkness, and the following morning the Moors found themselves attacked from behind by Theodorus and from the front by Solomon with the rest of his army; they broke and fled, suffering heavy losses, and the victory lay with the Romans; *Proc. BV* II 12.10–28. After this, the Moors are said to have recalled a prophecy that their nation would be destroyed by a beardless man; *Proc. BV* II 12.28, cf. 8.14. The Romans then returned to Carthage with their booty, while the hostile Moors abandoned Byzacena and went to join Iaudas in Numidia; *Proc. BV* II 12.29.

After a short delay in Carthage, Solomon led his army towards Mount Aurasium in Numidia to attack Iaudas, whom he accused of raiding Numidia while the Roman army was engaged in Byzacena; he was urged to attack Iaudas by his Moorish allies Massonas and Ortaias; *Proc. BV* II 13.18–19. The Roman army under Solomon (ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Σολόμωνος) made camp with their Moorish allies close to the river Abigas which flowed past Mount Aurasium; *Proc. BV* II 13.20. Iaudas refused to descend to the plain and so Solomon, after paying large sums of money to his allies, led his army up the mountain in battle formation, hoping to decide the issue there and then and therefore taking few supplies; *Proc. BV* II 13.30–1. They advanced for seven days over rough terrain, covering only a few miles each day, and then made camp at an ancient fort called Clypea, where they waited for three days hoping to meet the enemy's army; then however, fearing treachery on the part of their allies and also running low on supplies, they hurriedly withdrew down to the plain and there built a fortified camp; *Proc. BV* II 13.32–8.

Solomon now left part of his army to guard Numidia and returned to Carthage for the winter (a. 535/536); Proc. *BV* II 13.39. He spent the winter in Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 14.4. There he made his preparations intending to march against Mount Aurasium in the following spring with a larger army and without his unreliable Moorish allies; Proc. *BV* II 13.40. He also made ready another army and a fleet with their commanders in order to attack the Moors who were living in Sardinia; Proc. *BV* II 13.41, 13.45.

However in spring 536 there was a mutiny among the Roman soldiers in Africa; Proc. *BV* II 14.7-21, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535, *Jord. Rom.* 369 (Solomon is styled 'dux', i.e. army commander). One of their grievances was the insistence of Solomon on claiming for the state land formerly owned by Vandal women who were now married to Roman soldiers; Proc. *BV* II 14.8-10. A plot to murder him in church during the ceremonies of Easter failed, even though members of his own bodyguard and staff were involved; the rebels then withdrew from Carthage and looted the countryside; Proc. *BV* II 14.22-9. Solomon tried to maintain the loyalty of the troops who remained in Carthage, but without success; after five days, when they learned that the rebels outside the city were secure, they gathered in the hippodrome to hurl abuse at Solomon and other officials (τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας; Proc. *BV* II 14.30-1. He sent Theodorus 8 to reason with them, only to see them acclaim Theodorus as their general and begin to loot and kill in Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 14.32-6. He escaped unnoticed into the church in the Palatium, and was later joined by Martinus 2 there; during the night they made their way to the house of Theodorus, who gave them food and sent them to safety by boat to Missua, accompanied by Procopius 2 (the historian) and five of Solomon's followers; from Missua he sent Martinus to Valerianus 1 and the other generals in Numidia to try to secure the loyalty of the troops there, and he also wrote instructing Theodorus to look after Carthage and handle matters as best he could; then he and Procopius sailed to Belisarius in Syracuse to inform him of the mutiny and urge him with all speed to go to Africa and defend the emperor's interests; Proc. *BV* II 14.37-42.

He sailed back to Africa with Belisarius to check the revolt; Proc. *BV* II 15.9, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 535 (Belisarius returned to Africa and 'Solomoni qui praecerat subvenit'). According to Jordanes, Belisarius crushed the revolt and restored Solomon to Carthage; *Jord. Rom.* 369-70. In fact, Belisarius only checked the revolt before he himself had to return to Sicily to deal with trouble there (cf. Belisarius, p. 195). On his return to Sicily he is said to have left Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus; Proc. *BI* II 15.49. There is no mention of Solomon. Justinian

then sent Germanus (*PLRE* II) to Africa to succeed Solomon, who returned to Constantinople; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536 (in Africa vero Solomoni itidem cum exercitu dissidente Germanus succedit, Solomone remittens ad principem), cf. Proc. *BV* II 16.1 (when the emperor learnt of the mutiny he sent Germanus to Africa).

In 539 Solomon was sent to Africa again, as successor to Germanus, with full responsibility for Africa and with an army whose commanders included Rufinus 2, Leontius 2 and Ioannes 27; Proc. *BV* II 19.1 (βασιλεὺς Σολόμωνι αὐτῆς ἅπαντα Λιβύης τὰ πράγματα ἐνεχείρισε . . . στρατεύματά τε αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους τε καὶ 'Ρουφῖνον καὶ Λεόντιον . . . καὶ 'Ιωάννην), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 539. He again combined the offices of *magister militum* (see above) and PPO Africae.

PPO AFRICAE (ITERVM) a. 539-544: bis praefectus praetoriorum Africae; *Inscr.* 12. Praefectus Africae; *Inscr.* 5, 10, 23. Praefectus per Africam; *Inscr.* 18, 19 (a. 539/540). Praefectus Libyae; *Inscr.* 6. The office is to be restored on *Inscr.* 1 (praefectus . . .), *Inscr.* 2 (praefectus praetoriorum Africae), *Inscr.* 7 (praefectus . . .), *Inscr.* 10 ([ἐπαρχος τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, restored by comparison with the parallel Latin text).

EX CONSULE: this title, the honorary consulship, had been conferred on Solomon by 539/40; *Inscr.* 18, 19, 20 (a. 539/540). It is also recorded on *Inscr.* 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 21, 23.

PATRICIVS: Solomon had become *patricius* by 539/540; *Inscr.* 18, 19, 20 (a. 539/540). The title is also recorded on *Inscr.* 4, 6, 12-15, 21, 23. It is to be restored on *Inscr.* 1 and 2. The state of the inscription from Madaura, *Inscr.* 10, is so fragmentary that it is impossible to be sure whether or not the title *patricius* was originally present; it could certainly be restored in the existing lacunae in both the Greek and the Latin texts. It is therefore unsafe to assume that the title was not present and accordingly to assign the inscription to Solomon's first term in Africa, with necessary consequences for chronology, as done by Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, p. 74, n. 5 followed by Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 321. It is safer to assign it with the other inscriptions to his second term.

On the inscriptions Solomon is styled *vir excellentissimus* on *Inscr.* 1, 2, 11, 18, 19, 20; *vir gloriosissimus* on *Inscr.* 4, 5, 10; and *vir gloriosissimus et excellentissimus* on *Inscr.* 6. He was apparently ἐνδοξότατος on *Inscr.* 9 and πανεύφημος? on *Inscr.* 3.

On his return to Carthage in 539 Solomon no longer had to contend with a mutinous army (Stotzas had been defeated by Germanus); he was therefore able to pursue measures aimed at restoring security and prosperity in Africa; he removed unreliable troops from the army, sending them to Constantinople and to Belisarius (then still in Italy), and replaced them with fresh soldiers; he also expelled from Africa all

remaining Vandals, both men and women; he took steps to provide every city with a wall (cf. below) and by enforcing the rule of law he established a state of order; under him the revenues increased and there was a general air of prosperity; Proc. *BV* II 19.3-4.

In 540 when all other matters had been satisfactorily settled, Solomon mounted another expedition against Iaudas and the Moors on Mount Aurasium; Proc. *BV* II 19.5. He sent a small army under Guntharis, one of his bodyguards (δορυφόροι), in advance and then followed with the main force; he made camp about eight miles from the camp of Guntharis, which was close to Bagai, and there learned that Guntharis had been defeated by the Moors and was under siege; he therefore sent a detachment of his own army with an encouraging message to them; Proc. *BV* II 19.6-9. The Moors flooded the camp of Guntharis, whereupon Solomon himself came in haste to help; the Moors withdrew to a place called Babosis, in the foothills of Aurasium, and encamped there, but Solomon followed with his whole army and routed them in battle; Proc. *BV* II 19.10-17. While most of the Moors retreated either into Mauretania or south of Aurasium, Iaudas remained in Aurasium in a fortress called Zerboule; Solomon, refusing to waste time on the siege, led his army down to the plains around Thamugade, where the harvest was ripe, and only after plundering the land and setting fire to everything did he return to Zerboule; while he was absent Iaudas withdrew from Zerboule, leaving only a garrison, and went to the high part of Aurasium, to an inaccessible place called Toumar; Proc. *BV* II 19.19-22. Solomon laid siege to Zerboule but after three days decided to move on against the main enemy at Toumar; then however it was found that the garrison at Zerboule had abandoned it and fled under cover of darkness; his men therefore plundered the fort and he left guards before marching on against Toumar; Proc. *BV* II 19.23-32.

At Toumar he made camp, but the site was bad, without adequate water or other necessities, and as the siege drew on the besiegers were in difficulties and grew impatient as Solomon guarded the water supply himself and rationed each man to only a small quantity each day; Proc. *BV* II 20.1-3. He therefore decided to risk an attack; Proc. *BV* II 20.4-9. He found great difficulty in deciding where to attack, but while he was still deliberating some of his men, led by the *optio* Gezon, began fighting with the enemy and the remainder soon joined in without awaiting orders and in disorder; the Moors fled and the Romans plundered their camp; they remained in possession of Aurasium where Solomon built more fortresses in order to deny access to it to the Moors henceforth; Proc. *BV* II 20.10-22, cf. *Aed.* VI 7.7-8 (the capture of Aurasium and Justinian's measures to secure it). Shortly afterwards the Romans also

captured the tower at the so-called Rock of Geminianus, where Iaudas had sent his wives and his treasure for safety; Proc. *BV* II 20.23-8. The defeat of the rebellion is also noticed in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540 (Solomon in Africa feliciter dimicans rebelliones proturbat).

After the defeat and flight of the Moors, Solomon established effective control over the province of Mauretania Prima, whose capital Sitifis was furnished with walls; Proc. *BV* II 20.30, cf. *Aed.* VI 7.9, *Inscr.* 16. He used the money captured from Iaudas to provide walls for many cities in Africa; Proc. *BV* II 20.29. Evidence of the extent of Solomon's building activities is provided by the many surviving inscriptions which record not only the construction of walls and military forts but the restoration of cities; of the twenty-three inscriptions listed above, fourteen certainly record building work (*Inscr.* 1-3, 6, 10-14, 18-20, 22 and 23), while the remaining nine, though too fragmentary for certainty, probably did so too. Solomon also built a monastery at Carthage and furnished it with strong walls like a fortress; Proc. *BV* II 26.17.

The government of Solomon now coincided with a period of peace and is described by Procopius as so wise and moderate that the Roman subjects in Africa could count themselves the most fortunate of men; Proc. *BV* II 20.33.

Probably in 543 there were disturbances in Byzacena caused by the Moors; Solomon blamed the brother of Antalas, Guarizila, for this and had him put to death; he also deprived Antalas of the supplies which Justinian had granted him; Proc. *BV* II 21.17, 22.8, Coripp. *Ioh.* II 28, 36-7, III 384, IV 364-6. For the date, cf. below.

In 543 Solomon's nephews Sergius 4 and Cyrus 3 were made *duces* of Tripolitana and Pentapolis respectively; Proc. *BV* II 21.1 (dated in regnal year seventeen of Justinian, i.e. April 543/April 544). Sergius provoked a rebellion among the Moors of Tripolitana (cf. Sergius), which then spread to Byzacena, where Antalas, now hostile to Solomon (cf. above), joined forces with the rebels from Tripolitana and marched against Solomon and Carthage; Proc. *BV* II 21.16-18, 22.7. This probably took place in 544; Antalas had remained loyal to Rome for ten complete years (Coripp. *Ioh.* II 34-5, III 289-90) and therefore his rebellion could not have occurred before late 543 and was presumably in 544 when the battle of Cillium took place (cf. below, and see also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 548, n. 1).

Solomon had been joined in Carthage by Sergius and Cyrus; Proc. *BV* II 21.16. On learning what the Moors were doing he assembled his forces and marched against them with his whole army; finding them in the vicinity of Theveste, he made camp there with his nephews Sergius, Cyrus and Solomon; Proc. *BV* II 21.19, Coripp. *Ioh.* III 401-3 (ut

Solomon vidit tantum consurgere bellum, Romanas acies cunctis de partibus actas contrahit). He still retained the loyalty of one Moorish leader, Cutzinas; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 406-8. He first made peace overtures to the rulers of the Leuathae, the people of Tripolitana whom Sergius had provoked to rebel; when these were rejected, he prepared for battle; Proc. *BV* II 21.20-2. On the following day he defeated a part of the enemy army and captured a large quantity of spoil, but kept it under guard for distribution when the war was over, which angered his troops; Proc. *BV* II 21.23-4. The Moors now joined battle with all their forces, but some of the Romans refused to take part while others did so without enthusiasm and the Romans, overwhelmed by superior numbers, were put to flight; Solomon and his followers resisted for a time but finally they too fled; in their flight they came to a ravine where Solomon's horse stumbled and threw him; his bodyguard quickly lifted him back onto the horse but he was in pain and unable to hold the reins, and the barbarians overtook him and killed him with many of his bodyguard; Proc. *BV* II 21.25-8. The battle is also described by Corippus, *Ioh.* III 417-41, according to whom the Romans had the best of the encounter until Guntarith (Guntharis) treacherously took to flight, whereupon the rest of the army followed him and abandoned Solomon (*vv.* 433-4 campisque magistrum deserit in mediis miscentem proelia fossis), who was then killed in the fighting (*vv.* 439-41 ipso impendente tumultu occidit, heu, duris transfixo pectore telis immeritus Solomon). The battle was fought at Cillium in 544; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 543 (Cillium), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541 (recte 544; see Diehl, *Justinien*, 58ff., Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 483, n. 1). The death of Solomon is reported in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 543 (described as in a battle with Stotzas; there is no other evidence that Stotzas took part in this campaign), Coripp. *Ioh.* I 473-7, IV 382, *Jord. Rom.* 384, Proc. *Anecd.* 5.29 (his death and Africa's misfortunes were attributed to Sergius' act of treachery towards the Leuathae). His death ended Africa's prosperity; Coripp. *Ioh.* III 449 (post Solomonis opes libertas facta rapinis).

His successor in command of Africa was his nephew Sergius; Proc. *BV* II 22.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 541 (recte 544; cf. above).

His standards, lost at Cillium, were later recaptured by Ioannes 36 and sent to Constantinople; Proc. *BV* II 28.46, Coripp. *Ioh.* V 510-11. Ioannes had formerly served under Solomon; Coripp. *Ioh.* I 469-71, III 300-1.

In speeches attributed to Moors in Corippus, Solomon is alluded to as 'iniquus' (*Ioh.* I 470, IV 366), while in Roman mouths he is 'miser' (*Ioh.* III 406) or 'miserandus' (*Ioh.* III 414).

He is also mentioned in Theoph. Sim. II 3.13 (waged war in Africa

under Justinian) and Cedr. I 650 (sent to Africa after the recall of Belisarius, he lost all that Belisarius had won).

Solomon 2 nephew of Solomon 1; in Africa 544

Nephew of Solomon 1; Proc. *BV* II 21.19, 22.12, 22.17. Son of Bacchus 1; Proc. *BV* II 21.19, 22.17. Younger brother of Sergius 4 and Cyrus 3; Proc. *BV* II 21.19 (ὁ νεώτατος), 22.12, *Anecd.* 5.33. He therefore came from the vicinity of Dara; see Solomon 1 and cf. Proc. *Anecd.* 5.37 (cited below). Still a very young man in 544; Proc. *BV* II 22.13, 22.17 (μειρακίου ὄντος).

In 544 he was in Africa with his uncle and brothers and accompanied them on the campaign against Antalas and the Moorish rebels near Theveste; Proc. *BV* II 21.19. He disappeared in the battle in which his uncle was killed and was given up for dead, but had in fact been captured by the Moors (the Leuathae; *Anecd.* 5.34) who spared him because of his youth; he concealed his identity, claiming to be a Vandal and a slave of Solomon 1, and succeeded in getting himself ransomed by Pegasus, a doctor in Laribus, and his friends for fifty *solidi*; once inside Laribus he revealed his true identity to the Moors and mocked them, whereupon they laid siege to the city and had to be bought off by the inhabitants for three thousand *solidi*; Proc. *BV* II 22.12-20.

After the Moors had withdrawn, Solomon left for Carthage with Pegasus and some soldiers; en route he was rebuked by Pegasus for some act of injustice and reminded of his recent escape, and in anger he killed him; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.34-5. On his return to Constantinople he was acquitted on a charge of murder by the emperor and empress on the grounds that Pegasus was a traitor; according to Procopius he owed his acquittal to the great favour with which his brother Sergius was regarded by the empress; he was given an imperial letter confirming his immunity in the matter, and then set off to visit his home and family in the east (ἐπὶ τὴν ἑξῶν ἄσμενος ἦει, τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ γένος τὸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὀψόμενος), but died on the journey; Proc. *Anecd.* 5.33, 5.36-8. Procopius makes it clear that in his view the death of Solomon was a divine punishment for the crime (ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τίσις); *Anecd.* 5.38.

Solomon 3 envoy to Theodebert 539/547

Envoy of Justinian to Theodebert with Theodorus 12, apparently some time between 539 and 547; *Ep. Austras.* 20 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 133). See further Theodorus.

SOLOMON 4 ?dux (at Sirmium) c. 581

In command of Sirmium during the Avar siege, he was allegedly



careless and inefficient (Σολομώντος <τοῦ> τηνικαῦτα προεστῶτος τοῦ Σιρμίου ἐκμελέστατά πως διατελοῦντος καὶ μηδὲν ὀτιοῦν στρατηγίας ἐχόμενον ἐπιδεικνυμένου); Men. Prot. fr. 66. Cf. further Theognis 1. He was evidently the military commander in charge of Sirmium and was perhaps *dux* there; he ranked below Theognis.

**Solomon 5** comes domesticorum et vicarius Thraciae ?582

Σολομών ὁ τῆς μεγ(α)λ(ο)π(ρεπεστάτης) μνήμ(ης) γενάμ(ενος) κόμ(ης) τῶν κ(αθοσιωμένων) δομεσ(τίκων) κ(αί) βικάρ(ιος) Θράκης; died on Nov. 6, 582; buried at Diocletianopolis; Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, n. 227 (= *AE* 1938, nos. 12 and 138) Hissar, i.e. Diocletianopolis, north of Philippopolis (dated Nov. 6, indiction one, in the first year of Maurice).

The location of his burial suggests that he died in office as *vicarius Thraciae*; the *comitiva domesticorum* was an honorific title.

**Solomon 6** ?patricius VI

...]αρεικίου Σωλομώνος; relative possibly of Epiphanius; *IGC* 47 Dascalio (island of Nesus, in the gulf of Adramyttium). Perhaps the text was: π[α(τ)ρεικίου.

**Solumuth** bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546-548

One of the *armigeri* of Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa from 546 to 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 279-80. In winter 546/547 he fought in the defeat of Antalas; *Ioh.* v 316-25, vii 420. In summer 547 he fought beside Ziper in the battle of Marta; *Ioh.* vi 640-4. He also fought in the battle of the Plains of Cato in summer 548; *Ioh.* viii 611-16.

**SOMAS (or SOVSOMAS)** comes (Palestine) 539/540

A partly preserved inscription recording building work concludes with a prayer asking God, the Son of Mary, to pity and give rest to [τὸν δοῦλον σου Σόμαν (or ?Σουσομᾶν) τὸν κόμ(η)τα]; *Quart. Dept. Ant. Pal.* iii (1933), p. 105 = *SEG* viii 1 Khirbet 'Alya, near Acre. The inscription is dated in a third indiction and in year 665 of the local era (of Tyre), = A.D. 539/540.

Sophia (*IG* xiv 19) ?V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**Aelia Sophia 1**

Augusta 565-601

Full name; *P. Monac.* 1.46, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67243, *SB* 4678, Lefebvre 584. This was presumably her official name as empress; cf. Anastasia 2 and Constantina 1. Sophia; *elsewhere*.

Niece of the empress Theodora; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.10, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 567 (Theodorae Augustae neptis). She married Iustinus 5 (the future emperor Justin II); Eustrat. *V. Eutych.* 66 (*PG* 86.2.2349), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.10, Coripp. *Iust.* praef. 23, 165, 210, II 169, 171, III 71, IV 272, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 567, *Anth. Gr.* ix 657, 779, Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* II, Evagr. *HE* v 2, *V. Sym. Iun.* 208, Theoph. AM 6058, 6093, Cedr. 1680, Zon. xiv 10, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 34, 39, Mich. Syr. x 7, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 76, 81, *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 35 (= Suid. M 1065), *Patr. Const.* II 62, III 23, 37. They had a son, Iustus 3, Theoph. AM 6061; and a daughter, Arabia, *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 35 (= Suid. M 1065), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 82. Sophia had a niece, Helena 1; *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 35 (= Suid. M 1065).

PATRICIA before 565; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.10.

She was a monophysite from childhood but is said to have transferred her support to the Chalcedonians some three years before her husband became emperor, in order to facilitate his accession; Joh. Eph. *III* II 2.10.

AUGUSTA a. 565-601: she was crowned Augusta by Justin II on Nov. 14, 565 and apparently still bore the title when last recorded in 601; Coripp. *Iust.* praef. 23, II 169, 311, III 147, *P. Monac.* 1.46, Joh. Biel. s.a. 568, Ven. Fort. *App. Carm.* II 52, Greg. Tur. *HF* v 30, vi 30, Theoph. AM 6058 (coronation), 6060, 6093 (alive at Easter, March 26, 601), Cedr. 1683, Zon. xiv 10, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 42. She was the first empress to appear on coins with the emperor; Wroth, *Imp. Byz. Coins*, I xix.

When the mental health of Justin deteriorated in 573 and 574, she took an active part in government with Tiberius and advised his appointment as Caesar; Men. Prot. fr. 37, Evagr. *HE* v 12-13, Theoph. AM 6071. While he was Caesar, she refused to allow his wife and children to live in the imperial palace, allegedly through jealousy; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.7-9. After the death of Justin, she was forced to leave the palace after plotting against Tiberius with Iustinianus 3 and was installed by the emperor in a palace of her own with a staff of picked *cubicularii*, but treated with great respect, allegedly as if she were his mother (cf. Theoph. Sim. III 11.8), retaining the title Augusta; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 30, Theoph. AM 6072, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 42, Zon. xiv 11. In 582 she was consulted by Tiberius on the question of his successor; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 30.

She is last recorded at Easter 601 when she and Maurice's wife

Constantina presented to Maurice a valuable crown; Theoph. AM 6093, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 42, Cedr. I 701, Zon. xiv 13.

In the *Patria* she is identified as Sophia ἡ Ἄωβή; *Patr. Const.* II 62, III 23. The meaning is obscure.

On Sophia, see further Averil Cameron, *Byz.* 45 (1975), pp. 5-21.

**Sophia 2** patricia; landowner (Egypt) L VI

A papyrus from Heracleopolis, dated Sept. 16, 590, records Philoxenus 3, who was διοικητῆς τοῦ ἐνδόξου [ο]ικοῦ Σοφίας τῆς ὑπερφουστάτης πατρικίας; *P. Etl.* 67, line 5. She is to be identified with Σοφία σὺν Θεῶ πατρικία named in several papyri from the Fayum, sometimes with her (unnamed) son (τοῦ ἐνδόξου μου υἱοῦ); *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1090 (no date), 1091 (indiction 9), 1092 (indiction 9), 1093 (no date), 1094 (indiction 3), 1095 (indiction 10), 1096 (indiction 7), 1097 (no date).

Cf. Rémondon, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses*, 1971, pp. 368-9 ('Sophia is a patrician belonging to the senatorial aristocracy, living in the 590s, enjoying the privilege of autopragia, and possessing in the south of the Arsinoite (nome) an estate of some 10,000 arouras').

**Sophron** patricius; poet L VI/E VII

Author of an epigram on a guest-house founded by the patriarch of Alexandria, Eulogius (a. 580-608); *Anth. Gr.* IX 787 Σώφρονος πατρικίου. In Planudes the name of the author is recorded as Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου. Cf. Alan Cameron, *CQ* NS. XXXIII, no. 1 (1983), pp. 290-1.

**Sophronius(?)** doctor (Egypt) VI

Possibly name of a doctor at Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67077, line 10 Σωφ]ρο]νιον ἀρχίατρον (but the text could also be read as Κυ]ρο]ν τὸν ἀρχίατρον, so Maspero).

**Soterichus 1** MVM (East) 55<sup>6</sup>

Father of Philagrius 1, Romulus 2 and Eustratius 2 (the youngest); Agath. III 15.7.

MVM (East) a. 556: ὁ στρατηγός; Agath. III 15.2.6, 16.5. Possibly an MVM *vacans*.

Probably in spring 556, he accompanied Tzathes, the new king of the Lazi, from Constantinople to Lazica; Agath. III 15.2. For the date, see Tzathes and cf. Agath. III 15.1. He brought with him a large quantity of gold for the payment which the emperor made annually to the neighbouring peoples; Agath. III 15.6. From Lazica Soterichus, with his two eldest sons, travelled on to the land of the Misimiani; there he was suspected of planning to surrender one of their forts to the Alani; the

Misimiani sent two of their leaders to protest, but he treated them contemptuously and had them beaten; in spite of this he neglected to take precautions and his camp was surprised by a revenge attack during the night; in the attack Soterichus was killed with his two sons and most of his followers, and the gold fell into the hands of the Misimiani; Agath. III 15.7-16.8, cf. IV 12.2-4, 15.6, 19.6, 20.9.

Cf. Ioannes 66 *qui et Dacnas*.

**SOTERICHVS 2** vir magnificus (?magnificentissimus) ?VI

He was buried at Germia (in Galatia); *JÖB* 36 (1986), pp. 126-7 (Σωτήριχος ὁ τῆς μεγ[αλοπρεπ(εστάτης)]/μνήμης. The epitaph records his devotion to the Archangel (Michael) and his death at Germia, where there was a church of St Michael; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 117.

**Soterichus 3** patricius ?VII

Σ[ω]τηρί[χ]ω πατ[ρ]ικί[ω]; Zacos 3182, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3881 (two similar seals, dated VIII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, with [ΤΩ] - Δδ/[ΛΩ] - Cδ in the quarters; rev.: + C. /ΤΗΡΙ/ΠΑΤ/ΙΩ).

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Sparzeugoun (Σπαρζευγού) Turkish khan L VI  
Theoph. Sim. VII 8.9-11. See Touldich.

**Speciosus 1** ?teacher of Latin (in Constantinople) 532

Probably a native of Africa; an acquaintance of John Lydus, he was engaged to teach Latin to the PPO Phocas (*PLRE* II); Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 73. Nothing further is known of him, not even if he was in fact a professional teacher of Latin, though he may well have been one.

**SPECIOSVS 2** (v.c.) (in Italy); monk M VI

Brother of Gregorius 1 (q.v.); Greg. *Dial.* IV 9. For references to his fame as a monk, cf. Greg. *Dial.*, ed. Moricca, p. 240, n. 3.

**SPESINDEO** praeses Sardiniae 599-600

In 599 he was one of those who reported to pope Gregory the wrecking of a synagogue in Cagliari; Greg. *Ep.* IX 195 (a. 599 July; magnifici Spesindeo praesidis aliorumque nobilium civitatis vestrae... scripta; the letter was addressed to bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari). Addressee of a



letter from Gregory in October 600 urging him to aid bishop Victor of Fausiana (in Sardinia) in his efforts to convert pagans; *Greg. Ep.* xi 12 (a. 600 Oct.; addressed 'Spesindeo praesidi Sardiniae'; he is styled 'magnitudo vestra').

**Spinus** quaestor palatii (of Totila) 550

A Roman, from Spoleto, appointed *quaestor (palatii)* by Totila in 549/550; *Proc. BG* III 40.20 (πάρεδρον). 23 (άνδρός τήν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαιστωρος ἀρχήν ἔχοντος). In Sicily with Totila in 550, he fell into Roman hands at Catana and was released in exchange for a noble Roman lady and in return for a secret promise to persuade Totila to leave Sicily; this he did by informing Totila of the impending invasion of Ioannes 46 from Dalmatia; *Proc. BG* III 40.20-9.

**Stablicianus** envoy of Agilulf to Constantinople ?609

*Notarius* of the Lombard king Agilulf and envoy to Phocas at Constantinople; he returned with imperial envoys bringing gifts for Agilulf and agreement to a one year's peace; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 35 (Stablicianum notarium suum), Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 106. In 606 a three-year peace had been concluded with Phocas (*Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 32) and by 611 peace was being renewed with the Romans on an annual basis (*Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 40); Stablicianus probably went when the three-year peace was due to expire, in 609, and began the sequence of annual renewals.

**Stauracius 1** ex praefectis VI/VII

Σταυρακίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ων); Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.192 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (312) of Σταυρακίου; rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ + X).

**Stauracius 2** imperial apocrisiarius VII

Σταυρακίου βασιλικῷ ἀποκρισιαρίου; *Zacos* 1004 (seal; obv.: CTA[V]/[P]AKIOV/[B]ACILIK/OV +; rev.: + ΑΠ[O]/KPICI[A]/PIOV). Cf. Isaacius 9.

**Stauracius 3** chartularius VII

Σταυρακίῳ χαρτουλαρίῳ; *Zacos* 1005 (seal; obv.: + ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΙ; rev.: [+C]TAV/[P]AKIΩX/APTOVΛ/APIΩ).

**Stembischadas** (Στεμβισχάδας) ally of the Turks M/L VI

An ally of the Turks, whom he helped subdue the Avars; *Theoph. Sim.* VII 7.9, cf. *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 30 (Στεμείσχαγάν). Cf. *Theoph. Sim.* ed. de Boor, p. 257, note and see also Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 17-18.

**Stephanacius** military commander (East) 531

He and Longinus 1 commanded the Isaurian troops in the Roman army during the campaign against the Persians in 531; *Proc. BP* I 18.7. He lost his life in the battle of Callinicum (April 19, 531); *Joh. Mal.* 463. John Malalas does not associate him with the Isaurians in the battle and it is possible that he was one of Belisarius' bodyguards and fought at his side; see Longinus.

**Fl. Stephanous** wife of Fl. Marcus (in Egypt) M/L VI

Daughter of Ioannes 58, wife of Fl. Marcus 3; native of Iustinopolis (= Oxyrhynchus); *P. Oxy.* 126, lines 5-7 (dated May 10, 572).

Stephanus (*IGC* 147) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Stephanus (*PSI* 891) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Stephanus (*AE* 1941, 160) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Stephanus: commentator on Dionysius Thrax, ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Stephanus (*Anth. Gr.* IX 385): *PLRE* II.

Stephanus (*Sev. Ant. Ep. Sel.* IX 3) 519/538: *PLRE* II.

Stephanus Byzantius: author of a geographical lexicon V/VI, ?M VI; *PLRE* II.

Stephanus: PPO (?Illyrici) c. 521 or 529; *PLRE* II.

**Stephanus 1** doctor (at Tralles) E/M VI

A doctor at Tralles, he was the father of Alexander 8 of Tralles whom he trained as a physician; *Alex. Trall. Ther.* IV 1. Father also of Anthemius 2, Dioscorus 3, Metrodorus and Olympius 2.

**STEPHANVS 2** v.c. (East) E/M VI

Ὁ λαμπρότατος; commemorated with a μνημεῖον in Syria, dated in Dius (?November) of indiction 9 in year 842 of the Seleucid era; *IGLS* II 333 Rb1t, west of Khanasir (Anasartha). The date is c. Nov. 530.

**Stephanus 3** praefectus Hispaniarum 529-531/532

Hispaniarum praefectus; appointed (by king Amalaric) in 529, he was dismissed in a council(?) at Gerona in his third year in office (in civitate Gerundensi in concilio discinctus est); *Chron. Caesaraug.* s.a. 529.

Amalaric died in 531; perhaps Stephanus was dismissed (and the post abolished) by a council of Visigothic notables at this time.

STEPHANVS 4 v.c., comes (East) 530/531

After the Samaritan revolt he was made responsible for supplying materials needed for rebuilding to the bishops; Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 73 (διὰ Στεφάνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου κόμητος).

Stephanus 5

advocate of the PPO Orientis (530–)533–539; iudex pedaneus 539

Advocate (patronus causarum) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* 1 17.2.9 = Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project; Stephanus is named first in order of precedence of the advocates on this commission; see further Leontius 1).

On April 8, 539, he was still an advocate and now also *iudex pedaneus* at the court of the PPO Orientis when he was appointed one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* (δικασταί or διαιτηταί) at Constantinople by Justinian; Just. *Nov.* 82.1. See further Menas 2, and cf. Anatolius 4.

Stephanus 6

Roman officer 531

He was an officer under Belisarius during the campaign of 531, present with Belisarius, Apsca and Simmas at Barbalissus when Hermogenes joined them; Joh. Mal. 462 (he and Apsca were ἑξαρχοί, Simmas a δοῦξ).

STEPHANVS 7 v.sp., proconsul Palaestinae Primae 536

A native of Gaza; Chor. *Or.* 3.53–4. Of good family, he may have had brothers; Chor. *Or.* 3.3.

Before his appointment in Palestine he had held other offices; Chor. *Or.* 3.79. At one time he seems to have served as an imperial courier (perhaps *tribunus et notarius* or *agens in rebus*); Chor. *Or.* 3.59.

(v.c.), *CONSVLARIS PALAESTINAE PRIMAE* a. 535/536: in office before July 1, 536, Just. *Nov.* 103.2 (see below). In 535/536, before the date of Just. *Nov.* 103, he was ordinary governor of Palaestina Prima and was the subject of a panegyric by Choricus, jointly with the *dux Palaestinae* Aratius; Chor. *Or.* 3, title (εἰς Ἀράτιον δοῦκα καὶ Στέφανον ἄρχοντα), cf. 3.33 (οὗτος ὁ τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἡμῖν κυβερνῶν). His conduct in office is acclaimed for financial honesty and respect for justice; Chor. *Or.* 3.7. He suppressed Egyptian brigands marauding into Palestine and cleared the roads between Caesarea and other cities of brigandage; Chor. *Or.*

3.33–7. He calmed a popular panic at Caesarea when there were fears of arson; Chor. *Or.* 3.38–42. He relieved the threat of famine at Caesarea and safeguarded the water supply there by repairing aqueducts and constructing new reservoirs; Chor. *Or.* 3.43–51. He also helped other cities in Palestine, which were harassed by brigandage and disturbed by religious dissent, enemy actions (presumably marauding Saracens) and disorderly gangs; Chor. *Or.* 3.52. He carried out a programme of building works at Gaza, where he restored the city wall, roofed the Iustinianum, completed the theatre, built the winter baths and supplied water for washing and drinking; he also built, with the bishop Marcianus 1, the church of St Sergius; Chor. *Or.* 3.54–6.60, *Or.* 1.30–1. His devotion to his duty was reported to the emperor by an embassy consisting of three priests; Chor. *Or.* 3.57–9. Choricus expresses the wish in the panegyric for Aratius and Stephanus to hold higher offices, as they deserve; Chor. *Or.* 3.84.

V.SP., *PROCONSVL PALAESTINAE PRIMAE* a. 536 July 1: on this date Justinian issued a law raising the status of the governor of Palaestina Prima to that of *spectabilis proconsul* and appointing Stephanus, already governor of the province, as the first to hold the new title; Just. *Nov.* 103.2 (τοῦτο ὅπερ καὶ Στέφανος ὁ περίβλεπτος ὁ νῦν πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτῆς γενόμενος ἤδη τε φυλάξας ἠύδοκίμησεν, καὶ αὐθις ὅτι τοῦτο πράξει διὰ τῶν ἤδη φθασάντων πεπείσεμθα – he had already taken steps to pacify a province troubled by religious strife and other forms of public disorder).

Stephanus 8

citizen of Naples 536

A leading citizen of Naples (one of the λόγιμοι), involved in discussions with Belisarius on the fate of the city in 536; he allegedly favoured the imperial cause after the promise of large rewards from Belisarius; Proc. *BG* 1 8.6–20.24–5, 9.23–30, 10.40–3.

Stephanus 9

doctor (at Edessa) 544

A native of Edessa and a famous doctor (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἰατροῖς λόγιον); he once cured the Persian king Cavades who rewarded him with great wealth; Proc. *BP* 11 26.31. In 544 while Edessa was besieged by Chosroes Stephanus was among the envoys sent to plead for their city; he reminded Chosroes of his earlier services to his father but failed to move him; Proc. *BP* 11 26.31–40.

Stephanus 10

vir laudabilis; praefectianus (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born in 489; a *vir laudabilis, praefectianus*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the

synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 118 (vir laudabilis), p. 120 (Stephanus dixit: Stephanus dicor; praefectianus sum in hac civitate natus), p. 126 (praefectianus; aged sixty-one in 550). Cf. Eumolpius.

Stephanus 11 envoy to Justinian 550

A Roman, sent by Totila as envoy to Justinian in early 550; *Proc. BG* III 37.6-7. See Totila, p. 1331.

Stephanus 12 follower of Narses 553

A native of Epidamnus, he was one of Narses' close associates in Italy in 553 (ἄνδρα τῶν οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείων); *Agath.* I 17.3. Sent to Faventia to reprimand the generals who had retreated from Parma (cf. Artabanes), he resolved their problems over supplies by fetching the PPO Antiochus 2 from Ravenna and so persuaded them to return to Parma; he then returned to Narses at Luca; *Agath.* I 17.3-18.3. Cf. Narses, p. 920.

Stephanus 13 doctor (at Amida) 553

'Archiatus' at Amida in summer 553 and a monophysite; *Zach. HE* XII 6.

STEPHANVS 14 proconsul Palaestinae Primae 555

Known as 'the Syrian' (ὁ ἐπικλην Σύρος) (presumably because he came from there); *Joh. Mal. fr.* 48.

PROCONSUL PALAESTINAE PRIMAE a. 555 July: ὁ ἀνθύπατος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως (i.e. Caesarea, see below), *Joh. Mal. fr.* 48, *Ps.-Dion. Chron.* II, p. 127; ὁ ἄρχων τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, *Joh. Mal.* 487; ὁ ἑπαρχος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, *Theoph. AM* 6048. In office in Caesarea when the Samaritans and Jews revolted against the Christians in July 555 (not 556, as the sources; see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 374, n. 2); he went to help but was forced to flee by the rebels and was killed in his praetorium; his property was plundered; his widow then visited Justinian in Constantinople and the emperor ordered Amantius 2 to crush the rising and avenge Stephanus; *Joh. Mal.* 487, *Joh. Mal. fr.* 48, *Ps.-Dion. Chron.* II, p. 127, *Mich. Syr.* IX 21, *Theoph. AM* 6048.

Stephanus 15 scholasticus ?555

+ ἀνεπάη ὁ μακ(άριος) Στέφανος Θεοδώρου σχολ(αστικός); he died at Eleutheropolis on the sixth of Hyperberetaeus (?early October) in a fourth indiction in the year 356 of the local era; *Pal. Quart.* 1920, p. 21, no. 4 Eleutheropolis. The date was probably Oct. 555.

Stephanus 16 v.d., scriniarius (of the PPO?) (in Italy) 564

V.d., scr(i)n(i)arius gl(oriosae) s(edis); in 564 he witnessed the payment to a ward called Stephanus of one third of the inheritance of one Collectus; *Marini, P. Dip.* 80 = *P. Ital.* 8, col. III, line 7. The *gloriosae sedes* was perhaps at this date that of the praetorian prefecture.

Stephanus 17 optio (at Rome) M VI

Stefanus, qui in numero optio fuit; lived in Rome close to where pope Gregory used to live while still a layman (? on the Coelian Hill); an anecdote is recorded by Gregory about his death; *Greg. Dial.* IV 36.

Stephanus 18 ?teacher of law (at Constantinople) M VI

Author of an Index (a commentary) on the Digest, of which many fragments survive in the scholia to the *Basilica*; *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, VI 49-54, cf. *Bas.* II 528 (he is styled ὁ ἰνδικευτής). The work was apparently composed between 556 and 565; he cites *Just. Nov.* 134, dated in 556, cf. *Bas.* I 772, and alludes to Justinian as still alive, cf. *Bas.* II 527, III 171, IV 4, IV 12. When he wrote, the lawteachers Theophilus I, Dorotheus 4 and Thalelaeus were all dead (τοὺς μακαρίτας); cf. *Bas.* VI 14, n. 16.

He alludes to his own law teacher but never gives his name; his teacher was certainly not Theophilus, cf. *Bas.* II 625, 626, 627, but may have been Thalelaeus; see *Bas.* VI 14. Stephanus apparently lived in Constantinople and was possibly a teacher of law there, following the destruction of Berytus and its law schools by the great earthquake of 551; see *Bas.* VI 14 with n. 18, and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 757-8.

See further B. Kübler, in *P-W* V A, 2401-2.

Stephanus 19 praepositus Augustae (of Sophia) c. 571

One of many *cubicularii* and *cubiculariae* at the imperial court, staunchly monophysite from the days of Theodora, who were frightened into accepting communion with the Chalcedonians by the persecution under Justin II; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 2.9 ('ipse etiam ipsius reginae praepositus, cui nomen fuit Stephanus'). The persecution began in 571; see *Joh. Eph. HE* III 1.4.

Stephanus 20 sophist (at Alexandria) c. 580

Sophist at Alexandria in c. 580, under the patriarch Damianus, he argued that no distinction existed between the divine and human natures in Christ; *Mich. Syr.* X 21 (from Dionysius of Tell Mahrē), *Bar Hebr., Chron. Eccl.* I 48 (p. 254).

## Stephanus 21

vir inlustris M/L VI

Inlustris vir Stephanus; noted for his charitable works and for his lustfulness (in eo mala carnis cum aelymosinarum operatione certabant); he told Gregory that, when in Constantinople once on some business (pro quadam causa), he fell ill and died but was restored to life after his identity was checked in Hell and he was found to be the wrong person; he subsequently returned to Rome, to die of plague three years before the composition of the *Dialogi* (the plague was in 590); Greg. *Dial.* iv 37.

## Stephanus 22

teacher of law (East) ?L VI

Possibly, but not certainly, identical with Stephanus 18.

Antecessor (ἀντικένσωρ), author of an abbreviated commentary on the *Codex Iustinianus* (ὁ σύντομος κώδιξ), of which fragments survive in the scholia on the *Basilica*; cf. *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, vi 78–80. Cf. Theodorus 64.

## Stephanus 23

father of John the Almsgiver L VI

A native of Cyprus, he was of good family (εὐγενεῖος Στεφάνου) and well-to-do; father of John the Almsgiver (patriarch of Alexandria c. 609–c. 618); *Anth. Gr.* vii 679 (verses on John by the patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronius).

In the Life of John by Sophronius, the name of John's father is given as Epiphanius (*V. Ioh. El.* 2). Presumably he had two names; cf. Epiphanius 3.

## STEPHANVS 24

vir magnificus (in Sardinia) L VI

Husband of Theodosia, who inherited his property; dead by Sept. 593; in his will he left instructions for the foundation of a monastery, and pope Gregory wrote instructing bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari to help Theodosia who was having difficulty in carrying out his wishes; Greg. *Ep.* iv 8 (a. 593 Sept.; Stephanus ordered 'ut in praedio quod appellatur Piscenas quod ad xenodochii Thomae quondam episcopi iura pervenit monasterium construi debuisset'; the site was presumably at or near Cagliari). Very soon afterwards Gregory again wrote to Ianuarius having heard that Theodosia herself was delaying fulfilment of her husband's wishes (pervenit siquidem ad nos Stephanum virum magnificum de hac luce migrantem supremac voluntatis elogio monasterium praecepisse fundari. Cuius desiderium Theodosiae honestae feminae, heredis eius, fertur quod hactenus dilatione protrahitur); he gave fresh instructions for the building of the monastery; Greg. *Ep.* iv 10 (a. 593 Sept.).

## Stephanus 25

brother of Maximianus 2 582/602

Wealthy local landowner in Proconsularis; Durliat, no. 30 = Pringle, no. 36. In *AE* 1889,1 the name was read as Vgistanus. See further Maximianus 2.

## STEPHANVS 26

?comes rei militaris (East) 585

Formerly a member of the emperor Tiberius' bodyguard (possibly *excubitor*), in 585 he served on campaign in the east under Philippicus; when in spring 585 Philippicus fell ill the command of the army was entrusted to Stephanus and Apsich 2; Theoph. Sim. i 14.5 (ἐπιτρέψας τὸ στράτευμα Στεφάνω τῷ ταγματάρχῃ – ὑπασπιστῆς δ' οὗτος ἐγεγόνει Τιβερίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος). For ὑπασπιστῆς = *excubitor*, see Theoph. Sim. iii 1.4. For ταγματάρχης, cf. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 108. 111 with notes 102 and 103, but see also Theodorus 21. In view of the degree of responsibility given to Stephanus, it is more likely that he was a *comes rei militaris* (or a new style *dux*) than a *tribunus*.

Possibly identical with Stephanus ὁ λοχαγός who fought at Solachon in summer 586 and took part in an action which turned the battle decisively in the favour of the Romans; Theoph. Sim. ii 4.8–9 (denied giving the order), 5.1 (when accused of not following up his advantage, he replied ἡγεμονικωτάτη ἀπολογία that he did not believe in pushing his luck too far). By this date λοχαγός technically denoted an NCO, cf. Haldon, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–11, but Theophylact's usage is not technical; cf. Castus, and see also Theodorus 21.

## Fl. Stephanus 27

magnificentissimus tribunus and landowner (Egypt) 586

Native and landowner of Arsinoe; brother of Fl. Nilus 2; he and his brother received a letter, dated June 2, 586, about the lease of some land by them; *BGU* 303, lines 3–5 Φλ(αουίους) Στεφάνω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ τριβούνω καὶ ἀντιγεούχῳ καὶ Νείλῳ τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κόμητι ὁμογνησίους ἀδελφοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως, cf. verso 2 εἰς Φλ(αουίους) Στέφανον τὸν μεγαλοπρ(επέστατον) τριβούνον ἀντιγεοῦ[χον]. . . . The document styles the brothers ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλοπρέπεια (lines 9, 16). Both brothers had imperial titles but apparently lived in Egypt where they were landowners; the document comes from the Fayum.

## Stephanus 28

chartularius (in Sicily) 592–595

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory in 592 instructing him to return two runaway monks to their monastery and to see that burdens

which the monastery could not stand were not imposed on it; the monastery was one of St George on the *massa Maratodis*; Greg. *Ep.* II 29 (a. 592 May 19; addressed 'ad Stephanum cartarium (sic) Siciliae'; the title is probably an error for *chartularius*). Later in 592 Stephanus advised that a case involving a debt owed by the monastery of St Lucia in Syracuse to a certain Florianus should go to court, much to Gregory's displeasure; Greg. *Ep.* III 3 (a. 592 Sept.; Stephanus *chartularius*). In 595 Gregory wrote to the empress Constantina in Constantinople complaining of Stephanus' numerous misdeeds and his illegal seizure of properties in Sicily (in Sicilia autem insula Stephanus quidam marinarum *chartularius* tanta praedicia tantisque oppressiones operari dicitur invadendo loca singulorum atque sine dictione causarum per possessiones ac domos titulos ponendo, ut... magno volumine haec explere non possim); Greg. *Ep.* V 38 (a. 595 June 1).

It is not certain that these three references are all to the same person but they probably are. His title appears to have been *marinarum chartularius* (rather than *chartularius Siciliae* which probably means 'the *chartularius* in Sicily' rather than 'the *chartularius* of Sicily', a use of the genitive paralleled elsewhere in the headings of Gregory's letters, cf. e.g. Felix 11, Paulus 41) but what his function was is obscure; as a *chartularius* it was probably financial and the contents of the letters support this, but no *scrinium* of the praetorian prefecture or in the palatine ministries is known to have been devoted to marine affairs. If his official title is correctly preserved, it would seem to be a relatively new post, created after the reconquest of Italy, and perhaps concerned with levying taxes to maintain a fleet, though this is only speculation and there is nothing in the content of the letters which throws light on Stephanus' concern with maritime affairs.

Stephanus 29 (of Siunia) Armenian noble 595

An Armenian noble, he revolted against both Rome and Persia with Atat Khorkhoruni, Samuel Vahewuni and others (perhaps in 595, see below); when the rebellion collapsed Stephanus was one of those who submitted to Persia; Sebeos VI, pp. 31-2. In 595 he was one of the pro-Persian Armenians summoned to the Persian court and honoured by Chosroes (see also Gagik Mamikonian); Sebeos XI, pp. 39-40. He was subsequently imprisoned by Chosroes and executed as a result of charges brought by his paternal uncle Sahak, with whom he was in dispute over a seignory, and other nobles of Siunia; Sebeos XIII, p. 41.

STEPHANVS 30 vir magnificus (in Italy) 596

Sent in April 596 to take money to Anthemius (the *rector patrimonii* in

Campania) for the ransom of prisoners from the Lombards; Greg. *Ep.* VI 32 (a. 596 April; to Anthemius; pro remedio captiuorum qui tenti sunt solidos experientiae tuae per harum portitorem Stephanum virum magnificum transmisimus).

STEPHANVS 31 v.c. (in Sardinia) 599

Vir clarissimus; he complained to pope Gregory that a relative of his who was a nun had been carried off from her monastery; in 599 he took a letter from Gregory to bishop Marinianus of Turris in Sardinia, ordering that she be allowed to return; Greg. *Ep.* X 3 (a. 599 Sept./Oct.). He and his family presumably lived at Turris.

Stephanus 32 scholasticus in Egypt VI

Author of a letter to the *chartularius* Callinicus 8, found at Hermopolis; *P. Herm.* 49 Hermopolis, dated VI (verso: [παρά] Στεφάνου σχολαστικῶς)).

Stephanus 33 *chartularius* VI

Στεφάνου χαρτουλαρίου(?); Zacos 494 (seal; obv.: square monogram (313) of Στεφάνου; rev.: square monogram (366, possibly of χαρτουλαρίου, but the interpretation is uncertain).

Stephanus 34 domesticus VI

Στεφάνου dom(e)sticu); Zacos 501 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3591 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram 317 of Στεφάνου; rev.: δομῆ).

Stephanus 35 MVM VI

Stefanu stratelatu; Zacos 1018 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3303 (seal; obv.: + ST/ΕFG/NY; rev.: STR/ATEL/ATY).

Stephanus 36 MVM VI

Ste[p]hano mag(istro) milit(ia)e; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.5037 (seal; obv.: .ST/E.HA/NO; rev.: MAG./MILI/TE).

Stephanus 37 MVM (in Africa) VI

Stefanus magister militum; *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 1914, p. 284, no. 1 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: the name Stefanus arranged in the form of a cross; rev.: +/MAGIS/TERMI/LITVM). A similar seal, also from

Carthage, is in *BCTH* 1925, p. xlv, no. 6 (obv.: monogram, possibly of Stephanus; rev.: +MA/GISTR/MILIT).

**Stephanus 38**

honorary Mag. Off., ?discussor and commerciarus (of Tyre) M VI/E VII

Στεφάνου ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀπὸ μαγίστρων, θείου λογοθέτου καὶ κομμερκι-  
αρίου Τύρου; *Zacos* 130 bis, note, no. 3 (seal). He was *vir gloriosissimus*  
with the honorific title of *magister (officiorum)* and held an imperial  
financial post in addition to that of *commercarius* at Tyre. It is not clear  
what post he held; that of λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ, if it yet existed, was  
unlikely to be held by a *commercarius* at Tyre; that of *numerarius* (cf. *Fl.*  
*Ioannes* 11, p. 627) is possible, but perhaps λογοθέτης here is again  
simply equivalent to *discussor* and Stephanus combined the duties of  
*commercarius* with those of auditor-general of finances in the area.

Stephanus is perhaps identical with the Stephanus named on a seal  
recording three *commercarii* of Tyre; *Zacos* 130 bis, note, no. 4  
(Ἰουλιανοῦ, Σεργίου, Στεφάνου, κομμερκιαρίων Τύρου). Cf. *Iulianus* 34  
and *Sergius* 37.

**Stephanus 39**

?candidatus VI/VII

Στεφάνου κα[ν]ιδιάτου(?); *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.830 (seal;  
obv.: square monogram (314) of Στεφάνου; rev.: cruciform monogram  
(left arm damaged) (180) perhaps of κανιδιάτου).

**Stephanus 40**

chartularius VI/VII

Στεφάνου χαρτουλαρίου; *Zacos* 495 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram  
(315) of Στεφάνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (364) of χαρτουλαρίου).

**Stephanus 41**

imperialis chartularius VI/VII

Στεφάνου βασιλικοῦ (or ?κουβικουλαρίου καὶ) χαρτουλαρίου; *Zacos*  
496 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (319) of Στεφάνου; rev.: cruci-  
form monogram (368) of βασιλικοῦ (or possibly κουβικουλαρίου καὶ)  
χαρτουλαρίου). Another similar seal occurs in *Zacos'* series. Cf. also  
*Alexander* 15 and *Theodorus* 105.

**Stephanus 42**

honorary consul VI/VII

[Στε]φάνου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; *Zacos* 1007A (seal; obv.: [CT]/[Ε]ΦΑΝΣ/  
ΑΠΟΝΠ/ΑΤΩΝ; rev.: [Δ. .]/Λ8ΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ).

**Stephanus 43**

MVM (in Africa) VI/VII

Stephanu magistro militu(m); *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 1913, p. 316 =  
*ILCV* 235a (seal, from Carthage; obv.: +ST/ΕΡΗΑ/NV; rev.:  
+MA/GISTRO/MILI/TV).

**Stephanus 44**

patricius M VI/VII

Στεφάνου πατρικίου; *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.1796 (seal; obv.:  
cruciform monogram (319) of Στεφάνου; rev.: cruciform monogram  
(252) of πατρικίου).

**Stephanus 45**

scribo M VI/VII

Στεφάνου σκριβονος; *Zacos* 502 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram  
(319) of Στεφάνου; rev.: cruciform monogram (305) of σκριβονος).

**Stephanus 46**

scribo M VI/VII

Στεφάνου σκριβονος; *Zacos* 2824 = *Dumbarton Oaks* seal 58.106.  
4393 (seal; cruciform monogram (318) of Στεφάνου; rev.: cruciform  
monogram (302) of σκριβονος).

**Stephanus 47**

illustris (in Egypt) VI/VII

+Στέφανος σὺν Θ(εῶ) ἰλλ(ο)ύ(στριος), ordered a payment to  
*Damianus* 7; *BGU* II 675 = *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1139 provenance unknown.  
Perhaps also recorded on a similar document, *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1297 = xx  
199, from the Fayum, dated VI/VII: line 1 +Στέφανος σὺν Θ(εῶ)  
ἰλλού(στριος).

**Stephanus 48**

MVM (East) VI/VII

+Σ[τ]/εφάν/ου στρ/ατ(ηλάτου); *Inscr. Cret.* IV 517 Gortyn (seal;  
obv.: Virgin and child between crosses; rev.: +Σ./ΕΦΑΝ/ΟΝΣΤΡ/ΑΤ).

**(STEPH)ANVS 49**

comes (Egypt) VI/VII

Addressee of a private note, of unknown provenance; *Stud. Pal.* xx  
224, verso 5 (+σὺν Θ(εῶ) τῷ δε[σπότη] μ[ο]ν τῷ μακ[αρίω] πρε-  
(σβυτέρω) κόμ(ετι) [Στεφ]άνω). The text is surprising; perhaps it should  
be read τῷ μεγ(αλο)πρε(πεστάτῳ) κόμ(ετι).

**STEPHANVS 50**

v.c., comes (?at Ravenna) c. 600

V.c., comes; he witnessed a donation by *Ioannes* 228 (ex spathario) to  
the church of Ravenna; *Marini, P. Dip.* 90 = *P. Ital.* 16, line 60.

**Stephanus 51 (of Alexandria)**

philosopher (at Alexandria) L VI/E VII

He was a teacher of philosophy and mathematics at Alexandria,

where he lectured and wrote Commentaries on Aristotle and on scientific subjects. For a bibliography, see R. Sorabji, ed., *Aristotle transformed*, pp. 502-3.

A native of Alexandria, he was a pupil of Olympiodorus (? = *PLRE* II, Olympiodorus 5) and of Theodorus 58 (of Constantinople); Agapius, p. 465 (he was 'a famous philosopher' and 'a wise man of Egypt and of Alexandria'). Cf. Westerink, *Anonymous Prolegomena*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

A philosopher in Alexandria, where his house was visited by John Moschus and Sophronius (future patriarch of Jerusalem) (perhaps in order to attend lectures) (εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ φιλοσόφου Στεφάνου, ἵνα πράξωμεν - the text is that as corrected by P. Pattenden in his forthcoming edition of John Moschus); Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 99 (77) (his house stood near to the church of the Theotokos built by the patriarch Eulogius (a. 581-607), called the church of Dorothea).

Author of Commentaries on the *De Interpretatione* of Aristotle (in *CAG* XVIII; ἀπὸ φώνης Στεφάνου φιλοσόφου, i.e. from lecture notes), on the third book of Aristotle's *De Anima* (in *CAG* XV), and on the *Analytica*, the *Sophistici Elenchi*, the *De Caelo* and the *Categories* of Aristotle (all apparently lost, cf. Hunger, *Prof. Lit.*, I, p. 30). He wrote a Commentary on the astronomical tables of Theon (dedicated to the emperor Heraclius), a simplified version of the same (ed. Usener, *De Stephano Alexandrino*, Bonn, 1888) and a work on astrology (*Opusculum Apotelesmaticum* (if this is really by him), ed. Usener, Bonn, 1879). He also perhaps wrote an alchemical work (on the making of gold), divided into nine lectures of which the last also is dedicated to Heraclius; the work is edited by Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores*, II, pp. 199-253, and cf. Sherwood-Taylor, *Ambix* I (1937), pp. 116-39, II (1938), pp. 38-49.

On a supposed visit by him to Constantinople as a teacher under Heraclius, see Beck, *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dölger* (1966), pp. 72-3. Possibly identical with Stephanus 52 (of Athens).

Stephanus 52 (of Athens) philosopher and doctor ?L VI/E VII  
Teacher of medicine and author of medical commentaries and treatises, many still extant. In the MSS he is styled φιλόσοφος καὶ ἰατρός, ἰατροσοφιστής and ἀρχίατρος. He lectured on the *Prognosticon* of Hippocrates (Dietz, *Scholia in Hippocratem et Galenum*, I, pp. 51-232; ἀπὸ φώνης Στεφάνου φιλοσόφου, i.e. compiled from lecture notes) and on the *Aphorismata* of Hippocrates (cf. Dietz, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 237-40 and Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* II, p. 300). He wrote a Commentary on the *Therapeutica* of Galen (Dietz, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 233-344; Στεφάνου τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἰατροῦ ἐξηγήσεις), a treatise on urine (ed. N. S. Bussemaker, *Rev. de Phil.* I (1845), pp. 423-38, 543-60), a treatise on fevers (unless this was by

Palladius; cf. Ideler, *Physici et medici graeci minores*, I, pp. 107-20, and Hunger, *op. cit.*, II, p. 301, n. 51), a Commentary on the treatise of Magnus on urine (unpublished, see Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Artze*, II, pp. 97-8 with suppl., p. 66), a lost treatise on the pulse and a dictionary of remedies (see Diels, *loc. cit.*).

Possibly to be identified with Stephanus 51 (of Alexandria). Cf. Westerink, *Janus* 51 (1964), pp. 174-5, and see now W. Wolska-Conus, "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie: essai d'identification", *REB* 47 (1989), pp. 5-89.

Stephanus 53 (cubicularius, ?paracoemomenus) 602

A leading eunuch in the palace at Constantinople under Maurice, of whose children he was tutor; sent by Maurice in late 602 to persuade Germanus II to leave the church of the Theotokos where he had taken refuge, he was driven away by Germanus' men; Theoph. Sim. VIII 8.13 (Στέφανον τὸν παιδαγωγὸν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων - εὐνοῦχος δὲ οὗτος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λίαν περίδοξος τοῖς ἀνακτόροις), Theoph. AM 6094.

A loyal follower of Maurice, whom he accompanied in his flight (in 602); he was tutor to his son Theodosius 13; founder of τὰ Ἀρματίου and τὸ Σάγμα; Joh. Ant. fr. 218d (*FHG* V 36) = *Exc. de ins.*, fr. 108. According to a late source he was *paracoemomenus* of Maurice (παρακοιμώμενος Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως) and founder of a reservoir, a hospice for the elderly and a bath in the district of τὰ Ἀρματίου (τοὺς δὲ Κρίους τὴν κινστέριαν καὶ τὸ γηροκομεῖον καὶ τὸ λοῦμα τὸ ἐν εἰς τὰ Ἀρματίου) 'after twelve years' (?in 594); *Patr. Const.* III 62. Cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 47, 206, 348, 471. For *paracoemomenus*, cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 124-5.

This man may be identical with the παρακοιμώμενος of Maurice sent to summon Philippicus in 602 to receive the emperor's apology; Theoph. AM 6094 (p. 285).

Stephanus 54 supporter of Heraclius 610

A native of Cyzicus, he removed a garland from the church of the Theotokos at Artace (a suburb of Cyzicus) and took it to Heraclius shortly before the attack on Constantinople in 610; Joh. Ant. fr. 218f (*FHG* V 38)) = *Exc. de ins.*, fr. 110).

Stephanus (I) 55 ruler of Iberia c. 602-627

Son and successor of Guaram I, he ruled Iberia from c. 602 to 627; at first loyal to Rome, he revolted in 605/614 (perhaps in 607/608) against

the Romans and became ruler over all Iberia; in 626, when Heraclius attacked Iberia, he remained loyal to Persia, was besieged in Tiflis and killed in 627; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), pp. 199ff.

Stephanus (II) 56 ruler of Iberia 637/642-645

Son and successor of Adarnase I, he ruled Iberia from 637/642 to 645; see Toumanoff, *Le Muséon* 65 (1952), pp. 202-3 and Dowsett, p. 114, n. 1. He was styled *patricius* of Iberia; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, p. 204 (citing an inscription in the church of the Holy Cross near Mts 'khet'a).

Father of Adarnase; he is probably identical with the *patricius* who surrendered Iberia to the Arabs in 645; Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-8. On his son, see Toumanoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 208ff., and Moses Dasxurançi 119.

Stephanus 57 ?army officer (in Egypt) c. 640/641

He was left by Theodorus 166 in the city of 'Kīlūnās' with troops to guard it against the Arabs; Joh. Nik. 118.11 (p. 569 Zotenberg). 'Shortly afterwards the Moslem proceeded against the country (?city) of †Cōprōs† (?Chypre; Zotenberg) and put Stephen and his people to the sword'; Joh. Nik. 118.13 (p. 569 Zotenberg). This passage may be a confused account of the fall of Caesarea in Palestine; cf. Zotenberg, p. 569, n. 2.

Stephanus 58 vir illustris E VII

A Greek and a *vir illustris*, in the early seventh century he donated property near Iguvium to the church of Ravenna; at the time he lived in Naples but the deed was drawn up, signed and witnessed in Rome (cf. Theodosius 43); Marini, *P. Dip.* 92 = *P. Ital.* 18-19B, lines 14-17 (*ego Stefanus magnificus illustris Grecus donator*), line 18 (+ Φλ. Στέφανος ἰλλούστριος), cf. also lines 31, 37, 43-4, 50, 55.

Stephanus 59 astrologer E VII

Styled μαθηματικός, he cast a horoscope foretelling the Arab conquest and its date; Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 16, cf. Cedr. 1717 (ὁ ἀστρονόμος Στέφανος) (he made the prediction on Sept. 3 in a tenth indiction and in year twelve of Heraclius, i.e. in 622). In Cedrenus he is called Stephanus of Alexandria and he is perhaps identical with Stephanus 51 (who wrote on astrology).

Stephanus 60 nephew of Heraclius E/M VII

Son of Maria 12 and Eutropius, nephew of the emperor Heraclius, given to the Avars as a hostage in 622 and ransomed by his mother

apparently in c. 635; Nic. *Brev.* 17, 24. Cf. Ioannes 260 Atalarichus and Ioannes 259.

Stephanus 61 primicerius numeri (at Verona) E VII

Primicerius numeri Veronensium; father of Paulacis, apparently dead by 639 (Paulacis filius q(uon)d(am) Stefani); Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, lines 3-4, 12-13, 20-1, 30-1, 39.

Stephanus 62 deacon of Hagia Sophia and poet of the Blue faction M VII

Recorded shortly before the death of Heraclius, when he was δικάκωνος τῆς ἁγίας Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ποιητῆς μέρους Βενέτου; *Mir. Artem.* 21 (pp. 25ff.). A sick man, he was eventually cured in 643/644; see Cosmas 21. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, p. 87.

Stephanus 63 (v.c.) chartularius (in Egypt) VII

A payment from Fl. Didyma was made διὰ Στεφάνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου/[...χαρ]τουλαρίου; *Stud. Pal.* III 72 Arsinoe, dated VII.

Stephanus 64 ?magnificentissimus comes (in Egypt) VII

Recorded in a papyrus of unknown provenance, whose beginning is lost; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 21, recto, line 1 Στέφανον τὸν μεγα[λ]οπρεπέστ[α]τ[ο]ν [κόμετα καί?]/πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀρ[ι]στάδας.

Stephanus 65 comes excubitorum VII

Στεφάνου κ(όμητος) τοῦ θείου ἐξκουβίτου; Zacos 497 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106. 1549 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (316) of Στεφάνου; rev.: +K+/ΤΟΝΘΕΙ/ΟΝΕΞΚΒ/ΒΙΤΔ).

Stephanus 66 honorary consul VII

Στεφάνω ὑπάτῳ; Zacos 1009A (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟ[Κ]/ΕΒΟΗ/ΘΗ; rev.: +CΤΕ/ΦΑΝΩΝ/ΠΑΤΩ).

Stephanus 67 honorary consul VII

Στεφάνου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 1104 (seal; obv.: image of Christ and the two words Δ/Ο/ΥΛ/ΟΝ and [C]/Ω/[T]Η/ΡΟ/С written vertically; rev.: +CΤΕ/ΦΑΝΟΝ/ΑΠΟΝΠ/ΑΤΩΝ).

Stephanus 68 honorary consul VII

Στεφάνου (sic) ὑπάτῳ; Zacos 1611 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (320) of Cτ[ε]φάνου with the letters V/Π/T/Ω in the angles).



## Stephanus 69 honorary consul and dioecetes provinciarum VII

Στεφάνου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων (καὶ) διοικητοῦ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν; Zacos 1008a and b (two seals; obv.: (a and b) +CTE/ΦΑΝΟΝΑ/ΠΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ; rev.: (a) ΔΙΟΙΚ/ΗΤΟΥΤ/ΩΝΕΠΑ/ΡΧΙ[ΩΝ], (b) ΔΙΟΙ/ΚΗΤΟΥ/ΤΩΝΕΠ/[ΑΡΧΙ]ΩΝ). Two more specimens occur in Zacos' series. He was a high-ranking official responsible for the taxation of, apparently, a group of provinces. Presumably identical with Stephanus 70.

## Stephanus 70 patricius and dioecetes provinciarum VII

Στεφάνου πατρικίου (καὶ) διοικητοῦ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν; Zacos 1014a, 1014b = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2123 (two seals; obv.: (a) CTEΦ/ΑΝΟΝΠ/ΑΤΡΙΚ/ΙΟΥ, (b) +CTE/ΦΑΝΟΝΠ/ΑΤΡΙΚΙΟ/Υ+; rev.: (a and b) ΔΙΟΙΚ/ΗΤΟΥΤ/ΩΝΕΠΑ/ΡΧΙΩΝ). A third example was found at Carthage, suggesting that his area either comprised or included Africa; *BCTH* 1924, p. ccxx, no. 7 (obv.: +CTE/ΦΑΝΟΝ/ΠΑΤΡΙΚ/ΙΟΥ+; rev.: +ΙΔΙΟΙ/ΚΗΤΟΥΤ/ΩΝΕΠΑΡ/ΧΙΩΝ+).

Presumably identical with Stephanus 69.

## Stephanus 71 imperialis mandator VII

Στεφάνου βασιλικοῦ μανδάτωρος; Zacos 1010 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΩΚΕΒ/ΩΗΘΙΣ/ΤΕΦΑΝ/ΟΝ; rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛ/ΙΚΟΝΜ/ΑΝΔΑΤ/ΩΡΟC). Cf. Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 298.

## Stephanus 72 ex praefectis VII

Στεφάνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 692 (seal; obv.: eagle with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: CTEΦ/ΑΝΩΑΠ/Ο[Ε]ΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ+).

## Stephanus 73 ex praefectis VII

Στεφάνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1007 (seal; obv.: [+]CTE/ΦΑΝΔΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑΡΧ/ΟΝ; rev.: +ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗ[С]/ΘΕΩΤΟ/ΚΟΝ+). The style is described as 'provincial'.

## Stephanus 74 ex praefectis VII

Στεφάνου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; probably son of Longinus; Fogg Art Museum seal 3222 (seal; obv.: +CT/.ΦΑΝΩ/ΑΠΟΕΠΑ/ΡΧΩ/.; rev.: .. / .ΛΟ/.ΓΙΝΔ/+, ? = [σιϛ] Λο[γ]γίνου).

## Stephanus 75 cubicularius et imperialis spatharius VII

Στεφάνου κουβικουλαρίου καὶ βασιλικοῦ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 1009 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2114 (seal; obv.: [+]/CTEΦΑ/ΝΟΝΚΟΝ/ΒΙΚΔΛΑ/ΡΙΟΝ; rev.: +/ΒΑΣΙ/ΛΙΚΔCΠ/ΑΘΑΡΙ/ΟΝ+).

## Stephanus 76 vestitor VII

Στεφάνου βεστίτορι; Zacos 1612 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: CTE/ΦΑΝΩ/ΒΕCΤΙ/TORI).

Stephanus (Zacos 498 and 499): see Nicetas 5 and 6.

Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses Aurelianus  
Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus

## Stontaus Moorish chief 547

One of the Moorish chiefs who defeated Ioannes 36 Troglita at Marta in 547; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 733.

## Stotzas rebel (in Africa) 536-545

Stotzas, Στότζας; Jord., *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537, 543, Proc., Agath. Stotias; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545. Stutias; Coripp. Stuzas; Vict. Tonn.

He was a Roman; Agath. i, prooem. 25.

He served as a bodyguard of the MVM Martinus 2; Proc. *BV* i 11.30 (ἐν τοῖς Μαρτίνου δορυφόροις), ii 15.1 (τῶν Μαρτίνου δορυφόρων ἓνα), cf. Jord. *Rom.* 369 (he was 'paene ultimus militum et Martini clientulus mag(istri) mil(itum)'). In 533 he accompanied Martinus on the expedition of Belisarius against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* i 11.30.

In 536 rebellious troops in Africa chose him as their leader, to expel the emperor's men and rule Africa; Proc. *BV* ii 15.1 (τύραννον σφισιν εἶλοντο). Described as a leader of rebellion in Africa; Proc. *BV* ii 11.30, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537, Jord. *Rom.* 369, Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 305-13, Agath. i prooem. 25. He marched against Carthage with eight thousand men and was joined by at least one thousand Vandals and by many slaves; Proc. *BV* ii 15.2-4. He demanded the surrender of Carthage, murdered its envoy Iosephius and laid siege to it; the city offered to surrender but he raised the siege and left when Belisarius arrived; Proc. *BV* ii 15.5-10, Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 308. He retreated as far as Membressa, was there defeated by Belisarius and fled into Numidia; Proc. *BV* ii 15.12.40.43-4.50, Coripp. *Ioh.* iii 310-13, Jord. *Rom.* 369. His forces reassembled in Numidia; he persuaded many of the Roman troops stationed there to join him and killed their commanders by treachery; Proc. *BV* ii 15.44.56-9. At this time, according to Procopius, some two thirds of the Roman army in Africa had joined him; Proc. *BV* ii 16.3. However, many began to desert him after the arrival of Germanus (*PLRE* ii) (late 536) with a policy of appeasement and Stotzas decided to force the issue and join battle; Proc. *BV* ii 16.6.8-10. His men were

deserting in numbers and returning to Numidia where their wives and booty were; Proc. *BV* II 17.1. Moreover his Moorish allies were disloyal (cf. Iaudas and Ortaías); Proc. *BV* II 17.9–11. Stotzas was defeated by Germanus at the battle of Cellas (Scalas) Veteres in 537; Proc. *BV* II 17.16ff., *BG* III 39.12, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537.3, Coripp. *Ioh.* III 316–18. He fled away into Mauretania with a few Vandals and there remained, marrying the daughter of one of the local rulers; this revolt was now at an end; Proc. *BV* II 17.35.

According to Victor Tonnennensis, he assumed the style of king, if not that of emperor, in 541; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 541 (consulato praefato Stuzas apud Africam regnum in heremi partibus cum tyrannide assumit). He is styled *tyrannus* in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 543 and s.a. 545, and see Proc. *BV* II 15.1 (in 536, cited above) and Agath. I proem. 25. The word implies that he assumed the imperial title.

Again according to Victor, Stotzas united the Moorish tribes in 543 (*recte* 544) and defeated Solomon I at Cillium; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 543. No other source connects Stotzas with this (cf. Antalas and Solomon) and it is probably a mistake.

In 544, probably after the battle of Cillium, he came from Mauretania to join forces with Antalas and raid and plunder Byzacena; Proc. *BV* II 22.5, 23.1, Coripp. *Ioh.* III 458, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 543. He persuaded many Roman troops, including those of the *dux Byzacenaë*, Himerius I, to join him; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 49–63, Proc. *BV* II 23.10.17–31. He and Antalas captured Hadrumetum but lost it again, fleeing after hearing rumours that Germanus was coming; Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 30, Proc. *BV* II 23.12.26. After the rumours proved to be false, he plundered widely and did terrible harm to Africa; Proc. *BV* II 23.27.

In 545 he and Antalas camped together at Sicca Veneria where they were opposed by Ioannes 27; between Stotzas and Ioannes there existed a deep personal animosity; Proc. *BV* II 24.6.9. A battle took place (at Thacia) in which both Ioannes and Stotzas were killed; Proc. *BV* II 24.10–14, Coripp. *Ioh.* IV 161ff., 177, 208ff., 218, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 545, Jord. *Rom.* 384.

He was succeeded as leader of the Roman rebels by Ioannes 35 who became known as Stotzas iunior; Proc. *BV* II 25.3, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 545.

Described by Procopius as daring and energetic (ἄνδρα θυμοειδῆ καὶ δραστήριον); Proc. *BV* II 15.1.

**Strategius** (*PLRE* II, Strategius 9: CSL a. 535–c. 538): mentioned in later Byzantine sources in connection with the building of Hagia Sophia; *Narr. de. aed. S. Soph.* 4 (Στρατήγιος δὲ μάγιστρος ὁ τῶν

βασιλικῶν χρημάτων φύλαξ, ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοποιητός; allegedly persuaded a certain Antiochus to sell land needed for building Hagia Sophia; see Antiochus I), 9 (Στρατήγιος ὁ φύλαξ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων, ὁ καὶ ὑπάρχων πνευματικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ; author of an account of the expenses of the building of Hagia Sophia), 10 (present during the construction), 11 (ὁ μάγιστρος, with Basilides and Theodorus I he miraculously procured gold required by Justinian for the building work), 27 (Στρατήγιος μάγιστρος, present at its opening). Also recorded in an anecdote about the origins of the monastery of the Theotokos at Pege; Strategius, out hunting with Justinian in Thrace, told him about the healing performed on the site by a single monk; *Patr. Const.* III 142 (ὁ δὲ μάγιστρος Στρατήγιος καὶ φύλαξ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων). Although late and full of fanciful detail, the legends do name real people and record Strategius' titles with some accuracy (Strategius was CSL, but only acting *Mag. Off.*). Whether the close relationship with Justinian is historical or not it is impossible to say, but the CSL would certainly have been concerned with the expenses of the building of Hagia Sophia. See also Theodorus I.

**Strategius 1**

?relation of Fidelius M VI

Ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος Στρατήγιος; died at Smyrna on April 3 or 13, 541 or 543; *IK* 23, n. 561 = *IGC* 71 = *CIG* 9278 Smyrna. The inscription closely resembles those of Fidelius and Timostrate, to whom possibly he was related.

**Strategius 2**

illustrius (Egypt) 553

Son of Theodorus, brother of an MVM (name lost, see Anonymus 19b); he and his brother were landowners at Arsinoë; *BGU* II 364 (Fayum, dated a. 553 Sept. 11) (to Anonymus 19b στρατηγία καὶ Στρατηγίῳ [ἰ]λλουστρίῳ τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις υἱοῖς τοῦ [τῆς μακαρίας? μνήμης Θεοδώρου γεουχοῦσιν at Arsinoë).

Perhaps identical with Φλ. Στρ[ατήγιος] recorded in a very fragmentary papyrus of uncertain date, which mentions Arsinoë; *SB* 4718.

Cf. also Strategius 10 (possibly a nephew).

**Strategius 3**

patricius 557

Son of Apion 3; *P. Oxy.* 130 (dated in 547/548). See stemma 9.

**PATRICIUS** a. 557: *P. Oxy.* 1911, lines 150–1 κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν τοῦ κύρου πατρικίου Στρατηγίου (named in a list of receipts from various estates).

He is also recorded in a papyrus dated to a tenth indiction (possibly 561/562 or 576/577); *P. Oxy.* 2195, line 108 ἀπό γραμμ(άτων) τοῦ μεγάλ(ου) κύρου Στρατηγίου, line 122 ἐκ κ(ε)λ(ευσέως) τ(οῦ) μεγάλου κύρου Στρατηγίου(ν).

He is not named in the earliest list of the heirs of Apion (*P. Oxy.* 2196, dated ?a. 586) and was presumably already dead.

FL. STRATEGIVS 4 pater (civitatis) of Caesarea ?M/L VI

Φλ(άνιος) Στρατήγιος περίβλ(επτος) πατήρ καὶ πρωτε(ύων); he built out of civic funds (ἀπό πολιτικῶν) at Caesarea parts of a church, in a tenth indiction under Fl. Entolius; *Rev. Bibl.* 68, p. 121, no. 15 Caesarea (Palaestina Prima). One of the πρωτεύοντες of Caesarea, in office as *pater civitatis*. On the πρωτεύοντες (local *honorati*), see Just. *Nov.* 128.16, and cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 1011 (Silvanus 5) and 1036 (Strategius 9).

Fl. Strategius 5 vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI

Addressee of a document, a draft of which was found at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1829, line 24 [Φλ]αουίω Στρατηγίω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ καὶ ὑπερφουστάτῳ καὶ πανευφή(μῳ). His name and rank and the location of the document all suggest that he was a member of the Apion family. If so, he was perhaps identical with Strategius 3 (son of the *cos. ord.* Apion 3). However the document, a draft of two letters, one presumably to Strategius and the other to a relative concerning business, probably over a will, at Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus, contains information about Strategius' family which, though very difficult to interpret, gives no support to this view. For one interpretation, see Cyra, and for another, see Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), pp. 66–8.

The date proposed in *P. Oxy.*, a. 577/579, is based on the identity with Strategius 3, and assumes that he outlived his father (alive in 577, *P. Oxy.* 1896) but died before 579 (when Apion 3's heirs are first recorded, *P. Oxy.* 135, without Strategius' name appearing). In fact no list of the heirs is known before c. 586, *P. Oxy.* 2196). See further Strategius 3.

Strategius 6 owner of a domus (Egypt) VI

In a private letter, of unknown provenance, the writer mentions receiving a letter παρὰ τοῦ συμμάχου τοῦ ἥκου (= οἴκου) Στρατηγίου; *P. Harris* 154.

Perhaps identical with the Strategius to whom was addressed another private letter, of unknown provenance, from a certain Isaac (Ἰσαάκ); *P. Harris* 157 (addressed ...]φ δεσπότη ἐμῷ τὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπεῖ εὐδοκιμω(άτῳ) προστάτῃ καὶ γεούχ(ω) Στρατηγίω; Isaac had received a letter from him through a σύμμαχος).

STRATEGIVS 7 comes (in Egypt) VI

The writer of a letter found at Oxyrhynchus asked the addressee of the letter to join with Strategius (τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ μεγαλοπρ(επιστάτῳ) κόμετι Στρατηγίῳ) in protecting him against harassment by σιπποποιοί; *P. Oxy.* 2729.

Presumably identical with either Strategius 3 or 5.

STRATEGIVS 8 noble youth (at Constantinople) L VI/E VII

Mentioned in letters of pope Gregory to Rusticana 2 and Eusebia 2 in 598, 601 and 603; he was evidently a young boy of noble family and apparently son of Eusebia and grandson of Rusticana; *Greg. Ep.* VIII 22 (a. 598 May), XI 26 (a. 601 Feb.), XIII 26 (a. 603 Feb.) (all to Rusticana, calling Strategius 'dulcissimus filius meus domnus Strategius'), and *Ep.* XIII 35 (a. 603 June; to Eusebia, q.v.). See stemma 9.

His father was Apion 4. Strategius was apparently born between 594 and 598; cf. *Greg. Ep.* IV 44 (a. 594 Aug.; Apion and Eusebia only had daughters).

Fl. Strategius 9 ?landowner (in Egypt) VI/VII

Recorded twice on a papyrus of unknown provenance in conjunction with the heirs of Cyrillus 6; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1228, lines 4 Στρατήγιος (καὶ) οἱ κληρ(ονόμοι) Κυρ[ίλλου], and 7 ...] Φλλ' Στρατήγιος (καὶ) οἱ κληρ(ονόμοι) Κυρίλλ[ου].

Strategius 10 honorary consul and patricius E VII

*Pap.* 1–10) Arsinoe: 1) *P. Lond.* I, p. 212, no. 113, 5c, with Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste* I, p. 237; 2) *SB* 4858; 3) *SB* 5266; 4) *SB* 5270 = *Stud. Pal.* XX 209; 5) *SB* 5271; 6) *BGU* II 368; 7) *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1072; 8) *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1158; 9) *Stud. Pal.* X 1; 10) *Stud. Pal.* X 114. *Pap.* 11) *P. Oxy.* 1991. *Pap.* 12–14) Heracleopolis: 12) *P. Erl.* 73; 13) *P. Vars.* 31; 14) *Stud. Pal.* III 66.

Son of Theodorus Κιλίου; *Pap.* 5. Cf. also Strategius 2 (possibly an uncle) and Anonymus 19a.

HONORARY CONSUL: *Pap.* I (a. 600; line 6 [Φλ. Στρατηγίω τῷ πανευφήμῳ παγάρ(χῳ) [καὶ ὑπάτῳ] τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν), *Pap.* 2 (a. 600 (for the date, see Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 70, n. 392, citing K. A. Worp); cf. line 5 ...] πανευφήμῳ ὑπάτῳ καὶ] παγάρ(χῳ) τῆς τε[... καὶ Ἀρσινοϊτε(ῶν) καὶ Θεοδοσιουπολιτῶν), *Pap.* 11 (a. 601 (not 616, see *Chron. d'Égypte* 56 (1981), p. 129); lines 7–8 Φλ. Στρατηγίω τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφ(ευστάτῳ) ὑπάτῳ), *Pap.* 8 (a. 602 or 617; Στρατήγιος σὺν Θε(εῷ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων).

PAGARCHVS of the Arsinoite nome a. 600; *Pap.* 1-2 (cited above).

PATRICIVS: first attested as *patricius* in 604; *Pap.* 12 (Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου); see also *Pap.* 4 (a. 610), 5-6 (both a. 615), *Mich. Syr.* x 26 (see below). Probably identical with the unnamed πανεύφημος πατρικίος of *Pap.* 10 (undated).

He was a considerable landowner at Arsinoe and Heracleopolis; *Pap.* 1-10 (at Arsinoe; *Pap.* 7 alludes to the ἐνδοξος οἶκος Στρατηγίου), *Pap.* 12 (at Heracleopolis; *Pap.* 13-14 do not mention him but concern his estates, see *Belisarius* 3). He also owned land at Oxyrhynchus; *Pap.* 11, and cf. *Gascou, op. cit.*, p. 71, n. 392 from p. 70.

In 610/616 (perhaps 615/616, since final agreement was apparently reached in 616) he took part in reconciling the monophysite churches of Antioch and Alexandria; while visiting Nicetas 7 at Alexandria, he was invited to join in the discussions and helped to work out an agreement; *Mich. Syr.* x 26 ('it happened that the very magnificent (μεγαλοπρέπης) *strategos* Patricius came from Arsinoe to this town of Alexandria for a short while to the glorious patrician Lord Nicetas'; the translation should rather read: 'the very magnificent patrician Strategius', see *Maspero, Hist. des patr. d'Alex.*, pp. 330-2, esp. p. 330, n. 3).

He was dead by the date of *Pap.* 9 (τον οἶκον τοῦ ἐν ἀγί(οις) Στρατηγίου).

Possibly a member of the Apion family; see *Rémondon, Chron. d'Egypte* 41 (1966), p. 179.

**Strategius (?) (or Elias) 11** ?honorary consul or MVM E/M VII

Owner of a seal; *Zacos* 1613 (obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (384) of uncertain interpretation, either ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΩ or ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΩ ΠΠΑΤΩ or ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ or perhaps ΗΛΙΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ).

Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion

(Fl.) Ioannes (Menas?) Iustinianus (Dionysiothenes Str(aton) (E)lias The(onas) (Dio)scorus

Strymonius secretarius of the PPO Illyrici V/VI

Στρυμόνιος ὁ σεκ(ρετάριος); he made a dedication, probably of a church, at Beroea in the name of the praetorian prefects; *Feissel, Recueil*, no. 56 Beroea (Macedonia) (ὑπ(έρ) εὐχ(ή)σ(η)σ(α)ς ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ Μ(εγαλο)π(ρεπεστάτων) ἐπάρχ(ων) + / + ἀνέθ(ηκε) ΣΤΡΥΜΟΝΙΟΥΣ/ΡΩ σεκ(ρετάριος)- + Ρ). Doubtless *secretarius* under the PPO. Could the unexplained letters be an error for κ(αί) σωτηρίας? Cf. *Symeonius* 5.

**St(yl)ianus (?)**

mag. mil. VI

St[yl]iano ma[g](istro) milito (sic); *Zacos* 1020 (seal; obv.: [+ ]ΣΤ/ . . IA/NO; rev.: ΜΑ[Τ]/ΜΙΛΙ/ΤΟ). Could the name be '[Iu]st[in]iano'?

Suanila

vir inluster; financial official (in Spain) 619

In 619 he and Sisisclus attended the second Council of Seville; *Conc. Hispal.* II, c. 1 (= *Vives, Concilios*, p. 163) (cited under Sisisclus). The meaning of *actor rerum fiscalium* is uncertain; he could be the *comes patrimonii* or perhaps a financial officer in the province; cf. *King, Law and Society*, p. 53, n. 3.

**Suartuas**

MVM praesentalis 548/549-552

A Herul, long resident in Constantinople, sent by Justinian in c. 548 to rule the Heruli near Singidunum in reply to their request for a ruler; at first they accepted him, but then abandoned him for *Datius* from Thule and he fled back to Constantinople; *Proc. BG* II 15.32-6, IV 25.11.

MVM PRAESENTALIS a. 548/549-552: appointed immediately on his return to Constantinople; *Proc. BG* IV 25.11 ('Ρωμαίοις στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καταλόγων εὐθὺς γέγονε). Presumably he held the same post still in 552.

In 552 he was one of the commanders of the expedition sent by Justinian to help the Lombards against the Gepids; all of them except *Amalafridas* stopped at *Ulpiana* (see *Aratius*); *Proc. BG* IV 25.11.13.

Suavegotho: wife of the Frankish king Theoderic I, E VI; *PLRE* II.

Successa (*CIL* x 8377b) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Sultan (*Coripp. Iust.* IV 390): see *Ascel*.

Suinthila

Visigothic king 621-631

Brother of *Gela*; he had a wife and children; *Vives, Concilios, Conc. Tol.* IV, cap. 75 (= *Mansi* x 640). Father of *Riccimirus*; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 63.

Under king *Sisebut* he held office as *dux* (ducis nactus officium) and enjoyed military successes against the Romans and against a people known as the *Roccones* (Romana castra perdomuit, *Ruccones superavit*); *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 62. For the *Roccones* (perhaps in Cantabria), cf. *Thompson, Goths in Spain*, pp. 62, 161.

KING of the Visigoths a. 621-631: successor of *Sisebut* and *Reccared II* in 621; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 62 (aera DCLVIII anno imperii Heraclii X gloriosissimus Suinthila gratia divina regni suscepit scepra), *Fredegar*.

iv 73. He was king from 621 to 631; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 34 (*MGH, AA* xiii, p. 467).

During his reign Byzantine forces were finally expelled from Spain and he brought the whole country 'intra Oceani fretum' (i.e. not including the Algarve, cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 169, n. 1) under his rule; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 62 (he won fame by the capture of two Byzantine commanders – duorum patriciorum obtentus). He also checked incursions by the Basques and forced them to give hostages; *Isid. Hist. Goth.* 63.

In 631 he was overthrown by the Visigothic nobility, with aid from the Franks; confronted by superior military forces, he abdicated and was succeeded by Sisenand; he was still alive in Dec. 633 when the Fourth Council of Toledo banished him and his family, confiscated all their wealth apart from what Sisenand allowed them to retain, and barred them for ever from regaining their former offices and dignities; *Conc. Tol.* iv, cap. 75 (= Mansi x 640 = Vives, *Concilios*, p. 37) (nec eos ad honores, a quibus ob iniquitatem deiecti sunt, aliquando promoveamus), *Fredegar.* iv 73.

Sulpicius Gallo-Roman noble; bishop of Bourges 584–591

A Gallo-Roman noble, well-educated in secular letters and an accomplished poet (vir valde nobilis et de primis senatoribus Galliarum, in litteris bene eruditus rhetoricis, in metricis vero artibus nulli secundus); in 584 he was rapidly ordained a priest, then consecrated bishop of Bourges; *Greg. Tur. HF* vi 39. Present at the Council of Mâcon in 585; *Conc. Gall.* 511–695, pp. 238, 248.

He died in 591; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 26.

Cf. Stroheker, no. 365.

Summus: dux Palaestinae 531–532; ?MVM (honorific) and dux Palaestinae c. 537/538; brother of Iulianus 8; *PLRE* II.

Sundrarius Lombard dux c. 615/616

The exarch Eleutherius was defeated 'per Sundrarium maxime Longobardorum ducem' under Agilulfus (not after 616) and forced to sue for peace; *Auct. Havn. Extr.* 22 (= *MGH, AA* ix, p. 339). The date was under Heraclius and in the reign of Agilulf (a. 610/616), probably 615/616; cf. Eleutherius.

SVNICAS (Σουνίκας) dux (East) 530–531

A Hun; *Proc. BP* I 13.20, *Zach. HE* ix 3. On the name, cf. *Justi.* p. 316.

He fled to the Romans and received baptism; *Zach. HE* ix 3.

In 527 he was an officer ('princeps exercitus') with Simmas and their followers ('armigeri eorum') in Dara, which they defended successfully from Persian attacks; *Zach. HE* ix 3.

DVX a. 530–531: styled δούξ, in 530, *Joh. Mal.* 453 (τοῦ δουκὸς καὶ ἑξάρχου Ῥωμαίων); in 531, *Joh. Mal.* 462. Also referred to as ἑξάρχος in 531, *Joh. Mal.* 464–5. Possibly he and Simmas were given the title of *dux*; neither appears to have held the post of *dux* (a territorial appointment).

He served under Belisarius at the battle of Dara in June 530, commanding a cavalry force six hundred strong with Aigan; during the battle he killed one of the Persian commanders, Baresmanas; *Proc. BP* I 13.20, 14.39–40.44.47.50, *Joh. Mal.* 453 (said to have challenged the Persian general Sagos to single combat).

In 531 he again served under Belisarius against Persia; without orders he led a force to the rear of the Persians, encamped at Gabbula, and, catching many Arabs and Persians out foraging, killed some and captured others from whom he secured information about Persian plans; for this breach of discipline he incurred Belisarius' anger and they were only reconciled through the efforts of Hermogenes; *Joh. Mal.* 462. At the battle of Callinicum (April 19, 531) he and Simmas commanded the north flank (the left wing) of the Roman army; they repelled Persian attacks on their wing and, as the rest of the army went down to defeat, continued fighting until nightfall and prevented the Persians from pursuing the fugitives; they then withdrew to Callinicum; *Joh. Mal.* 463–5 (this account conflicts with that in Procopius, cf. Belisarius, p. 185, and is clearly drawn from a source less concerned to eulogise Belisarius).

Sunnegiselus comes stabuli (of Childebert II) 589

*Comes stabuli* of Childebert II; in 589 he plotted with Gallomagnus, Droctulf 2 and Septimina against Childebert, Brunichildis and Faileuba; he and Gallomagnus, tried and found guilty, were condemned to exile with confiscation of all the property given them by the king (they were 'privati a rebus quas a fisco meruerant'); after a plea from king Guntram they were recalled from exile and allowed to keep their own property (nisi quod habere proprium videbantur); *Greg. Tur. HF* ix 38. In 590 he was subjected to torture and confessed to the plot against Childebert as well as other crimes, and also named bishop Egidius of Reims as privy to the former conspiracy of Rauching, Vrsio and Bertefred against Childebert; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 19.

Suntas (Σούντας) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537-538

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, in Italy in 537 and 538; *Proc. BG* II 7.26-7, 11.22. See further Adegis, and cf. Belisarius, p. 202 and Ioannes 46, p. 653.

Suren Roman governor (?general) in Armenia L VI

To judge by his name he was a Persian.

He was the third of three Roman governors in Armenia during the period of peace under Maurice after 591; the other two were Ioannes 101 and Heraclius 3 (both military commanders); Sebeos xx, p. 53.

Surena Persian governor of Armenia 571

The family of Suren was one of the seven privileged families of Persia; see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 103ff., with p. 105, n. 3.

In 561 he attended discussions with the Roman envoy Petrus 6 about Suania and was one of the Persian representatives who shortly afterwards made the fifty-years peace treaty with the Romans; *Men. Prot. fr.* 11. Cf. also Isdigousnas.

In 572 he was the Persian governor of Armenia; he so oppressed the Armenians, especially by attacking their religion, that they assassinated him (and thereby led to the resumption of war between Rome and Persia); *Joh. Epiph.* 2 (τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Σουρήνην), *Theoph. Byz. fr.* 3, *Men. Prot. fr.* 36, *Theoph. Sim.* III 9.9 (Σουρήνην κλιματάρχηνη ὑπὸ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τῆς Ἀρμενίων πολιτείας γενόμενον). On the date of the murder, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 37, n. 23.

Perhaps identical with Surena the father of Mebodes; *Theoph. Sim.* III 5.14.

Sūrīkūs prefect (at Alexandria or Constantinople) ?602

The index to chapter ci(cii) of John of Nikiu reads: 'Concerning Sūrīkūs the prefect who practised piety and the death which overtook him, and how the inhabitants of Constantinople chased the emperor Maurice'; *Joh. Nik. index*. The reference is to Eutocius.

Suwaydah ?Arab leader (at Damascus) 636

According to the *Chronicle* of 1234 he was in charge of Damascus on the eve of the battle of the Yarmuk and on orders from Abū 'Ubaydah returned the tribute to the people of Damascus ('Suwaidae filio Chultumi, qui dominabatur in Damascus'); *Chron.* 1234, cxvi.

He seems to be unknown to any other source. The man put in charge of Damascus by Abū 'Ubaydah was Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān.

Syagria a lady of property (in Gaul) L VI

A lady of property which she wished to devote to religious causes; she had formerly adopted the life of a religious but had been forcibly married, and pope Gregory in 599 wrote to bishops Vergilius of Arles and Syagrius of Autun complaining that they had done nothing to help her; *Greg. Ep.* IX 224 (a. 599 July). She was evidently a wealthy Gallic lady, perhaps of Gallo-Roman family, to judge by her name.

Syagrius 1 vir illustris (in Gaul) E/M VI

Syagrius vir inlustris; one of the laymen who subscribed the Acts of the Council of Orange on July 3, 529; *Conc. Gall.* a. 511-695, p. 65 = *MGH, Leg.* III I, p. 54. The other signatories were Liberius (*PLRE* II, pp. 677-81), Cariattho 1, Opilio 1, Marcellus 1, Pantagathus 2, Namatius, and Deodatus. Cf. Stroheker, no. 371.

Syagrius 2 comes; envoy of Guntram and patricius 587

Ipsaque anno (year 27 of Guntram = a. 587) Syagrius comes Constantinopolim iussu Guntchramni in legatione pergit, ibique fraude patricius ordinatur. Coepta quidem est, sed ad perfectionem haec fraus non peraccessit; *Fredegar.* IV 6.

Presumably a Gallo-Roman, to judge by his name; he was a comes in the Burgundian kingdom under Guntram and was sent by him as envoy to Maurice in 587; in Constantinople he apparently conspired with the emperor and received from him the title patricius (perhaps rector *Provinciae*, and if so presumably with the aim of subduing Provence to the imperial interest), but, whatever the purpose of the conspiracy, it did not succeed. See also Goubert, *Byzance et les Francs*, pp. 74-81. Cf. also Stroheker, no. 376.

Syagrius 3 governor of Provence ?-629/630

A native of Albi, son of Salvius and Herchenfreda, brother of Desiderius 5, Rusticus 6, Avita and Selina; husband of Bertolena; *V. Desid. Cad.* 1ff. (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* IV, pp. 563ff.).

He served in the court of Chlotharius II, was comes at Albi in c. 618 and subsequently became governor of Provence, a post which he still held at his death in 629/630; *V. Desid. Cad.* 4 (cometiae honorem indeptus est), 7 (he died, 'dum Massiliae administrationem procuraret'), 11. For the dates, see Krusch, *MGH, op. cit.*, p. 554.

Symbatius 1 (Smbat Bagratuni) Armenian noble L VI/E VII

Συμβάτιος; *Theoph. Sim.* Smbat Bagratuni, Smbat the Bagratid; Sebeos. On the name, see Justi, p. 314, s.n. Sumbat, no. 12.

Son of Manuel; Sebeos x, p. 37. Father of Varaztiroch; Sebeos xvii, p. 46, xviii, p. 51, xxviii, p. 87, xxix, pp. 92-3, Vardan, p. 86.

Probably before 589 he and Sahak Mamikonian each commanded a troop of cavalry one thousand strong levied in Armenia at Maurice's request for use against the Avars on the Danube frontier; after their delivery in Constantinople Smbat was rewarded with honours and wealth, allegedly adopted as his son by Maurice, and returned to Armenia; Sebeos x, pp. 36-7.

In 589 he was apparently instigator of an Armenian revolt against the Romans (τὸν δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος πατέρα—Συμβάτιος ὄνομα αὐτῷ); arrested by Domentziolus and sent to Constantinople, he was condemned to death (perhaps by a senatorial commission) and taken to be thrown to the beasts in the hippodrome but dramatically reprieved at the last moment by the emperor, to popular acclaim; Theoph. Sim. iii 8.4-8, cf. Sebeos x, pp. 37-9 (the same story, with legendary embellishments). According to Sebeos (x, p. 34) he was subsequently exiled by Maurice, following a campaign of malicious lies, to 'distant islands' and then to Africa.

Whatever the truth about his exile, he subsequently returned to Armenia and served under the Persian king Chosroes (see below); possibly his return was associated with the restoration of Chosroes in 591, though this is only conjecture. In 595 he was appointed governor (marzban) of Hyrcania (south and south-east of the Caspian Sea) by Chosroes, an office which he held for eight years (until 602); Sebeos xiv, p. 42, xv, p. 44, xvii, p. 46 (eight years). In 595 and 596 Chosroes employed him to suppress rebellions to the east; Sebeos xiv, pp. 42-3, xv, p. 44, xvi, p. 45. He was then recalled to the royal court, where he apparently remained until c. 607 when allowed to return to his own country (in year eighteen of Chosroes); Sebeos xvii, p. 47. In the following year he was again employed in the east by Chosroes and defeated the Khushans; Sebeos xviii, pp. 47-51. He then retired, holding a highly honoured position at the royal court where he died in c. 617 (the twenty-eighth year of Chosroes); he was taken back for burial to Armenia; Sebeos xix, pp. 51-2.

In c. 608 he received from Chosroes the nickname Chosrov Shnum ('Joy of Chosroes') (under which name he occasionally appears in Sebeos); Sebeos xviii, pp. 48, 50, xxviii, p. 87, xxix, pp. 92, 93, xxxii, p. 106, xxxiii, p. 114, xxxiv, p. 131.

For his interest in and attention to matters of religion, see Sebeos xvii, pp. 46-7 (including rebuilding the church of St Gregory at Dvin and securing the appointment of a new *catholicos*, Abraham I), xxxiii, p. 114

(after the fall of Jerusalem in 614, he supervised an Armenian council called to discuss matters of faith).

(Symbatius) 2 (= Smbat)

Armenian noble; ?MVM et drungarius M VII

Son of Varaztiroch; Sebeos xxix, p. 93, xxxii, p. 108 (his eldest son), Vardan, p. 86. See Justi, p. 314, s.n. Sumbat, no. 16.

He accompanied his father when he fled to Heraclius' court, and became a favourite of 'the Grand Chamberlain' (presumably the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, see Anonymus 124) of Heraclius; Sebeos xxix, p. 93. He later went into exile with his father; see Varaztiroch.

On the family's recall to Constantinople (a. 645/646) Symbatius was made *protospatharius et candidatus* ('first spathar among all the spathars and candidatus'); Sebeos xxxii, p. 106.

When his father died suddenly, having just been made governor (ishkhan) of Armenia, 'the emperor promoted to his father's rank his eldest son, called Smbat, conferring on him the hereditary dignity of general in chief with the dignity of *aspel*, and he appointed him *drungarius* of his troops. He gave him a wife from the house of the Arsacidæ, his relatives, and sent him to the camp with his army'; Sebeos xxxii, p. 108, cf. Vardan, p. 86 ('Smbat was invested with the dignity of his father'). This suggests that he combined the honorific title of στρατηλάτης with an actual military command as δρουγγάριος, but the allusions to hereditary dignity and to the 'dignity of *aspel*' do not readily harmonise with this.

The son-in-law of Manuel, he later played a role in the overthrow of the *magister* Georgius and for this was exiled to a place of safety; Sebeos xxxiv, pp. 130-1.

Symbulus

philosopher and astrologer M VI

An Athenian, under Justinian; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 19. Probably fictitious. See Hierotheus.

Symeon 1

Persarmenian deserter 530

Uncle of Amasaspes; Proc. *BP* II 3.3.

A native of Persarmenia, he worked the goldmine of Pharangium for Cavades; in 530 he surrendered himself and Pharangium to the Romans while refusing to work the mine for either side in the war; Proc. *BP* I 15.26-30, II 3.1. While the war was still in progress (530/531), he

obtained from Justinian the ownership of certain Armenian villages, but was soon murdered by their former owners; the emperor then gave them to Amazaspes; Proc. *BP* II 3.1-3.

**Symeones 2**

PVC VI

Named on a number of glass weights; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, nos. 13a (= Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 322, no. 8) and 19a, Zacos 3000, and *SEG* VIII 51 (all reading: +ἐπι Συμεώνου ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης, or similar). Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>9</sup> 28 (1986), p. 122 with n. 13.

**Symeonius 3**

vir illustris (in Italy) 559/561

Addressee of a letter from Pelagius I on claims by the bishops of Aemilia to possess incriminating letters written by Pelagius when in Constantinople; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 80 (a. 559 March/561 March 3; addressed 'Symeonio illustri'; he is styled 'sublimitas tua', and was probably not an office-holder). Presumably he was living in Aemilia.

**SYMEONIVS 4**

v.c., argentarius (at Alexandria) 580

*P. Oxy.* 144. See Ioannes 93.

**Symeonius 5**

magister or magistrarianus (Syria) ?VI

+ Ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς κ(αί) σωτηρίας Συμεωνίου μαγίστ(ου) κ(αί) τῶν διαφερόντων αὐτῶ; *IGLS* V 2028A Hama (Syria). Possibly μαγίστ(ρα-νοῦ); cf. note in *IGLS ad loc.*

**Symeonius 6**

notarius ?L VI/E VII

A *notarius*, he was miraculously cured of blindness after two and a half years; Joh. Mosch., *Pratum, Aucl.* 44 (ἐνοτάρευε Συμεώνιος τῆς νεώτερος).

**Symmachus 1**

(? = Q. Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, cos. ord. 485)

Among the buildings destroyed by fire in the Nika riot (Jan. 532) was the *domus* of the former *consul ordinarius* Symmachus (ὁ οἶκος Συμμάχου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων ὀρδιναρίων); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532. He must be identical with either the consul of 485 (*PLRE* II, Symmachus 9) or the consul of 522 (*PLRE* II, Symmachus 8). The former, who is known to have had contacts with Constantinople (cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1045), is perhaps the more likely. The other, the son of Boethius, was still relatively young in 532 but, as he was the elder man's grandson, he may have inherited the property at Constantinople; he is perhaps unlikely to have acquired property at Constantinople on his own account as early as 532. Cf. also Janin, *Const. Byz.*, p. 397.

**Symmachus 2**

PPO (Africae) 536-539

A member of the senate (ἐκ βουλῆς), sent to Africa with Germanus (*PLRE* II, p. 506) and Domnicus 3 in 536 as PPO with responsibility for supplying the army there (ἐπάρχος τε καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς δαπάνης ἐσόμενος); Proc. *BV* II 16.1-2. In 539 he was recalled to Constantinople with Germanus and Domnicus; Proc. *BV* II 19.1. Cf. also Solomon 1, p. 1173.

**Symmachus 3**

(?v.c., in Africa) ?VI

Named on a bronze tablet found at Carthage, with a Christian symbol on one side and his name on the other; *BCTH* 1918, p. 182, no. 47 (obv.: αρω; rev.: SYMM/ACVS). His identity is unknown, but if he was a member of the Roman aristocracy the fact of his Christianity suggests a date in the fifth or sixth centuries, perhaps in the sixth after the overthrow of the Vandals.

**SYMMACHVS 4**

vir magnificus L VI/E VII

In 600/601 he delivered letters to pope Gregory from Rusticana 2 (in Constantinople) together with a gift of hangings from her; owing to an illness of Gregory he delayed handing over the letters, so that the hangings were put up without the ceremonial for which Rusticana had asked; Greg. *Ep.* XI 26 (a. 601 Feb.; filius enim meus vir magnificus domnus Symmachus).

Probably a relative of Rusticana, to judge by his name; he was perhaps her brother, cf. Sundwall, *Abhandlungen*, p. 104.

Symphosius; compiler of a book of riddles ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

**Synesius 1**

philosopher ?V/VI

Author of two lines of verse preserved in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 76, 79 (Συνεσίου φιλοσόφου). His date and identity are uncertain, but there seems no compelling reason to identify him with bishop Synesius of Ptolemais (*PLRE* II, Synesius 1).

**Synesius 2**

scholasticus (East) M VI

Author of a poem which was perhaps included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 267 (Συνεσίου σχολαστικοῦ), cf. Averil and Alan Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 12. A statue erected in his honour at Berytus (necessarily before the earthquake of July 551) carried verses by Ioannes 62 Barbucallus commemorating both military prowess and concern for justice (an unusual combination); *Anth. Gr.* XVI 38 (οὐχὶ παρ' Εὐρώτῃ μόνον ἀνέρες εἰσὶ μαχηταί, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἰλισσῶ μνάμονές εἰσι δίκας



ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτας, ὡς αὐτῆς ἀστὸν Ἀθάνας Συνέσιον Νίκα καὶ Θέμις ἠγάσαστο; the lemma reads: εἰς εἰκόνα Συνεσίου σχολαστικοῦ ἐπὶ νίκῃ μάχης ἀνατεθεῖσαν ἐν Βηρυτῶν).

## SYNETVS

castrensis (sacri palatii) 612

On Oct. 4, 612, Synetus and Philaretus escorted Heraclius' baby daughter Epiphania at her coronation; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612 (cited under Philaretus).

## Tacilo

comes palatii (under Dagobert) E/M VII

Joint owner of a *villa* at Laticiacum (Lagny-sur-Marne, in the vicinity of Meaux) with Bobo 2; it was bought from them by Dagobert; *Gesta Dagoberti* 37 (quam ipse rex cum Bobone duce et Tacilone comite palatii de suo proprio fisco commutaverat). The information of the *Gesta* is suspect; cf. *MGH, Ser. Rer. Mer.* II, p. 415 and Pertz, *Diplomata* I, no. 57.

## Tagma

Turkish envoy 571

Appointed envoy to the Romans by Sizabulus after the death of Maniach, he accompanied Zemarchus 3 back to Constantinople in 571; second to him on the embassy was the (unnamed) son of Maniach; Tagma held the Turkish dignity of Tarchan; *Men. Prot. fr.* 20 (ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς τῶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον πρεσβευτῆ. Ταγμαὶ αὐτῶ, ἀξίωμα δὲ Ταρχάν). For the date, cf. Zemarchus.

## Taisan

ruler of Taugast L VI

According to Theophylact Simocatta, Taisan, meaning 'Son of God', was the name of the governor (κλιματάρχης) of the people of Taugast; *Theoph. Sim.* VII 9.2. Taugast was close to India and in diplomatic contact with the khan of the Turks; *Theoph. Sim.* VII 7.11, 9.1.

## Taizanes

Arab chief c. 530

In c. 530 he supported pleas by the Roman captives held by Alamundarus (*PLRE* II, Alamundarus 2) for time to raise ransom money in Antioch; *Joh. Mal.* 460 (Ταϊζάνου τοῦ ἀρχιφύλου Σαρακηνῶν).

## Talitonus

vir gloriosissimus; ?comes patrimonii (Italy) 599

Recently placed in charge of the *patrimonium publicum* in 599, he received from pope Gregory a request to protect the interests also of the *patrimonium* of the church of Rome; he is styled 'gloria vestra',

'magnitudo vestra' and addressed as 'gloriosissime fili'; *Greg. Ep.* IX 239 (a. 599 Aug.; quia igitur comperimus publici patrimonii curam vestrae esse ordinationi commissam). Evidently of high rank, he held office as head of the *patrimonium* in Italy.

## Taloardus

Lombard dux 574

Killed with Nuccio near Sedunum (Sion) in 574; *Fredegar.* III 68. See further Nuccio.

## Tamchosroes

Persian general L VI

Ταμχοσρῶ; *Men. Prot.* Ταμχοσρῶ; *Theoph. Sim.* Ταμχοσρῶς; *Evagr.*, *Nic. Call.* Ταμ Κᾶσρυν; *Joh. Eph.* Taim Kosron; *Mich. Syr.* Tam Xosrov; *Sebeos.* The name, meaning 'strong Chosroes', was a name of honour; cf. *Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, p. 410, *Noeldeke, Tabari*, p. 443, and see *Justi*, pp. 318 and 321.

A man of high repute among the Persians; *Theoph. Sim.* III 12.9 (cited below). A leading army commander under Chosroes I; *Men. Prot. fr.* 53 = *Suid. s.v.* Ἐμβριθῆ νοῦν (ὁ τοῦ Χοσρῶου στρατηγός).

In early 575, near the end of a one-year truce and while truce negotiations were still in progress, he plundered and burnt Roman territory near Dara, on orders from Mebodes 2; *Men. Prot. fr.* 40, fr. 50 (Περσῶν στρατηγός), *Theoph. Sim.* III 12.9 (τοῦ τὰς στρατηγίδας ἡνίας ἰθύνοντος Ταμχοσρῶ, ἀνδρὸς παρὰ Πέρσαις μεγατιμίου), *Theoph. AM* 6072, and see *Iustinianus* 3. Probably in summer/autumn 577 he inflicted a major defeat on *Iustinianus* in Armenia; *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.8 (Ταμχοσρῶ ἐφεστηκότος τῆς Βαβυλωνίας δυνάμεως). In 578 he was commander of Persian forces in Armenia; *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.12 (τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ Περσικῶν στρατευμάτων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἠμφίεστο), and cf. *Sebeos* II, p. 10. Being outnumbered, he left Armenia, passed Citharizon, and raided the districts around Amida before returning home via Arzanene; *Men. Prot. fr.* 52, fr. 55, *Theoph. Sim.* III 15.12, and cf. *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.14, *Mich. Syr.* X 13 and *Mauricius* 4. His action was criticised in Persia as a mark of inexperience; *Men. Prot. fr.* 55.

In 581 he was a *marzban*; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.26. He was in command of Persian forces near Nisibis while peace negotiations were under way, but when they failed (see *Zacharias* 2) he marched towards Constantina; *Men. Prot. fr.* 60. Near here he and Adarmaanes joined battle with *Mauricius* and *Alamundarus*; the Persians were routed, Adarmaanes fled, and Tamchosroes was killed in the battle; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.26, *Men. Prot. fr.* 61, *Evagr. HE* V 20, *Theoph. Sim.* I 9.4, III 18.1 (ὁ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατηγός), *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 5, *Mich. Syr.* X 18.

Said to have believed in well-armed and well-trained soldiers; Men. Prot. fr. 53.

Tanala ?bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546/547

He fought in the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 347. Possibly a member of the bodyguard of Ioannes 36 Troglita; see Germanus 2.

Tapharas phylarchus 528

Ταφάρης; Joh. Mal. Αιφhar; Zach.

In early 528 (for the date, see Belisarius, p. 184) he was one of several leaders of a Roman army sent against the Persians and resoundingly defeated; he was killed during the flight after falling from his horse; Joh. Mal. 441-2 (ὁ φύλαρχος), Zach. *HE* ix 2 (called both 'dux' and 'rex' of the Arabs).

He was warlike and prudent, with long experience of fighting with Roman weapons and renowned for his exploits in a variety of battles; Zach. *HE* ix 2.

Tapharas is possibly to be identified with the Ghassānid chief Jabalah (*PLRE* II, Gabala); see Shahīd, *The Martyrs of Najran*, p. 273. Cf. Arcthas.

TARASIS ?v.sp.; military commander (in Africa) 546-548

One of the army officers who served in Africa under Ioannes 36 Troglita from 546 to 548; he was apparently commander of the infantry forces. In winter 546/547, on the eve of the battle in which Antalas was defeated, Tarasis commanded the infantry in the van of the Roman army; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 553-6 (cf. 553-4 commissas acies dux Tarasis ante pedestres . . . variis componit in armis). He fought in the battle; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 457-9. In summer 547 he again commanded the infantry in the van of the army at the battle of Marta; Coripp. *Ioh.* vi 525-7 (quem (= Ioannes) Tarasis ante condensas peditum cingens umbone phalanges veloci volitabat equo turmasque parabat). He was again with the Roman army shortly before the battle of the Plains of Cato, when he tried in vain to calm a rebellion among the Roman troops (summer 548); Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 98-107. He is not mentioned in connection with the battle itself; possibly his name is lost in a lacuna in the text of Corippus between *Ioh.* viii 369 and 370.

He is called 'dux' at *Ioh.* iv 553, v 458, viii 98, 102. For his rank and post, cf. Putzintulus.

Tardou Turkish khan 576

Son of Sizabulus and brother of Tourxanthus; ruler of the Turks in the vicinity of Mount Ectal (the so-called Golden Mountain), where the embassy of Valentinus 3 visited him in 576; Men. Prot. fr. 43. Cf. Tourxanthus.

Targitis Avar envoy M/L VI

Ταργίτιος and Ταργίτης; Men. Prot. Ταργίτιος; Theoph. Sim. Tergazis; Coripp.

Envoy of the Avar khan Baianus to Constantinople on numerous occasions. Sent to Justin II in late 565, Coripp. *Iust.* iii 258 (his demand for continuation of the annual payments made by Justinian was refused, iii 231-401), Men. Prot. fr. 14; in mid/late 568 (cf. Vitalianus 2 and Bonus 4), Men. Prot. fr. 28 (demanding the surrender of Sirmium, the payment of money formerly paid by Justinian to the Cotrigurs and Utigurs, and the handing over of the Gepid Vsdibadus; he was sent away empty-handed), and possibly in late 569 (cf. Tiberius Constantinus), Men. Prot. fr. 29 (with the same demands; again dismissed empty-handed). Sent to Tiberius in 579 to fetch the money due under the treaty (of 574/575; cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 13); Men. Prot. fr. 63 (on his return, the khan prepared to attack Sirmium; cf. Sethus). Sent to Maurice, with Elpidius 1 in spring 584, Theoph. Sim. i 6.4-6 (the annual payment was raised by 20,000 *solidi* to 100,000, and a truce, short-lived, was made); and in autumn 586 to demand the payment due, Theoph. Sim. i 8.7-9 (he was in Constantinople when fighting with the Avars was under way and Maurice had him arrested and confined to the island of Chalchitis for six months).

In late 593 he was among the Avar leaders who advised the khan to end the war; Theoph. Sim. vi 11.6 (and cf. Priscus 6 and Theodorus 43).

For the view that these references may not all be to the same man, and that 'Targitis' may be the name of an office, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 33, n. 13.

Tarmutus ?officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

A native of Isauria and brother of Ennes; Proc. *BG* i 28.23, 29.42. Possibly one of the δορυφόροι of Belisarius, like Principius (though Procopius does not explicitly say so).

He and Principius 1 commanded infantry in battle early in the siege of Rome (in c. April/May 537); Tarmutus escaped but died of his wounds two days later; Proc. *BG* i 28.23-9, 29.39-44. See further Principius and Belisarius, p. 200.

**TARSILLA** (c.f.); aunt of pope Gregory M VI  
Paternal aunt of pope Gregory; of noble family, she lived as a nun with her sisters Aemiliana and Gordiana; she died first; Greg. *Hom. in Evang.* 38.15 (PL 76.1290-2), *Dial.* iv 17. See stemma 11.

**Taso 1** Lombard dux of Friuli c. 610-?

He and Cacco were the eldest sons of Gisulfus 2 and Romilda; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 37 ('iam adulescentes' in c. 610), 38. For their brothers and sisters, see Gisulfus.

He and his brothers were among the prisoners led away by the Avars after Forum Iulii was captured in c. 610, but they all managed to escape; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 37.

DVX of Friuli c. a. 610-?: he and Cacco succeeded jointly to their father's office of *dux* (mortuo, ut diximus, Gisulfo duce Foro-iulensi, Taso et Cacco, filii eius, eundem ducatum regendum susceperunt); they subjugated a neighbouring Slav people and made them pay tribute to the *duces* of Friuli; later, however, they were both treacherously murdered by the exarch Gregorius 15 at Opitergium; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 38. The date is unknown, but see further Gregorius.

**Taso 2** Lombard dux of Tuscany c. 626-630

DVX of Tuscany c. a. 626-630: soon after Arioald became king of the Lombards, Taso rebelled against him; Fredegar. iv 50 (Taso unus ex ducibus Langobardorum cum ageret Tuscanam provinciam), 51 (dux). The event is dated in 623 by Fredegarius (year forty of Chlotharius), but Arioald only became king in 626. In 630 (year nine of Dagobert) he was lured to Ravenna and murdered by the exarch Isaac 8 prompted by Arioald; Fredegar. iv 69 (ducem provinciae Tuscanae).

The similarity between his murder and that of Taso 1 is suspicious; however the dissimilarities are striking (the exarchs are different, the cities are different and so are the circumstances) and in spite of the coincidence both events may be genuine. See also D. A. Bullough, *Medium Aevum* xxx 2 (1961), pp. 106-7 (emphasising that, of the two stories, that in Fredegarius was virtually contemporary).

**Tassilo** king (or dux) of the Bavarians c. 593-E VII

Father of Garibaldus 2; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 39.

KING of the Bavarians c. a. 593-E VII: appointed in c. 593 by Childebert II; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 7 (apud Baioariam rex ordinatus est). Involved in attacks on the Slavs; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 7 (returned with much plunder, c. a. 593), 10 (suffered heavy losses

when the Avars intervened, a. 595/596). Styled 'dux Baiuariorum', he was succeeded on his death by Garibaldus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 39 (the date was perhaps sometime in the second decade of the seventh century).

**Tatianus**: Mag. Off. (East) 520, Mag. Off. II (East) 527; *PLRE* II.

**Tatianus 1** ?actuarius or optio (at Antioch) 540

A native of Mopsuestia; styled συνετός μάλιστα by Procopius; he was in charge of the commissariat of the troops stationed permanently in Antioch; he is attested there shortly before the capture of Antioch by Chosroes in 540; Proc. *BP* II 10.1-2 (τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης). He was probably an *actuarius* or *optio*; cf. Jones, *LRE* II 626.

**Tatianus 2** wealthy citizen (East) M VI

In a poem by Iulianus 11 he is said to have refused an official appointment offered by the emperor, probably to be provincial governor, preferring, it is said, to remain at home and increase his inherited wealth by just means rather than to enrich himself at the expense of his subjects; *Anth. Gr.* IX 445.

**Tatianus 3** senator (at Constantinople) M VI

One of the leading senators at Constantinople (οἵπερ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα πρώτοι ἐν γέ 'Ρωμαίων τῇ βουλῇ ἦσαν) whose property was, according to Procopius, fraudulently inherited by Justinian and Theodora through a forged will; Proc. *Anecd.* 12.5. Cf. Demosthenes (*PLRE* II, p. 354) and Hilara. He presumably died in 527/548. Possibly identical with the *mag. off.* Tatianus (*PLRE* II, pp. 1054-5).

**Tatianus 4** honorary consul VII

Τατιανοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.567 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: TATI/ANOVA/ΠΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝ). For a similar seal, see Zacos 1023.

**Tatila** vir inluster (in Spain) 610/612

Vir inluster; sent by the Visigothic king Gundemar (610-612) as envoy with Guldrimir to the Franks; they were detained by Theoderic II at Irupinae (site unknown); *Ep. Wisig.* 13 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 679). Cf. Bulgar.

Evidently a Visigothic noble.

Tatimer Roman officer (in Thrace) 593

In 593 Priscus 6 put Tatimer in command of a force of three hundred men sent to escort booty won from the Slavs to Constantinople; en route they had difficulties with Slav forces but finally reached Constantinople safely; Theoph. Sim. vi 8.3-8 (cf. 3 πρόταγόν τε τούτων τὸν Τατίμερ προεστήσατο), Theoph. AM 6085. Later in the year Tatimer conveyed to Priscus the emperor's orders to winter north of the Danube; Theoph. Sim. vi 10.1, Theoph. AM 6086.

Tattimuth ?tribunus (military) 533-534

In 533 Tattimuth was sent by Justinian with a small army to Tripolitana to help the revolt of Pudentius against the Vandals; he is styled ἄρχων; they occupied Tripolitana without opposition from the Vandals and restored it to the empire; Proc. BV I 10.23-4 (ὁ δὲ (Justinian) οἱ (to Pudentius) ἄρχοντά τε Ταττιμούθ καὶ στράτευμα οὐ πολὺ ἔστειλεν). In winter 533/534 (cf. Belisarius) Tripolitana was troubled by Moorish tribes and Belisarius sent an army to Pudentius and Tattimuth to strengthen Roman power there; Proc. BV II 5.10.

It is not clear what position Tattimuth held; he was presumably a military man but not one of senior rank, and may have been a *tribunus*. The post of *dux provinciae Tripolitanae* was not created until April 534 (CJ I 27.2), after the above events.

Taurinus I vir illustris (Egypt) c. 549/550

Τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἰλλουστρί[ου] Ταυρίνου; met at Antinoe by the servant of the landowner Elias 5 (in c. 549/550); SB 9616 verso 10 Antinoe.

Taurinus 2 domesticus (Egypt) ?VI

Domesticus, recorded in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67058, col. III 18, iv 1, and *P. Cairo Masp.* 67330, col. iv 6 (all recording payments to him by the village of Aphrodito).

Taurinus 3 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Ὁ τ]ᾶ πάντα λαμπρότατος κύριος Ταυρίνος; recorded in a letter; *P. Ross.-Georg.* v 9 (possibly from Aphrodito). Possibly identical with Taurinus 2.

FL. TAVRINVS 4 v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Addressee of a document found at Hermopolis Magna, where he perhaps held office; *Stud. Pal.* III 95, line 3 Φλαυίω Ταυρίνω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ πανευφύμῳ... Ἑρμοπολίτου. Dated to a third indiction. Perhaps for πανευφύμῳ one could read περιβλέπτῳ, a more likely epithet to be linked with λαμπρότατος.

?Taurinus 5 ?PVC VI/VII

A bronze weight, weighing three *unciae*, displays the portico of a basilica, the words Θεῶν χάρις, and a monogram (385) which may be read, with some uncertainty, as TAVPINOV; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 24.

Taurus: v.c., decurion V/VI; PLRE II.

Taurus ?tribunus (in Africa) 545

He and Hermogenes 2 fought for Stotzas at the battle of Thacia in late 545 and led his troops; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 162-4 (cited under Hermogenes). Possibly a *tribunus* who had deserted with Stotzas.

Tenkerā conspirator against Phocas 609/610

He and Theodorus 156 invited Heraclius to overthrow Phocas and assume the throne; Joh. Nik. 107.5 (p. 542 Zotenberg). The name seems hopelessly corrupt; possibly Priscus 6 is meant (cf. Zotenberg, p. 542, n. 1).

Terdetes (Τερδέτης) Lazian official 550

For the name, see Justi, p. 327, s.n. Tiridates, no. 23.

A notable Lazian, he served under Gubazes in a post similar to that of *magister officiorum* (εἶχε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει); in 550, having quarrelled with Gubazes, he used his authority to betray the fort of Tzibilis (among the Apsilii) to the Persians; probably killed when the Apsilii recovered the fort; Proc. BG IV 10.1-7. Cf. Ioannes 44 *qui et Guzes*.

Terebon: phylarch E/M VI; PLRE II.

Terentiolus comes civitatis Lemovicinae before 585

Formerly *comes* of Limoges, in 585 he was with the army sent by Guntram to attack Septimania; at Carcassonne he was killed by a stone hurled from the walls, whereupon the army disintegrated and retreated; Greg. Tur. HF VIII 30 (*comes quondam urbis Lemovicinae*).

Terentius infantry commander (in Africa) 533-536

Probably a native of Thrace; Proc. BV I 11.10.

In 533 he was one of the infantry commanders (ἄρχοντες... πεζῶν) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; he and his colleagues (see Theodorus 6) were under the overall command of Ioannes 16; Proc. BV I 11.7-8. Although not named again in Procopius'

narrative of the Vandal war, he apparently remained in Africa under Solomon 1 when Belisarius returned to Constantinople in summer 534; see below.

In summer 536 Terentius and Sarapis commanded the infantry forces in Numidia (ἡγεμόνες... πεζῶν) under the overall authority of Marcellus 2; Proc. *BV* II 15.50-1. He marched under Marcellus against the rebel Stotzas and sought sanctuary together with the other Roman commanders in a church at Gazophyla (= Gadiaufala, near Constantina) when their troops deserted to Stotzas; they left the church on pledges of safety but were executed by Stotzas none the less; Proc. *BV* II 15.52.59, *Jord. Rom.* 369.

Tetradia wife of Eulalius (in Gaul) L VI

Of noble (?senatorial) family on her mother's side only; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 8 (nobilem ex matre, patre inferiore). She inherited property from her father in the Auvergne (see below).

Wife of Eulalius 2, to whom she bore two sons, Ioannes 167 and a second, younger, son (name unknown); Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 45, x 8. As a result of her husband's maltreatment of her, she left him intending to marry his nephew Virus, who sent her to stay with Desiderius 2 until he was ready to marry her; she took with her all her husband's gold and silver and other moveable valuables, and also their eldest son, Ioannes, leaving behind the younger; after the murder of Virus she married Desiderius; Greg. Tur. *HF* VIII 27 (with Desiderius in 585), 45 (with Desiderius at Albi in 587, accompanying him to Toulouse), x 8. In 590 Eulalius sued for the return of his property and Tetradia was condemned by a council of bishops and laymen to repay fourfold what she had taken, but was allowed to return to live in the Auvergne and enjoy the property there which she had inherited from her father; however her children by Desiderius were declared illegitimate; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 8.

Tetricus bishop of Langres 539/540-572/573

Son of Gregorius (Attalus) (*PLRE* II, p. 179); Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 7.4. His mother was Armentaria (*PLRE* II, p. 150) and he was therefore born before c. 506/507. He was a great-uncle of Gregory of Tours; see stemma 12.

Bishop of Langres a. 539/540-572/573: he succeeded his father in the see in 539/540; Greg. Tur. *V. Patr.* 7.4. He was bishop for thirty-three years; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 3, lines 5-6. He died therefore in 572/573, probably in 572 in view of the sequence of events narrated in Greg. Tur. *HF* v 5 which occurred before the death of bishop Nicetius of Lyon on April 2, 573. Also recorded as bishop in Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 16, VIII 5, *Glor.*

*Conf.* 105 (where the rubric alone survives) and in the acts of several councils; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, pp. 158 (Orléans in 549), 168 (Paris in 552), 203 (Lyon in 567/70), and see Stroheker, no. 385.

In old age he was incapacitated by a stroke; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 5.

Venantius Fortunatus composed an epitaph on him; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* IV 3.

Thalassius: praefectianus (East) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Thalelaeus v.ill., teacher of law (?at Berytus) 533

One of the eight teachers of law to whom Justinian addressed his *Constitutio* 'Omnem' regulating legal studies on Dec. 16, 533; he is named sixth, cf. Theophilus 1, and was one of the *virii illustres antecessores*. He probably taught at Berytus; in his work he cited only earlier teachers at Berytus (Cyrillus, Demosthenes, Dominus, Eudoxius and Patricius, cf. *PLRE* II, pp. 335, 353, 373, 412 and 839), and see Theodorus 7.

Author of a commentary on the *Codex Iustinianus*, of which many fragments are cited in the scholia to the *Basilica*; *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, VI 72-8, cf. *Bas.* v 643 and 871 (he is styled ὁ κωδικευτής). Described by Theodorus 64 as ὁ τῆς νομικῆς ὀφθαλμός; *Bas.* IV 288. He probably began his commentary on the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* and revised it after the second edition was published in 534; he mentions none of the Novels later than 536; see Kübler (below), 1209. His work is alluded to be Matthaëus Blastares (fourteenth-century canonist), in *PG* 144, 197 (Θαλέλαιος ἀντικένσωρ τοῦς κώδικας εἰς πλάτος ἐξέδωκε). He was dead when Stephanus 18 wrote; *Bas.* I 763, II 489, v 445.

He probably did not write a commentary on the Digest also; cf. *Basilica* VI 47-9.

See further B. Kübler, in *P-W* v A, 1208-10.

The name occurs on a seal of mid sixth- to mid seventh-century date; Zacos 1024 (obv. Θαλ-λελαι-ου; rev. Θεο-δοσ-ιου).

Theaetetus poet; scholasticus M VI

Author of a number of poems included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* VI 27, IX 659, X 16, XVI 221, 233 (all Θεαιτήτου σχολαστικοῦ) and XVI 32b (Θεαιτήτου). Of these, XVI 32b honours the jurist Iulianus 10, possibly on the publication of his Latin epitome of Justinian's Novels, which was in or shortly after 555. Another poem of Theaetetus, IX 659, celebrates renovation work by Dominus 2 in c. 567. See Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), pp. 14 and 21.

Possibly identical with an otherwise unknown Theaetetus who wrote

a work (unpublished) *περὶ Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων* (in Laur. 24.9, F.43 verso-45 recto), another work *περὶ παροιμιῶν* (recorded in Suid. O 806) and is perhaps the Theaetetus cited in scholia on Theocritus (Gow, *Theocritus* i (1950), p. lxxxiii); see Alan and Averil Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

Thecla: comitissa (East) 519/538; *PLRE* II.

Theia king of the Ostrogoths 552  
Theia (also Thila, Thela, Teia); coins (in Kraus, 203-9). Τεΐας; Proc., Agath. Teia; Mar. Avent., Agnellus.

Son of Fredigernus; Agath. I, prooem. 31, I 20.1. Elder brother of Aligernus; Agath. I 8.6, 20.1.

In 552 he was sent to Verona by Totila with the pick of the Gothic army under his command to check the advance of Narses I into Italy; Proc. *BG* IV 26.21-4 (and cf. Narses). After Narses passed him and advanced into central Italy, Theia and his army rejoined Totila at Rome; Proc. *BG* IV 29.1.

KING of the Ostrogoths a. 552: after the defeat of the Goths at *Busta Gallorum* and the death of Totila (probably in late June, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emph.* II 601, n. 2), Theia escaped to Ticinum with other survivors and was there made king; Proc. *BG* IV 33.6, cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62 (in Ticinum). Successor of Totila; Agath. I, prooem. 31, I 1.1, Mar. Avent. s.a. 553, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62. Rex; Mar. Avent. s.a. 554, s.a. 568, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62, 79. Ὁ βασιλεύς; Agath. I 8.4. Ὁ ἡγεμῶν τῶν Γότθων; Agath. I 1.1, 8.6.

He began to reorganise the Gothic forces and tried to secure an alliance with the Franks against the Romans; Proc. *BG* IV 33.7, 34.17. He had some three hundred children taken by Totila as hostages from the leading citizens of various cities executed; Proc. *BG* IV 34.8. When Narses threatened the Gothic treasures stored in *Cumae*, Theia marched against him and was defeated in the battle of *Mons Lactarius*; during the battle he was killed, fighting like a hero; Proc. *BG* IV 34.21-3, 35.9-30. The date was probably October 30, 552; cf. Narses, p. 919. His defeat and death are also mentioned in Agath. I, prooem. 31, I 1.1, 5.1, II 12.2, Mar. Avent. s.a. 554, s.a. 568, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79.

Described by Procopius as a fine soldier; Proc. *BG* IV 26.21.

Themotea inlustris femina (Italy) 592

She built an oratory on land of hers (in loco iuris sui) at Rimini and wrote to Gregory requesting its consecration 'in honore sanctae crucis'; Gregory instructed bishop Castorius to perform the ceremony; Greg. *Ep.* II 15 (a. 592 Jan.; Themotea inlustris femina).

Theocharistus I exarchus M VI/M VII

Θεοχαρίστου ἐξάρχου; Zacos. 503 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4867 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (142) of Θεοχαρίστου; rev.: cruciform monogram (74) of ἐξάρχου). Perhaps the head of a guild (cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 72) rather than *exarchus* of Italy or Africa.

Theocharistus 2 illustris 642

In late 641/early 642 he travelled from Africa to Constantinople with a letter from Maximus Confessor to the *cubicularius* Ioannes 261; in it Maximus commended him to Ioannes (τὸν σὺν αὐτῷ μου δεσπότην τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον ἰλλούστριον κύριον Θεοχάριστον τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον τὴν παροῦσάν μου μετρίαν συλλαβήν); Max. Conf. *Ep.* 44 (PG 91.644D).

THEOCTISTA I wife of Christodorus 597

Daughter of Gordia I and wife of Christodorus and living in Constantinople, she is styled by Gregory 'sanctissima filia eius domna Theoctista'; she was ignorant of Latin; Greg. *Ep.* VII 27 (a. 597 June). The epithet suggests that she was known for her piety.

Theoctista 2 patricia; sister of the emperor Maurice L VI/E VII

Addressee of three letters from pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* I 5 (a. 590 Oct.), VII 23 (a. 597 June; jointly with Andreas 14), XI 27 (a. 601 Feb.).

Sister of Maurice; Greg. *Ep.* I 5 (Theoctisti sorori imperatoris), cf. XI 27 (a relative of the emperor). Mentioned but unnamed in Evagr. *HE* VI 3, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18, *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 10. Sister of Gordia 2.

In 582 she was already a widow; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18.

PATRICIA: attested in 597 and 601; Greg. *Ep.* VII 23, XI 27 (both addressed 'Theoctistae patriciae'). She perhaps became *patricia* after 590, since the title is not recorded in *Ep.* I 5. Styled 'excellencia vestra' or similar in *Ep.* VII 23 and XI 27.

She was at court in close attendance on the empress and was involved in bringing up the emperor's children; Greg. *Ep.* VII 23 (peto autem ut parvulos dominos quos nutritis praecipuis moribus instituere curetis et gloriosos eunuchos qui eis deputati sunt ammonere ut... etc.), XI 27.

She and Andreas sent thirty pounds of gold to Italy in 597 to ransom captives of the Lombards, and Gregory sent back a golden key of St Peter; *Ep.* VII 23. On these keys, cf. *MGH, Epp.* I, p. 39, n. 5.

Maurice gave her great riches, including the huge palace recently built by Petrus 9 Barsymes; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18 (cited under Petrus), *Chron.* 1234, lxxvi.

Theoctiste 3 daughter of the emperor Maurice L VI/E VII

Daughter of Maurice and Constantina 1; sister of Anastasia 5 and Cleopatra; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, 605. For the fate of the sisters and their mother (all eventually executed in 605 or 607), see Constantina.

Theoctistus (*MAMA* III 416): *PLRE* II.

Theoctistus 1 doctor (in Rome) 537

A doctor in Rome; during the siege of 537-538 (probably in June 537) he treated and saved the life of Arzes; *Proc. BG* II 2.26-9.

Theoctistus 2 MVM per Africam c. 570

dvx (in Phoenice Libanensis, at Damascus or Palmyra) a. 540-543: in 540 Theoctistus and Molatzes, commanders of the troops in Lebanon (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες), entered Antioch with six thousand men to defend the city from the Persians; *Proc. BP* II 8.2. They abandoned the defences and fled from the city when it was thought that the wall was breached, and thus allowed the enemy to enter and take Antioch; *Proc. BP* II 8.17-20. In 541 Theoctistus and Rhecithangus were in command of the troops stationed in Phoenice Libanensis; *Proc. BP* II 16.17 (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες), II 19.33 (οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ καταλόγων ἄρχοντες). They were with Belisarius at Dara when they favoured an invasion of Persia but feared the displeasure of the emperor if they left Phoenice and Syria, the areas which they ruled, undefended from the Arabs (ἄτε οὐ φυλαξάντας ἀδῆωτον τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχον); they were overruled by Belisarius on the grounds that it was the time of the summer solstice when the Arabs were bound by the holy truce not to make war and so they accompanied the invasion; *Proc. BP* II 16.6.17-19. For the holy truce, cf. Hitti, pp. 93-4. Two months later they were anxious to return, because the period of truce was over and Lebanon and Syria were under threat from Alamundarus (*PLRE* II); *Proc. BP* II 19.33-4.39. In 543 Theoctistus and Ildiger accompanied the MVM *per Orientem* Martinus 2 to Citharizon in preparation for the invasion of Persia; *Proc. BP* II 24.13. He presumably took part in the invasion and the subsequent rout of the Romans at Anglon, though not named again by Procopius in his account of these events; *Proc. BP* II 24.19, 25.17.31. Theoctistus with first Molatzes and then Rhecithangus, and possibly Ildiger, was apparently a territorial commander and therefore a *dux*, probably one of the two *duces* who were based at Damascus and Palmyra in Phoenice Libanensis; cf. Cutzes.

Perhaps identical with the *vir illustris* Theoctistus who told pope

Pelagius I at Rome of the wish of the bishop of Constantinople, Eutychius, for relics from Rome, and who returned to Constantinople taking various relics and also a letter from Pelagius to Eutychius; *Pelag. I, Ep.* 20 (a. 558 Dec./559 Feb. 2).

MVM PER AFRICAM c. a. 570: magister militum provinciae Africanae, defeated and killed by the Moors in c. 570; *Joh. Bicl.* s.a. 570.

Theoctistus 3 kinsman of Maurice L VI

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory in Sept. 595, concerning the innocence of a priest; *Greg. Ep.* VI 17 (Theoctisto cognato imperatoris; he is styled 'excellencia vestra'). Otherwise unknown; his name recalls that of Theoctista 2, the emperor's sister. Possibly a cousin of the emperor.

Theoctistus 4 cubicularius et chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοκτίστου κουβικουλαρίου καὶ χαρτουλαρίου; *Zacos* 554 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (134) of Θεοκτίστου; rev.: ΚΟΥ/ΒΙΚΔΛΛΑ/ΡΙΔ/ΧΑΡ/ΤΔΛΛΑΡ'). On *chartularius*, see Narses 1, p. 914.

Theoctistus 5 ?MVM per Numidiam VI/VII

He is recorded on a lead seal found at Carthage, *BCTH* 1927, p. 479: obv.: +The/[oc]tistu(s)/[p]repositus/[tus] at/niū; rev.: at/a...tΩ/[m]agist(er)/mil(itum) p[er]/Numi[d(iam)]. The surviving letters seem certain (see the sketch in *BCTH*, *loc. cit.*) but the meaning is obscure. Theoctistus may be identical with Theoctistus 2. A second seal, apparently with the same text, was published in *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 1915, p. 300, no. 1, and cf. also *BCTH* 1925, p. ccliv.

Theod... ?rationalis (in Palestine) M/L VI

In line 5 of a greatly damaged inscription, probably an imperial decree of Justin II and Sophia, there survive the letters ...καθ Θεοδ...; *Rev. Bibl.* n.s. 17, p. 123, n. 15 Negeb. Possibly Theod... was a καθ(ολικός).

Theodahad (king of the Ostrogoths 534-536): *PLRE* II.

Theodebaldus 1 king of the Franks 547-555

Son of Theodebertus; *Greg. Tur. HF* III 27, 37, Mar. Avent. s.a. 548, *Proc. BG* IV 24.11, Agath. I 4.7. His mother was Deoteria; *Greg. Tur. HF* III 27.

KING of the Franks a. 547-555: he succeeded to the throne on his father's death in 547; *Proc. BG* II 24.11, Agath. I 4.7, 6.6, Mar. Avent.





the extent of Frankish rule, Theodebert included with the Thuringii, Nortsuavi, Saxones, Eucii (? = Jutes) and 'tota Francia', also 'partes Italiae Pannoniaeque'; *Ep. Austras.* 20 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 133) (the letter is undated but probably belongs to the 540s). Agathias records the belief in Constantinople that Theodebert had plans at the end of his life to attack Thrace and advance on Constantinople while the empire was distracted by the war in Italy (Agathias dates this to the campaign of Narses in Italy against Totila, i.e. 552; Theodebert, cf. below, was no longer alive then); *Agath.* I 4.1, cf. 5-6 (his intentions thwarted by his death). The Italian lands which he seized were not recovered for the empire until 556; *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 556.

He died in 547; *Agath.* I 4.5-6 (mortally wounded by a wild bull while out hunting), *Proc. BG* IV 24.6 (νόσῳ), *Greg. Tur. HF* III 36 (after a long illness), 37 (he died thirty-seven years after Clovis, in the fourteenth year of his reign), *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 548, *Ven. Fort. V. S. Germ.* VIII 26-7. On the date of his death, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 816.

At some date which is uncertain but could be 538 he received from Justinian, via the envoy Andreas 3, a request to send three thousand troops to the aid of the *patricius* Bregantinus (in solacium Bregantini patricii); the embassy arrived late in the year, on September 22, and Theodebert took no action, waiting while Andreas returned to Constantinople and fresh instructions came from the emperor; *Ep. Austras.* 19 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 132). Bregantinus is probably identical with Bergantinus (*PLRE* II, p. 225), active in north Italy from 537 to 539 and besieged in Milan from June 538 to March 539; if this was the occasion of Justinian's request, Theodebert was playing a double game since he had sent a strong force of Burgundians to help the Goths to besiege Milan.

Theodebert may be identical with the Frankish king (ὁ Φράγγων βασιλεύς) who once sent to Justinian an embassy including representatives from the Angili (? the Angles) in order to buttress his claim to rule over 'Brittia' (? = Denmark); *Proc. BG* IV 20.8-10.

In a letter from pope Vigilius to Caesarius of Arles, dated May 6, 538, he is recorded to have sent an envoy Modericus to the pope with a query concerning absolution for the sin of marrying a brother's wife; *Ep. Arelat. gen.* 38 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 57). He was also the addressee in 546/547 of a letter from bishop Aurelian of Arles; *Ep. Austras.* 10 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 124).

His reign is categorised by Gregory of Tours as just and mild; *HF* III 25. He himself was 'elegans atque utilis'; *Greg. Tur. HF* III 1. According to Agathias he was courageous to the point of rashness; *Agath.* I 4.1. He was succeeded by his son Theodebald.

Theodebertus II king of the Franks 596-612

Elder son of Childebert II; *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 37, IX 9, 20, 29, 32, 36, *Ionas, V. Columb.* I 18, *Fredegar.* IV 5, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 11, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37. Grandson of Brunichildis; *Ionas, V. Columb.* I 18, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 11, and see stemma 18e. Brother of Theodericus (q.v.). According to the *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37 and 38 his mother was a mistress of Childebert. In 605 Brunichildis allegedly claimed that his father was not Childebert but one of the gardeners; she was at the time urging Theoderic to make war on him; *Fredegar.* IV 27. He had an aunt (Chlodosinda) who married Chrodoaldus; *Ionas, V. Columb.* I 22. Husband of Bilichildis; *Fredegar.* IV 35 (by 608). He subsequently (in 612) killed her and married Theudichildis; *Fredegar.* IV 37. Father of Meroveus 3; *Fredegar.* IV 38. He had a daughter betrothed in 604 to the Lombard prince Adaloald; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 30, and cf. *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 38 (his daughter, allegedly desired by Theoderic in 612; this passage also alludes to other sons of Theodebert, older than Meroveus, whom Theoderic also killed).

Born in 585 and baptised by bishop Magnericus of Trier; *Greg. Tur. HF* VIII 37, *Fredegar.* IV 5. In 589 a royal court was established for him at Soissons; *Greg. Tur. HF* IX 32, 36.

KING of the Franks a. 596-612: on the death of his father he became king of Austrasia with his capital at Metz; *Fredegar.* IV 16, *Ionas, V. Columb.* I 18. He was king of Austrasia from 596 until his overthrow and death in 612 (see below).

In 596 he and his brother suffered a defeat by the army of Fredegundis and Chlotharius II; *Fredegar.* IV 17. In 599 he (or his advisers) expelled Brunichildis from Austrasia; *Fredegar.* IV 19, cf. *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37 (attributing it to Theodebert). In 600 he and his brother defeated Chlotharius and seized most of Neustria for themselves; Theodebert acquired the whole of the so-called *ducatu* *Dentelini* (lying between the Seine and the Oise, as far as the Channel, see Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar.*, p. 13, n. 4); *Fredegar.* IV 20, 37, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 15. In 602 he joined Theoderic in subduing the Gascons; *Fredegar.* IV 21 (cf. Theodericus 4). In 604 he and Chlotharius made peace at Compiègne without fighting; *Fredegar.* IV 26, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 28. Also in this year his daughter was betrothed to Adaloald (see above). Attacked by Theoderic in 605, at Brunichildis' instigation, he was able to make peace without fighting after Protadius' murder; *Fredegar.* IV 27. Probably in 608, after the humiliation by Theoderic of Ermenberga, Theodebert joined a brief and futile alliance against him with Chlotharius, Wittericus and Agilulfus; *Fredegar.* IV 31. In 610 he raided

Alsace 'ritu barbaro'; subsequently he met his brother at Seltz where through his greatly superior forces he was able to secure the cession not only of Alsace but also of other territories (see further Theodericus); Fredegar. iv 37. While he and Theoderic were involved in these disputes, they sent envoys to Chlotharius but he, on the advice, allegedly, of St Columbanus, declined to intervene; Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 24.

In 612 he was defeated by Theoderic at Toul and Zülpich and overthrown; he fled but was captured and taken to Cologne, to be stripped of his royal vestments and sent in chains to Chalon; Fredegar. iv 38, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 38, Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 28, 30. According to Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 28, he was delivered over to Brunichildis, who first had him made a cleric and shortly afterwards had him murdered; cf. also Fredegar. iv 42 (she is blamed for his murder), *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 38 (murdered at Cologne while surrendering his treasury), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 40 (killed).

Fredegarius alludes to the 'simplicitatem Theudeberti'; Fredegar. iv 35.

Addressee of several letters from pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* xi 50 (a. 601 June) (addressed 'Theodeberto regi Francorum'), and *Ep.* vi 49 (a. 596 July), ix 215 (a. 599 July), 206 (a. 600 July) (all jointly with his brother; cf. Theodericus).

After St Columbanus' exile from Burgundy in 610, Theodebert offered him a place to settle at Bregenz (Brigantia), where the saint remained until 612; Ionas, *V. Columb.* 1 27, 30.

Theodebertus son of Chilperic M/L VI

Son of king Chilperic; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 23, 28, 47 (his eldest son), 50. His mother was Audovera and he was brother of Merovechus and Chlodovechus; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 28. Nephew of Sigibert; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 51. Brother of Basina; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39, vi 34, ix 39.

In 562, during the civil war between Sigibert and Chilperic, he was captured by Sigibert in Soissons and kept in exile for a whole year 'apud Ponticonem villam' (Ponthion, cf. Dalton, ii, p. 524) and then released after taking an oath never to act against Sigibert again and sent back to his father laden with gifts; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 23, cf. 47 (the oath).

In 574 he was sent by his father to attack Tours and Poitiers and other cities of Sigibert across the Loire; he defeated Gundovald I near Poitiers and then indulged in an orgy of killing and burning around Tours, Limoges, Cahors and other neighbouring areas, attacking churches, the clergy, monks and nuns in a way which Gregory of Tours described as even worse than the persecution of Diocletian; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 47, cf. 49 (subdued the cities to Chilperic by fire and sword). On this occasion

when he captured Tours he advised bishop Gregory that Leudastes should be reappointed *comes*; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 48. In 575 he was attacked by the army of Sigibert under Guntchramnus Boso and Godegisel, defeated and killed; his body was later retrieved by a certain Aunulf (otherwise unknown) and buried in Angoulême; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 50, cf. 51 (his death occurred eighteen days before that of Sigibert), v 14, 18 *ad fin.*

Theudechildis I Frankish queen; wife of Hermegisclus M VI

Venantius Fortunatus wrote her epitaph and also a poem in her praise; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 25 (epitaphium Theudechildae reginae), vi 3 (de Theudechilde regina).

Daughter of Theoderic I and Suavegotho (both in *PLRE* II); Flodoard, *Hist. Rem.* II 1 (daughter of Suavegotho). She was of royal family and made a royal marriage; her father, grandfather, brother and husband were all royal, as were her ancestors; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 25, lines 9-10 (cui frater, genitor, coniunx, avus atque priores culmine succiduo regius ordo fuit), vi 3, line 1 (regali stirpe coruscans). Since she was the daughter of Theoderic and Suavegotho, she was sister of the Frankish king Theodebert and so presumably identical with the unnamed sister of Theodebert who married Hermegisclus, king of the Varni, and after his death, briefly, her stepson Radigis, before the latter divorced her and apparently sent her back to Gaul (ἀποπέμπεται); Proc. *BG* iv 20.11-12.20-1.41. One of Venantius' poems alludes to a child or children of her own; cf. *Carm.* vi 3, line 10 (cum sis prole potens, gratia maior adest). Nothing further is known of this and the epitaph is silent on the subject.

She is praised for her lavish generosity to the poor and for her activity as a builder of churches; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 25, lines 11-12, vi 3, lines 17-30.

She died aged seventy-five; Ven. Fort. *Carm.* iv 25, line 22.

Could she be identical with the Frankish princess buried beneath the cathedral at Cologne? Cf. Anonyma 7.

Theudichildis 2 wife of Charibert M VI

One of the queens (reginae) of Charibert, after whose death she sought the hand of Guntram; she went to him with all her treasures, but he kept them and dismissed her to a monastery at Arles; she tried to escape to Spain, but finally died in the monastery in misery; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 26.

Theudichildis 3 wife of Theodebert II E VII

In 610 Theodebert killed his wife Bilichildis and married Theudichildis; Fredegar. iv 37.

Theudedefredus dux Ultraiuranus (?573-?)591

For the name, see Schönfeld, p. 230.

DUX (under Guntram) a. 573-574: in 573 he succeeded Vaefarius; Mar. Avent. s.a. 573 (cited under Vaefarius). In 574 he and Wiolicus, 'duces Guntchramni', defeated a force of Lombard invaders near the monastery of Agaunum (St Maurice en Valais); Fredegar. iii 68, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 574.

DUX VLTRAIVRANVS a. 591: in 591 he was *dux* in the region east of the Jura, when he died and was succeeded by Wandalmar 2; Fredegar. iv 13 (Theudedefredus dux Ultra Iuranus moritur, cui successit Wandalmarus in honore ducatus).

Possibly Theudedefred had served as Guntram's *dux* in the region beyond the Jura since 573, since he was active in that area in 574. Cf. also Vaefarius.

Theodegisclus son of Theodahad M VI

Son of Theodahad; after his father's murder in late 536 he was placed under guard by Vitigis, apparently in Rome; Proc. BG I 11.10 (Θεοδέγισκος). Brother of Theodenantha. Their mother was Gudeliva. Cf. PLRE II, stemma 38.

Theudegiselus king of the Visigoths 548-549

Theudegisilus; Greg. Tur. Thiudisclus; Chron. Caesaraug. Theudisclus; Isid., Lat. reg. Visig. Thiudigiglosa; Jord.

In 541 he commanded (duce Theudisclō) the army of Theudis against the Frankish invaders of Spain; after first cutting off their retreat by blocking the passes over the Pyrenees, he inflicted a crushing defeat on them, killing most of them and allowing the few survivors to go home to Gaul only in return for a large payment; Isid. Hist. Goth. 41.

KING of the Visigoths a. 548-549: he became king in 548 after the murder of Theudis (in June) but was himself assassinated at a banquet in late 549 after a reign lasting one year, seven months; Jord. Get. 303, Chron. Caesaraug. s.a. 544 (one year, seven months), Lat. reg. Visig. 21 (one year, six months, thirteen days), Greg. Tur. HF III 30, Isid. Hist. Goth. 44, 45. For the dates, cf. Zeumer, Neues Archiv xxvii (1902), 414ff., 417-18. He is also mentioned in an anecdote about the miraculous springs at Osser near Seville in Greg. Tur. Glor. Mart. 25.

His successor was Agila.

T(h)eudelapius Lombard dux of Spolegium 601-M VII

One of the two sons of Faroaldus; after Ariulfus died (in 601), Theudelapius and his brother fought one another for the *ducatus* of Spolegium and Theudelapius won; Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 16 (duo filii Faroald superioris ducis, inter se propter ducatum decertantes, unus ex ipsis, qui cum victoriam coronatus est, nomine Teudelapius, ducatum suscepit).

He died in office (some time in the mid seventh century) and was succeeded by Atto; Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 50.

Theodelinda queen of the Lombards c. 589-616 (?)

Described as a Frank; Fredegar. iv 34. On her origins, see Wallace-Hadrill, Fredegar., p. 22, n. 3. She was daughter of Garibaldus I (king of the Bavarians) and Walderada (Vuldetrada); Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. III 30. Sister of Grimoald, Fredegar. iv 34; and of Gunduold, Fredegar. iv 34, Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. III 30, IV 40, 48. See stemmata 19a and c.

When betrothed to the Frankish king Childebert II, she was taken away to live in Italy by her brother Gunduold, Fredegar. iv 34.

In Italy she married the Lombard king, Authari, probably in 589; Auct. Haun. Extr. 9 (MGH, AA IX, p. 338), Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. III 30 (on May 15, ?589). After the death of Authari in 590 she allegedly chose, after consultations with Lombard leaders, to marry Agilulf and make him king; Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. III 30, 35 (they married in Nov., 590), Auct. Haun. Extr. 15 (p. 339), Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6, Fredegar. iv 34. Mother of Adaloald; Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 25 (he was born in 603), Fredegar. iv 34. She also bore Agilulf a daughter, Gundeberga; Origo Gent. Lang. 6, Hist. Lang. cod. Goth. 6, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 47, Fredegar. iv 34.

QUEEN of the Lombards: she was queen from her marriage to Authari until her death, which is not recorded but probably occurred during the reign of her son Adaloald (a. 616/626); cf. Auct. Haun. Extr. 24 and Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 41 (she outlived Agilulf and ruled with Adaloald). She received several letters from pope Gregory (all addressed 'Theodelindae reginae Langobardorum' or similar); Greg. Ep. iv 4 (a. 593 Sept.), 33 (a. 594 July), ix 67 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.), xiv 12 (a. 603 Dec.; congratulating her on the birth of her son). She is mentioned in Greg. Ep. iv 2 (a. 593 Sept.) and iv 37 (a. 594 July).

In 598 Gregory wrote to thank her for helping to bring about peace between the Lombards and the Romans; Ep. ix 67, and cf. Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 8 (said to have persuaded Agilulf to make peace).

She was a devout Christian and is said to have converted Agilulf; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 5, 6. She built the church of St John the Baptist at Monza (Modicia); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 21. Pope Gregory sent a copy of his *Dialogi* to her; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 5. All of Gregory's letters in connection with her in 593 and 594 are concerned with her support for the Three Chapters, her refusal to accept the Fifth General Council and her consequent refusal to communicate with bishop Constantius of Milan; Greg. *Ep.* iv 2, 4, 33, 37. She was the addressee, jointly with her son, of a letter from the Visigothic king Sisebut; *Ep. Wisig.* 9 (MGH, *Epp.* iii, p. 671).

Theudemanda noble lady (in Gaul) 610

She owned a house on the Cure, a tributary of the Yonne, which St Columbanus and his followers visited in 610 (ad domum cuiusdam nobilis et religiosae feminae Theudemandae); Ionas, *V. Columb.* i 20 (MGH, *Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, p. 93).

Theodemir king of the Sueves 561/566-570

Rex Suevorum; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 90. Princeps Suevorum; *Parochiale*. He became king after Ariamir (perhaps his successor) and apparently before the start of the Chronicle of John of Biclarum; cf. Thompson, *Conversion*, pp. 87-8. He therefore became king after May 1, 561, and before 567. In 569 he summoned a Church Council 'in civitate Luco' for the purpose of confirming the Catholic faith in Gallaccia; *Parochiale*, intro. (in *Corpus Christianorum*, ser. lat. 175, p. 413), and cf. Thompson, *Conversion*, pp. 88, 90-1, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 90.

In 570 he was succeeded by Miro; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570, Isid. *Hist. Sueb.* 91.

Theodimundus (Θεοδιμουῦνδος) grandson of Mundus M VI

Son of Mauricius 1 and grandson of Mundus (therefore a descendant of Gepid rulers); in 540/541 when still a youth (μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι) he fought under Vitalius 1 against the Goths in the battle of Treviso and narrowly escaped with his life, fleeing with Vitalius when the Romans were defeated; Proc. *BG* iii 1.36.

FL. AMALA AMALAFRIDA THEODENANDA c.f. ?M VI

In a verse inscription, now fragmentary, she lamented a double loss, of her father and perhaps a young child; D 8990 = *IICV* 40 probably from Rome, taken to Genzano di Roma. Evidently a member of the Ostrogothic royal family, the Amali. Possibly identical with Theodenanthe; if so, the father whose loss she mourned was Theodahad and the date of the inscription 536/537.

Theodenanthe daughter of Theodahad M VI

Daughter of Theodahad (*PLRE* II), wife of Ebrimuth; Proc. *BG* i 8.3. See *PLRE* II, p. 1331, stemma 38.

Possibly identical with Fl. Amala Amalafrida Theodenanda.

Theodericus: king of the Franks 511-533; *PLRE* II.

Theodericus 1 comes Britannorum 577

Son of Bodicus; exiled by Maclivus after his father's death, after a spell of wandering he returned with an army of Bretons, defeated and killed Maclivus (in 577) and regained his father's old realm; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 16. On the title, see Warochus.

Theodericus 2 ?comes foederatorum (East) (?577/8-581)

Sent with Romanus 4 and Martinus 3 by Mauricius 4 in summer 579 to raid Persia; they spent the summer in Persia; Theoph. Sim. III 17.3-4.

?COMES FOEDERATORVM a. (?577/8-581): in 581 Theodericus τῶν Σκυθικῶν ἔθνῶν ἤγειτο; he failed to unite his forces with those of Maurice when Maurice defeated the Persians; instead he and his men fled; Evagr. *HE* v 20, cf. Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 5 (τῶν Σκυθικῶν ταγμάτων ἡγεμῶν).

The 'Scythian tribes' were probably *foederati* from the Danube area, cf. Evagr. *HE* v 14, and may have been identical with the fifteen thousand σώματα ἔθνικῶν (Theoph. AM 6074) hired by Tiberius (see Mauricius, p. 857). If so, Theodericus could have been their commander since late 577/early 578, and the reference to a *comes foederatorum* in Theoph. AM 6074, there named as Maurice, should possibly be referred to Theoderic. See also Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, pp. 100-1.

Theodericus 3 son of Chilperic and Fredegundis 582-584

Son of Chilperic and Fredegundis, born in 582, baptised at Easter 583, died in 584; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 23, 27, 34, 35. See stemma 18c.

Theodericus 4 = Theoderic II king of the Franks 596-613

Son of Childebert II; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 4 (his second son), 9, 20, Fredegar. iv 7, 16, 17, Ionas, *V. Columb.* i 18, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37. Grandson of Brunichildis; Fredegar. iv 19, 27, 30, 32, 36, Greg. *Ep.* xiii 9, 11, 12, 13, Ionas, *V. Columb.* i 18, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37-8. His mother was Faileuba; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 38, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37. Brother of Theodebert II; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 4, 9, 20, Fredegar. iv 16, 17, 20, 27, 37, 38, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 37-8, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 11. He had a sister, Theudila; Fredegar. iv 30,



Sisebut and Caesarius 2; *Ep. Wisig.* 5 and 6 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 666–8). Described as ‘gloriosum denique et amicissimum veritati’; *Ep. Wisig.* 6 (p. 668).

Theudila 1 sister of Theoderic II L VI/E VII

Sister of Theoderic II (and therefore daughter of Childebert II and Faileuba); *Fredegar.* IV 30, 42. See stemma 18e.

In 607 she conspired with Brunichildis to turn Theoderic against his wife Ermenberga; *Fredegar.* IV 30. In 613 she was surrendered with Brunichildis to Chlotharius II by Herpo 2; *Fredegar.* IV 42 (her fate is not recorded).

Theudila 2 son of Sisebut; a monk E VII

Son of the Visigothic king Sisebut, he became a monk; *Ep. Wisig.* 8 (*MGH, Epp.* III, pp. 669–71).

Theodora 1 Augusta 527–548

Her parents worked in the circus and on the stage at Constantinople; her father Acacius was a keeper of animals for the Green faction while her mother, whose name is not recorded, was a dancer and actress; Theodora had two sisters, Comito (the elder) and Anastasia 1; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.2, cf. *Theoph. AM* 6020, *Cedr.* I 643 (on Comito). She was a relation of Georgius 7 and Ioannes 90 (they were συγγενεῖς Θεοδώρας τῆς βασιλίσσης); *Theoph. AM* 6054. The future empress Sophia was her niece; *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 567. She had two grandsons, Anastasius 8 and Athanasius 5 (cf. below).

According to Nicephorus Callistus she was a native of Cyprus; *Nic. Call. HE* XVII 28. A late Greek tradition said that she went to Constantinople from Paphlagonia and worked there as a spinner of wool; *Patr. Const.* III 93. A tradition in later Syriac sources (perhaps invented by her fellow-monophysites to rescue her reputation) described her as a native of Daman near Callinicum, the daughter of a priest, piously reared in the monophysite faith, who was seen by Justinian on a visit to the east and later married by him; *Mich. Syr.* XI 5, *Chron.* 1234–lv, *Bar Hebr.*, *Chron.*, pp. 73–4.

She followed the same profession as her mother from an early age and acquired a lurid reputation, according to Procopius, by her immoral conduct and the frank sexuality of her stage performances; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.9ff. During this period of her life she bore a son, Ioannes 5; *Proc. Anecd.* 17.16–23. She also bore a daughter; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 2.11, 5.1, *Mich.*

*Syr.* IX 30, *Proc. Anecd.* 4.37, 5.18. She travelled to Libya with the governor Hecebolus (*PLRE* II); after a quarrel he drove her out penniless and she went to Alexandria and from there allegedly worked her way round the east back to Constantinople, living off her immoral earnings; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.27–8. After her return to Constantinople she met and apparently captivated Justinian, becoming his mistress; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.29.

PATRICIA: he conferred on her the title of *patricia* (αὐτὴν ἀναγαγὼν ἐς τὸ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίωμα) and she became very powerful and very wealthy; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.29. Styled *patricia* in *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 13.

They were unable to marry owing to the opposition of the empress Lupicina (*PLRE* II, Euphemia 5), but once she was dead (perhaps by 523) Justinian persuaded Justin to change the law and make it possible for former actresses to marry anyone of whatever rank; *Proc. Anecd.* 9.47.51, and cf. *CJ* V 4.23, 1–4 (a. 520/523). They married before 527. Theodora is alluded to as wife of Justinian in *Proc. BP* I 24.33, *BV* II 9.13, *Anecd.* 9.1, 9.51, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 527, *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 13, *Evagr. HE* V 10, *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 527, *Theoph. AM* 6016.

AVGVSTA a. 527–548: styled Augusta; *Cass. Var.* X 10, 20–1, 23–4 (addressed to her), *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 529, 537, 540, 542, 549, 567, *Joh. Mal.* 484, *Theoph. AM* 6016. She played an active role in government; *Proc. Anecd.* 2.32ff., 9.54, 10.6–10, 14.8 (she attended meetings of the *consistorium*), 15.6, *BP* I 24.33.

She died on June 28, 548; *Joh. Mal.* 484 (June 28, 547), *Proc. BP* II 30.49 (in 548), *BC* III 30.4 (in 548, after reigning twenty-one years, three months), *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 549, *Agnellus, Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62 (July 27), *Theoph. AM* 6040, *Zon.* XIV 9, *Cedr.* I 658, *Mich. Syr.* XI 5, *Chron.* 819, s.a. 859, *Chron.* 1234, lxiii, *Chron. Iac. Ed.*, p. 321 = p. 243, *Bar Hebr.*, *Chron.*, p. 75.

She was a monophysite, championing the monophysite cause and helping many monophysite clergy; *Proc. Anecd.* 10.15, *Evagr. HE* IV 10, *Vict. Tonn.* s.a. 529, 537, 540, 542, 549, *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 13, *Mich. Syr.* XI 5, *Bar Hebr.*, *Chron.*, pp. 73–4, *Chron.* 1234, liv, lv, and cf. *Stein, Bas-Emp.* II, p. 894 index, and *Frend, The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 404, index.

A seal which may have belonged to her is extant; *Zacos* 696 (obv.: an eagle; rev.: cruciform monogram (101A) of Θεοδώρας).

Theodora 2 ?gloriosa femina (at Constantinople) ?M VI

Apparently joint owner with Baduarius 3 of the *domus rerum Areobindi* at Constantinople; *Schneider, Germania* (1937), p. 177 (she was τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης). Cf. *Baduarius*.

**THEODORA 3** wife of Opsites 1 M VI

Of Roman senatorial origin, she married Opsites 1, king of the Lazi; in 549/550 while living among the Apsilii she was captured by the Persians under Nabedes and carried off to Persia; Proc. *BG* iv 9.7-8.

Theodora 4 wife of Mannas L VI

Wife of the *silentarius* Mannas at Constantinople; a zealous Christian, she frequently visited Theodore of Syceon; she died before her husband; *V. Theod. Syc.* 89-90.

Theodoracis v.d., scriba numeri (at Ravenna) 639

In Nov. 639 he witnessed a donation to the church of Ravenna by Paulacis; Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22; line 28 Theodoracis v.d. et scrib(a) num(eri) eq(uitum) Arm(eniorum), line 54 Theodoracis v.d. mil(es) et scrib(a) num. Arminior.

Since he was a *miles*, 'scrib.' is to be understood as *scriba* rather than *scribo* (title of an officer).

Theodoracius (*CIL* III 9534) ?V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodoracius 1 notarius (Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a document from Arsinoe; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 776 = xx 171 δι' ἐμοῦ Θεοδωρακίου νο(ο)τ(αρίου).

Fl. Theodoracius 2 pagarch of Arsinoe 639/640

Addressee of a receipt for supplies ordered by the patriarch Cyrus 17 in 639/640; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 8 = *P. Lond.* 1, p. 222, no. 113, 10, line 3 (Φλ' Θεοδωρακίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ παγάρ[ρχ]ω ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινόϊτων πό[λεω]ς). The document, from the Arsinoite nome, is dated in a thirteenth indiction.

Theodoracius 3 pagarch of Heracleopolis Magna 644

In office jointly with Christophorus 4 on June 1, 644; *SB* 975<sup>1</sup> Heracleopolis Magna. See Christophorus.

Theodoretus 1 vir gloriosissimus 548/551

Ὁ ἐνδοξ(ότατος), mentioned in a document possibly from Antinoe; the context is obscure; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67019, line 8. The date is earlier than *P. Cairo Masp.* 67032 (of 551), but after Theodora's death (line 12).

Theodoretus 2 grammaticus ?M VI

Author of a couplet honouring Philippus 1; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 34

(Θεοδωρήτου γραμματικοῦ). Possibly from Philadelphia in Lydia. The couplet was probably included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; cf. Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 20.

THEODORETVS 3 ?former dux (Egypt) VI

Recorded in a papyrus, perhaps from Antinoe; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67352, verso (ζ(ήτει) Θεοδώρητον ἀπὸ δοῦκ(ων) εἰς τὴν ῥάβδον εἰς τὰ ῥωμανοῦ). He was either a former *dux* or an honorific *ex ducibus*.

Theodoriscus officer of Martinus' bodyguard 537

He and Georgius 3, natives of Cappadocia and δορυφόροι of Martinus 2, fought in a set battle early in the siege of Rome (in c. April/May 537); Proc. *BG* I 29.20-1.

Theodorus (*SB* 9453, 16) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*MAMA* VIII, p. 40, no. 225) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*AE* 1938, 11) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*IGC* 340<sup>2</sup>) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*MAMA* III 136) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*CIL* v 6240 + p. 1086) IV/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*JHS* 19 (1899), 68, no. 17) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*IGC* 761) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*CIG* 8831) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (Beshevliev, *Spätgr. u. spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 204) V/VI; PLRE II.

Theodorus (*Anth. Gr.* IX 615) V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus (*Anth. Gr.* XVI 45) ?V/VI: PLRE II.

Theodorus: notarius (East) E/M VI; PLRE II (and see Theodorus 10).

Theodorus: *memoralis* of the *scrinium epistularum* and *adiutor* of the QSP (East) 526-527; PLRE II.

Theodorus 1 (= *PLRE* II, Theodotus *qui et Colocynthus*)

Named in later Byzantine legends concerning the building of Hagia Sophia, together with Strategius and Basilides; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 11 (a mysterious eunuch conducted Strategius, Basilides and Θεόδωρον πατρίκιον τὸ ἐπίκλην Κολοκύνθη τὸν καὶ ἑπαρχὸν to a fabulous palace full of gold; they gave the gold to Justinian to build Hagia Sophia and the palace miraculously disappeared), 14 (Justinian sent Troilus 1, Basilides and Θεόδωρον ἑπαρχὸν to Rhodes to prepare materials for building the church).

The source is late and legendary in character, but several names are of genuine persons who held high office under Justin I and Justinian; this man is evidently to be identified with Theodotus *qui et Colocynthus*, *PVC* a. 522/3 (*PLRE* II, pp. 1104-5). The title of *patricius*, although unsupported in the contemporary sources, may well be genuine. However, if Procopius, *Anecd.* 9.42, is correct in stating that Theodotus remained in asylum in Jerusalem until his death, the above story is a pure invention, into which genuine names have been arbitrarily inserted.

Theodorus 2 (= Theodorus Lector) historian E VI

Ἀναγνώστης at Hagia Sophia, author of an ecclesiastical history, surviving in fragments only, from the reign of Constantine I to that of Justin I; the earlier part was an epitome of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, but the last two books were the independent work of Theodorus; the work was much used by later writers, e.g. Theophanes, and fragments also survive in manuscript. The work is edited by G. C. Hanson, in *Gr. Schr.* 54 (1971). See Opitz, in *P-W* v A 2, 1869ff. (no. 48) and cf. Ostrogorsky, in *P-W* v A 2, 2129 (a source of Theophanes).

THEODORVS 3 cubicularius et castrensis 527/565

A monophysite saint, whose story is told in *Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or.* 57 (*PO* 19, 200-6), cf. title 'Of the blessed Theodore the king's chamberlain and *castrensis* who, while he was in the body, practised a heavenly and divine mode of life.' Brother of Ioannes 53; he and his brother served first under Misael (perhaps in Misael's private household rather than as *cubicularii* in the palace when Misael was PSC) and went on to serve as 'chamberlains' (*cubicularii*) under Justinian; Theodorus 'held a high office in the royal palace (παλάτιον)'; he and his brother lived a life of holy austerity, but Theodore was in poor health and so 'asked king Justinian, who was also edified by him and loved him and in whose eyes he was honoured, that he might retire as *castrensis*, in order that he might escape and retire from the turmoil of the palace and settle down in

quietude and devote himself to the practise of religion only; inasmuch that the king assented to his request and carried out his desire and ordered him to retire as *castrensis*, because he serves two years only, many offices being subordinate to him, and large profits coming in to him, and in two years like the *praepositus* he retires, and like him expends much wealth. The illustrious blessed man therefore retired and completed two years; and he was released and retired with much gold and great wealth.' He then proceeded to give away his gold, to set free his slaves, giving them gifts, and to sell his silver and clothes to give to the poor; after he had thus reduced himself to poverty, Justinian allegedly rebuked him but allowed him an annuity of a thousand 'darics' (presumably 'solidi'); he lived in fasting and prayer in the village of Sema(?) where Misael was buried and was eventually buried there too; he chose to live like the poor, sitting down to meals rather than reclining.

Although a monophysite, he seems to have served as *cubicularius* under Justinian and to have eventually retired after his two years in the post of *castrensis* (cf. also Narses, p. 912) in order to devote himself to charitable actions and a religious life.

Theodorus 4 patricius; ?MVM vacans 528

PATRICIVS and ?MVM VACANS a. 528: he was one of the συγκλητικοί sent by Justinian to defend the east in 528 after the Roman army had suffered losses in the war with Persia (cf. Belisarius, p. 184); he was given command of the army in Edessa; *Joh. Mal.* 442 (τὸν δὲ Θεόδωρον τὸν πατρίκιον ἐν Ἐδέσῃ). Cf. also Plato 1 and Alexander (*PLRE* II, p. 58, Alexander 19).

Theodorus 5 ?MVM (honorary) and dux Palaestinae 529

Nicknamed ὁ σιμός; *Joh. Mal.* 446 (cited below).

?MVM (honorary) and DVX PALAESTINAE a. 529: οἱ ἄρχοντες Παλαιστίνης καὶ ὁ δοῦξ Θεόδωρος ὁ σιμός; *Joh. Mal.* 446. Ὁ δοῦξ Παλαιστίνης (unnamed); *Joh. Mal.* 447. Ὁ δοῦξ (unnamed); *Joh. Mal.* 446 (thrice), 447. 'Dux regionis' (unnamed); *Zach. HE* IX 8. He and Ioannes 8 (cf. below) are styled οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι; *Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae* 70. If technically correct, the style ἐνδοξότατος means that they were senior *inlustres* and would have held an honorific title in addition to their actual offices as *duces*; both were perhaps honorific *magistri militum*. Cf. e.g. Summus (in *PLRE* II, p. 1039).

In 529 the Samaritans rebelled and proclaimed Iulianus 3 as emperor (in June, *Theoph. AM* 6021); Theodorus with the other imperial authorities in Palestine wrote to inform Justinian and meanwhile, assembling an army with the unnamed phylarch of Palestine and



Ioannes 8, marched against the rebels, defeated them and captured and beheaded Iulianus; the revolt was apparently crushed very quickly because the head of Iulianus, sent to Constantinople, arrived at almost the same time as news of the revolt; Joh. Mal. 446-7, Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae 70, cf. Zach. HE ix 8. However, when Justinian learnt that Theodorus had not intervened in the early stages of the revolt (c. April 529, Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae 70) when the Samaritans caused widespread destruction in Palestine before the proclamation of Iulianus, he dismissed him in disgrace and placed him in custody, appointing Irenaeus (PLRE II, Irenaeus 7) as his successor (perhaps already in late 529); Joh. Mal. 447. The statement in Joh. Mal. fr. 44 (*Exc. de ins.*, p. 171) (which does not mention Theodorus) that it was Irenaeus and Theodotus who captured Iulianus is probably a mistake; cf. Theodotus 1.

It is probable that Theodorus and Ioannes 8 were colleagues as *duces Palaestinae*; see Ioannes and Theodotus 1 and cf. the *Fasti* of the *duces* of Phoenice Libanensis for similar pairings.

Theodorus 6 *qui et Cteanus* infantry commander (in Africa) 533

Probably a native of Thrace; Proc. BV I 11.10.

In 533 he was one of the infantry commanders (ἀρχοντες... πεζῶν) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; he and four colleagues (Terentius, Zaidus, Marcianus 2 and Sarapis) were under the overall command of Ioannes 16; Proc. BV I 11.7-8 (Θεόδωρος, ὄνπερ Κτέανον ἐπικλήσιν ἐκάλου). None of these commanders is mentioned by name again in Procopius' narrative of the Vandal campaign.

Perhaps his nickname could be interpreted as κτῆνος, 'the beast'.

Theodorus 7 v.ill., teacher of law (?at Berytus) 533

One of the eight teachers of law to whom Justinian addressed his *Constitutio 'Omnem'* regulating legal studies on Dec. 16, 533; he is named third, cf. Theophilus 1, and was one of the *virii illustres antecessores*. He was probably a teacher at Berytus; of the eight teachers two, Theophilus and Cratinus, are known to have taught in Constantinople, where the number of official teachers of law appears to have remained fixed at two (the law of Theodosius II in 425, CTh xiv 9.3, which ordained this, was included in the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* in 534, and presumably was still valid); the other six, two of whom are positively attested as teaching at Berytus (Dorotheus and Anatolius), were presumably all teachers in Berytus, the only other permitted law school in the east and apparently, to judge by the evidence, the more important.

Theodorus 8

?MVM vacans 534-537

Native of Cappadocia; Proc. BV II 8.24, 14.32, 14.38, 17.6, 18.1. Procopius calls him ὁ Καππαδόκης (or similar) to distinguish him from other Theodori.

?MVM VACANS a. 534-537: there is no direct evidence of his rank and title; he is once alluded to as στρατηγός (Proc. BV II 14.34, cited below) but the situation was an abnormal one of rebellion and the evidence can not be pressed; however his role and responsibilities elsewhere indicate that he was one of the higher ranking military commanders; see below and cf. Ildiger.

In 534 Theodorus and Ildiger were sent by Justinian from Constantinople to Africa with an army to serve under Solomon 1; Proc. BV II 8.24.

In Carthage at Easter 536 Theodorus was sent by Solomon to pacify mutinous troops who had gathered in the hippodrome; they ignored his attempts to dissuade them from rebellion; according to Procopius, Theodorus was known to be opposed to Solomon and was suspected of plotting against him, and therefore the troops in the hippodrome promptly acclaimed him as their commander (διὸ δὴ οἱ στασιῶται στρατηγὸν τε αὐτὸν σφίσιν αὐτίκα τῇ βοῇ ἐψηφίσαντο) and, brandishing arms, rushed with him to the palace; Proc. BV II 14.31-4. Later that night, when the mutinous troops were asleep after going on the rampage, Solomon, Martinus 2 and others, including Procopius 2, went to the house of Theodorus where he firstly made them take food and then escorted them to the harbour to make good their escape; Proc. BV II 14.38. From a place of safety Solomon wrote to Theodorus instructing him to look after Carthage and manage affairs as best he could while he sought help from Belisarius; Proc. BV II 14.41. Soon afterwards when the rebel leader Stotzas approached Carthage and demanded its surrender, Theodorus and the inhabitants of Carthage refused point blank and affirmed their loyalty to the emperor; Proc. BV II 15.6. Stotzas laid siege to the city, and the inhabitants were already contemplating its surrender when the arrival of Belisarius raised the siege; Proc. BV II 15.8-10. Later on, after the rebels had been driven away, Theodorus and Ildiger were entrusted with the care of Carthage by Belisarius when he had to return to Sicily; Proc. BV II 15.49 (cited under Ildiger).

Theodorus apparently remained in Africa under Germanus (PLRE II), the successor of Solomon, and in 537 accompanied the army which marched against Stotzas; he commanded one of the three divisions into which the cavalry were deployed (κατὰ λόχους τρεῖς) on the right wing

of the Roman army at the battle of Cellas (Scalas) Veteres; Proc. *BV* II 17.5-6, cf. 17.19 (fought in the battle).

Subsequently, in Africa under Germanus, he was informed by one of his close associates, Asclepiades, that a conspiracy was planned by Maximinus 1, one of his own bodyguards; after telling Theodorus, Asclepiades promptly reported the matter to Germanus; Proc. *BV* II 18.1-4 (a. 537/539).

**Theodorus 9** comes excubitorum 535-536

He was commander of the *excubitores* and served in Africa under Solomon 1 in 535 and 536; Proc. *BV* II 12.17 (τῶν ἐξκουβιτῶρων ἡγεῖτο - οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς φύλακας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι), 14.35 (τῶν φυλάκων ἡγεῖτο). In 535 he played a significant part in Solomon's victory over the Moors at Mount Burgaon; Proc. *BF* II 12.17-22, and see Solomon, p. 1171. He was murdered in the palace at Carthage at Easter 536 by mutineers; Proc. *BV* II 14.35.

Procopius, in stock phrases of approval, praises his excellence and calls him a good soldier; Proc. *BV* II 14.35.

**THEODORVS 10**

v.sp., tribunus et notarius et referendarius (East) 536-542

Possibly identical with the nephew of John the Hesychast; *PLRE* II, Theodorus 58.

Ὁ περιβλεπτός τριβουῦνος νοτάριος καὶ ραιφερενδάριος τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης (or similar), also ὁ περιβλεπτός ραιφερενδάριος; on May 2 and June 4, 536, he attended sessions of the synod of Constantinople with messages from the emperor; *ACOec.* III, pp. 29, 38, 128, 130, 134.

In 542 he was given men and money by Justinian and made responsible for burying plague victims at Constantinople; in discharging the task he also contributed money of his own; Proc. *BP* II 23.6-8 (ὅς δὴ ἀποκρίσει ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, αἰεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἰκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὐθις ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. ρεφερενδάριον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι), cf. *Hist. Nest.* II 32, Mich. Syr. IX 28 (unnamed).

Perhaps identical with Theodorus 12.

**Theodorus 11** iudex pedaneus 539

A native of Cyzicus, he was an advocate at the court of the PPO Orientis on April 8, 539, when he was appointed as one of the twelve new

*iudices pedanei* (δικασταὶ or διαιτηταὶ) at Constantinople by Justinian; Just. *Nov.* 82.1 (καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς ἄλλοι συνήγοροι τῆς σῆς ἀγορᾶς, Βικτωρ καὶ ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου Θεόδωρος). Cf. also Menas 2, Victor 2 and see Anatolius 4.

**THEODORVS 12** v.sp.; envoy to Theodebert 539/547

Theodorus vir expectabilis; he and Solomon 3 carried letters from Justinian to Theodebert (and presumably returned with Theodebert's reply enumerating the peoples and places under Frankish domination); *Ep. Austras.* 20 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 133). The letter mentions north Italy, occupied in c. 539; Theodebert died in 547.

Possibly identical with the *referendarius* Theodorus 10.

**Theodorus 13** mechanicus (East) 540

An engineer (or architect) of repute, he was in Dara during the Persian siege in 540 and by his skill enabled the defenders to build a cross-trench to foil a Persian attempt to break into the city; Proc. *BP* II 13.26 (Θεοδώρου γνώμη, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένη μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρός).

Probably identical with Theodorus μηχανικός whom Justinian sent to Jerusalem in 531 to construct the New Church to the Mother of God; Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 73, and cf. (for the church) Proc. *Aed.* V 6.

**Theodorus 14** advocate (at Rome) 546

He was an advocate at Rome (τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ῥητόρων ἕνα); soon after the capture of Rome by the Goths on Dec. 17, 546, Theodorus and the deacon Pelagius were sent by Totila as envoys to Justinian with offers of peace; the emperor promptly sent them back with the reply that Belisarius had full powers in Italy (cf. Belisarius, p. 212); Proc. *BG* III 21.18-25.

Possibly identical with Theodorus 24.

**Theodorus 15** patricius; curator domus divinae 547/548

In 547/548 he issued instructions to his subordinate, Thomas 13; *SB* 9102 verso (π(αρά) Θεοδώρου Πέτρου . . . ου πατρ(ικίου) (καὶ) σεμ(νοτάτου) κουρά(τορος) τοῦ θε(ιοτάτου) οἴκου). Perhaps son of Petrus (possibly therefore son of Petrus 6 and identical with Theodorus 34). The name Petrus may, however, have been his own, and perhaps he was polyonymous, other names having disappeared in the lacuna in the papyrus.

See further Thomas 13.

THEODORVS 16 v.sp., a secretis 547/548

Named with Ioannes 43 in acclamations on an inscription recording the construction by Justinian of a fortress at Ma'an in 547/548 (on the date and location, see Ioannes); *IGLS* iv 1809 Ma'an (Θεοδώρου τοῦ περιβλέπτου ἀσηκρήτις πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη). The two men were presumably responsible for the work.

Theodorus 17 agens in rebus (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born in 500; an *agens in rebus*, he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there on June 17, 550; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 120 (Theodorus dixit: Theodorus dicor; agens in rebus in hac civitate natus), p. 127 (agens in rebus; aged fifty). Cf. Eumolpius.

THEODORVS 18 v.c., comes (East) 550

Native of Mopsuestia, born c. 505; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 120 (Theodorus dixit: Theodorus dicor; comes sum in hac civitate natus), p. 126 (aged about forty-five in 550).

v.c., COMES a. 550 June 17, when he was one of the elderly laymen living in Mopsuestia called to testify before the synod there; *ACOec.* iv i, p. 118 (clarissimus comes), p. 126 (comes), cf. p. 120 (second in rank of the lay witnesses, after Eumolpius).

Fl. Theodorus 19 notarius (at Constantinople) 551

Φλ. Θεόδωρος νοτάριος; at Constantinople in 551, possibly in July, he witnessed an agreement between Fl. Palladius 1 and citizens of Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67032, 113.

THEODORVS 20 v.sp., decurio sacri palatii 553

v.sp., DECVRIO (SACRI) PALATHI a. 553 April–May: shortly after Easter 553 (post diem sanctum paschae) he delivered a letter from the emperor to pope Vigilius (in Constantinople); *Coll. Avell.* 83.24 (per virum magnificum Theodorum decurionem palatii) (for the date of Easter, April 20, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 660, n. 1). The *decuriones sacri palatii* were the commanders of the *silentiarii*, and so Theodorus was probably identical with Theodorus v.sp., *silentiarius* who delivered a message from Justinian to the first session of the Fifth Ecumenical Council on May 5, 553; he remained for the reading of the letter and then departed; *ACOec.* iv i, pp. 8, 14 (vir spectabilis silentiarius; vir magnificus).

On retirement, *decuriones sacri palatii* became *virii illustres* with the

honorary title either of *magister officiorum* or of *comes domesticorum* (cf. *CJ* xii 16.1). Theodorus is probably not, however, to be identified with Theodorus 54. He may be identical with Theodorus 55.

THEODORVS 21 ?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 554–558

A Tzan by race, he was brought up among the Romans and lost all trace of his barbarian origins; Agath. ii 20.7, cf. v 1.3 (ὁ σφῶν μὲν ὁμόφυλος). Nevertheless he knew the land and people of the Tzani intimately; Agath. v 1.3 (and see below).

He was vigorous and brave and a good soldier; Agath. ii 21.1, iv 13.2.

From 554 to 558 he was a ταξίαρχος serving in Lazica; he is attested in 554, 556 and 558, and commanded Tzani troops in 554 and 556; Agath. ii 20.7 (ἦν δὲ τις τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ἐν τοῖς ταξίαρχοις). 8 (ἅμα τῇ οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει – εἶποντο γὰρ αὐτῶ οὐ μείους ἢ πεντακοσίοι ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοφύλων; possibly his *bucellarii*), iii 20.9 (he had Τζάνους ὀπλίτας), 22.4 (ὁ τοῦ Τζανικοῦ ὁμίλου ταξίαρχος), 26.3 (he and Angilas, οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ταξίαρχοι), iv 13.2 (ὁ τῆς Τζανικῆς δυνάμεως πρωτοστάτης; he and Maxentius 2 were ταξίαρχω), 18.1 (ὁ τῶν Τζάνων ταξίαρχος), v 1.3 (τὰ πρωτεῖα φερόμενος ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταξίαρχοις), 2.1 (ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ταξίαρχος). For the dates, see below. The office held by Theodorus and other ταξίαρχοι is not certain. Stein has shown that they were middle-ranking commanders between *magistri militum* and *tribuni* (λοχαγοί) (*Bas-Emp.* ii 814–15, Excursus M). They were therefore *virii spectabiles*, of similar rank to *duces*, but it is not certain that their official title was that of *dux* (as Stein calls them). So far as the evidence goes, it suggests that at this period *duces* were still regional commanders, while ταξίαρχοι operated in the field army. Middle-ranking commanders in the field army in earlier times were *comites rei militaris* and this was perhaps still the case; later, however, possibly by the end of the sixth century, they became (new style) *duces*, cf. Maur. *Strat.* 13.13 (μοιράρχης δὲ ὁ τῆς μοῖρας ἀρχων, ὁ λεγόμενος δούξ), 4.13 (the μοῖρα or χιλιαρχία, comprising between two and three thousand men, was commanded by τοὺς λεγομένους δούκας ἢ τοὶ χιλιαρχας).

In 554 Theodorus was with Martinus 2 in Telephis; when Martinus withdrew he was ordered to remain there until he could ascertain the strength and dispositions of the approaching Persian army; Agath. ii 20.8. Having done this he left to rejoin Martinus at Chytropolis, on the way chivvying stragglers and warning them of the approaching danger, but was unable to give the στρατηγοί enough time to prepare to face the enemy; Agath. ii 21.1–4. Cf. Martinus.

In 556 he took part in the defence of Phasis; Agath. iii 20.9. He reluctantly went to assist Angilas and Philomathius when they disobeyed

orders and sallied out against the besiegers, while reproaching them for their recklessness; Agath. III 22.4. Later however he joined Angilas on another sortie which led to the rout of the Persians; Agath. III 26.3. Subsequently in 556 he went with the expedition against the Misimiani (cf. Varazes), on which he joined Maxentius 2 in an attack on the Persians' Hun allies; Agath. IV 13.2, 14.1. He also took part in the assault, guided by the soldier Illus, on the Misimian fort of Tzachar; Agath. IV 18.1.

In 558 when the Tzani were in revolt Theodorus was sent to restore Roman control because of his knowledge of the land and its people; Agath. V 1.3. He took an army from Lazica and made camp near Theodorias and Rhizaem, where he took steps to win over those who were still peaceful and prepared for war against the rebels; the latter made a sudden attack and his troops, responding in a disorganised manner, were in danger of defeat until Theodorus sent part of his force to take the enemy in the rear while engaging them with the rest; the ploy worked and the rebellion was suppressed; Agath. V 1.4-2.2. He reported his success to Justinian whose orders to subject the Tzani to an annual payment he carried out before returning to the στρατηγοί in Lazica; Agath. V 2.3-5.

Theodorus 22 scholasticus (Egypt) c. 555  
 Ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος(ος) σχολαστικ(ός); native of Cynopolis; he received customary payments from an estate, certainly that of the Apions, for a third indiction, λόγ(ω) φιλοτιμ(ίας) (i.e. as honorarium); *P. Oxy.* 1913, lines 14-15 (dated c. 555). Cf. Theodorus 23.  
 Possibly identical with one of the two Theodori named in *P. Oxy.* 128 (Theodori 147). See also Theodorus 50.

Theodorus 23 scholasticus (Egypt) c. 555  
 Ὁ ἐλλογιμώτατος(ος) σχολαστικός; son of Gratianus; he received customary and additional payments from an estate, certainly that of the Apions, for a third indiction, λόγ(ω) φιλοτιμ(ίας) (i.e. as honorarium); *P. Oxy.* 1913, lines 54-5 (dated c. 555). Cf. Theodorus 22.  
 Possibly identical with one of the two Theodori named in *P. Oxy.* 128 (Theodori 147).

Theodorus 24 consiliarius of Pelagius I 559  
 (Cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1097, Theodorus 62, where this reference is to be deleted, and see Gassó and Batlle, pp. 102-3).  
*Vir magnificus* and *consiliarius* of pope Pelagius I; owner of property either near Sabinum (in Valeria) or near Gabii (in Latium Vetus on the

via Praenestina) on which stood a church of St Laurentius; when a vacancy for a priest arose there, he recommended that a monk Rufinus be ordained; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 36 (a. 559 Feb./March) (basilica sancti Laurentii, quae in possessione filii et consilarii nostri viri magnifici Theodori fundata est) (this letter of Pelagius was assigned by Thiel to pope Gelasius as *Ep.* 41).

Possibly identical with Theodorus 14.

Theodorus 25 curator domus divinae rerum Placidiae 562  
 Native of Nicomedia, in May 562 he succeeded Zemarchus 2 as κourάτωρ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ οἴκου τῶν Πλακιδίας; Joh. Mal. 490 (Θεόδωρος ὁ ἐπίκλην Νικομηδεύς). For the date, cf. Theoph. AM 6054 and Stein, *Bas-Empr.* II 799-800.

Theodorus 26 tribunus (Egypt) 565/566  
 A document from Oxyrhynchus dated a. 565/6 records a payment of wine to Theodorus and ten *bucellarii* travelling to a place called Septhia; *P. Oxy.* 2480, line 29 Θεοδώρω τριβού(ω). Presumably a military *tribunus*.

Fl. Theodorus 27 exceptor in the officium of the dux Thebaidis 567  
 Son of Anonymus 73; his mother was Lea, his grandmother Herais, and he was a native of Antinoe; in his will, dated a. 567 March 31, he named as his heirs his grandmother and the monasteries of Apa Senuthis and Apa Musaeus; *P. Cairo Masp.* III 67312, esp. lines 5 (Φλ. [Θ]ε[ὸ]δ[ω]ρ[ω]ς ἑξ[ε]κ[ε]τ[ο]ρ τῆς κατὰ Θηβαΐδα δουκικῆς τάξεως), 43-4 (Herais) and 109 (Lea).

Theodorus 28 doctor (at Sirmium) 568  
 He tended the wounded general Bonus 4 during the Avar siege of Sirmium in 568; Men. Prot. fr. 27 (ὁ ἰατρός).  
 Perhaps identical with Theodorus 43.

Fl. Theodorus 29 v.c., exceptor in the officium of the dux Thebaidis 570  
 Native of, and landowner at, Antaeopolis; son of Menas 6, he was an *exceptor* in the *officium* of the *dux Thebaidis* (in which his father was a *scriniarius*); named in a lease, dated March 14, 570; *P. Lond.* V 1714 Antinoopolis (lines 12-15 + Φλαυίω Θεοδώρω υἱῷ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου καὶ περιβλέπτου κυρίου Μηνᾶ σκρινιαρίου τῆς κατὰ Θηβαΐδα λαμπρᾶς δουκικῆς τάξεως τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἐξέκτορι τῆς αὐτῆς τάξεως ὀρωμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνταιοπολιτῶν ἐφ' ἧς καὶ γεουχοῦντι).

## Theodorus 30

PPO Africae 570

Addressee of a constitution of Justin II, dated 1 March 570, 'de filiis liberarum, in Africam directa'; it was sent 'Theodoro' and he is styled 'Theodore parens carissime atque amantissime' (a form of address correct for a PPO); Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* 1, Coll. 1, Nov. vi. This was later confirmed by Tiberius and Maurice in a constitution of 582 addressed to Theodorus 38; Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* 1, Coll. 1, Nov. xiii (cited under Theodorus 38). He was killed by the Moors, presumably in 570; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569 (Theodorus praefectus Africae a Mauris interfectus est; unless there were two successive prefects of Africa called Theodorus in 569 and 570, this entry in the Chronicle of John of Biclarum is apparently under the wrong year).

## Theodorus qui et Tzirus 31

MVM per Orientem 573

Son of Iustinianus 1; appointed MVM *per Orientem* in place of Marcianus 7 in spring/summer 573; Theoph. Byz. fr. 4 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 64) (Θεόδωρον ἀντικαταστήσας τὸν τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ παῖδα, Τζίρον ἐπίκλην). Theodorus is not recorded again; the consequence of Marcianus' dismissal was the abandonment of the siege of Nisibis and the withdrawal of the Roman army to Mardin and Dara. Theodorus was perhaps replaced by Eusebius 7 after the Persians captured Dara (Nov. 573). Cf. also Magnus 2.

## Theodorus 32

?MVM (in Armenia) 574-575

Native of Tur Abdin (south of Amida); Joh. Epiph. fr. 3, Theoph. Sim. II 10.6. On the place name, cf. Baynes, *CQ* VI (1912), 89-90.

In autumn 572 he served in the east under the MVM *per Orientem* Marcianus 7, who sent him with Sergius 7 and Iuventinus to raid Arzanene; Joh. Epiph. fr. 3.

?MVM (in Armenia): in late 574 and spring 575 he and Cours commanded troops in Armenia and conducted operations in Albania; Men. Prot. fr. 41, 42 (οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοί). For further details, see Cours. They were both apparently *magistri militum*.

In 587 he served in the east under Philippicus, who put him in command of a third of the army, together with Andreas 11, and sent them to raid Persia; Theoph. Sim. II 10.6, 18.7-8. Cf. Andreas.

## THEODORVS 33

?proconsul Armeniae; silentiarius and envoy to Persia 575

Son of Bacchus 2; Men. Prot. fr. 41, 46.

An educated and shrewd man, who had held many high-ranking offices of state, including that of governor of Armenia (probably *proconsul* of Armenia Prima, cf. Stein, *Stud.*, p. 82, n. 7), he was sent by the Caesar Tiberius on an embassy to Chosroes; Joh. Epiph. fr. 5 (Θεόδωρον τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ πραγμάτων ἡγησάμενον, πολλὰς τε καὶ ἑτέρας οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἀρχὰς διοικησάμενον, λόγον τε ἰκανῶς μετέχοντα καὶ τὸ δέον συνιδεῖν εὐ μάλα δεδυνημένον). The embassy was early in 575, and was officially to thank Chosroes for the reception given to the recent embassy of Traianus 3, but Theodorus was also to indicate Tiberius' willingness to open talks to settle outstanding problems and make peace; on reaching Dara he was taken to Chosroes, then on campaign in Armenia, and accompanied him to Theodosiopolis where he witnessed his military dispositions; he then returned to Constantinople with the message that Chosroes was ready for peace and would send suitable envoys if Roman envoys came to the frontier; after Theodorus left, Chosroes withdrew from Theodosiopolis; Men. Prot. fr. 41 (= Suid. X 123), cf. fr. 46 (cf. Nadoes), Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.8.

He was a *silentiarius* in 575; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.8.

## Theodorus 34 Mag. Off. 566-?/576; CSL 576; envoy to Persia 576

Nicknamed ὁ Κονδοχέρης; Theoph. AM 6054. Also known as ὁ Ζητουνούμιος; Theoph. Sim. II 3.13.

A native of Solachon, near Dara in Mesopotamia; Theoph. Sim. II 3.13. Son of Petrus 6; Coripp. *Iust.* 1 25-6 (successorque boni redivivaque gloria Petri hinc Theodorus adest, patria gravitate, magister), Men. Prot. fr. 46, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.12, Theoph. AM 6053, 6054. His fellow-envoy in 576, Petrus 17, was apparently a relative.

Late in 560, after rumours that Justinian was dead caused trouble in Constantinople, allegations were made by Eugenius 1 of a plot to make Theodorus emperor; on investigation they proved groundless; Theoph. AM 6053 (and cf. Aetherius 2 and Georgius 7).

In March 562 he ended a mutiny among certain *scholae* in Thrace, where they had been transferred from Asia Minor, with a stern speech; Theoph. AM 6054.

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM a. 566-?/576: appointed early in the reign of Justin II to the office once held by his father, he succeeded Anastasius 14; Coripp. *Iust.* 1 26 (cited above, and see Anastasius). He already held office when Corippus wrote (or at least published) book 1 of the panegyric on Justin, and so presumably in 566; cf. also Fl. Cresconius Corippus. He no longer held it in 576; Men. Prot. fr. 46 (cited below), cf. Theoph. Sim. II 3.13 (ὁ καὶ τὴν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μαγιστερίαν διανύσας ἀρχὴν), III 15.6 (τῆ μαγιστερίᾳ ἀρχῆ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τιμώμενόν τε καὶ

γεραιρόμενον; Theophylact is referring to 576 and is apparently ignorant of Theodorus' appointment as CSL, below).

PATRICIUS a. 576: Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.35, 6.12 (both 576). Theophylact Simocatta is probably confused at III 15.6, calling Ioannes and Petrus *patricii* and implicitly denying the title to Theodorus, whom he regards as still *magister*; both Menander Protector and John of Ephesus contradict him and are to be preferred. Cf. Ioannes 90 and Petrus 17.

CSL a. 576: in office when envoy to Persia (below) in 576, Men. Prot. fr. 46 (τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ καταλόγων πρὸ τοῦ γενόμενος ἡγεμῶν τηνικαῦτα τῶν βασιλεῖ ἀνειμένων προειστήκει θησαυρῶν, οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς δαφιλείας τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσαγορεύονται φωνῇ - λαργούς γὰρ οἱ Λατίνοι τὸ δαφιλῆς ὀνομάζουσι). His name is recorded on control stamps on silverware from the reign of Justin II; Dodd, *BSS*, pp. 95ff., cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 137.

In 576 he was sent on an embassy to Persia, probably as leader, with Ioannes 90, Petrus 17 and Zacharias 2; they negotiated with Mebodes, near Dara, for over a year, on points of difference, often bad-temperedly, without success; Men. Prot. fr. 46-7, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.35 (in 576/7), 6.12 (in 575/6), Mich. Syr. x 13 (from John, but dated 577/8), Theoph. Sim. III 15.6 (= Suid. M 16), 15.10. For the dates, see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 84, n. 12. See also Ioannes 90.

A monophysite, he was a supporter of Paul of Antioch in his quarrel with Jacob Baradaeus; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 4.35.

### THEODORVS 35

(v.sp.) *decurio et dux et augustalis Thebaidis* 577

He was in office in the Thebaid on Dec. 14, 577, when an inscription recorded that building work at Philae was carried out φιλανθρωπία Θεοδώρου τοῦ πανευφήμου δεκουρίωνος καὶ δουκὸς καὶ αὐγουσταλίου τῆς Θηβαίων χώρας τὸ α'; *Inscr. Philae* II 216 = *SB* IV 7439 (= Lefebvre 584 = *CIG* 8646) on the defensive wall surrounding Philae (dated Choiak 18, indiction 11, under Justin and Sophia Augusti and Tiberius Caesar).

He was evidently the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* (cf. Just. *Ed.* 13.22) and in his first year in office, but the explanation of *decurio* is not certain; he is not recorded as having illustrious rank and therefore he was not necessarily a retired *decurio sacri palatii* (cf. Theodorus 20; the argument of Rouillard, *Byz.* II (1926), 141ff. and *Adm. Civ.*, 38, is faulty because the ruling of *CTH* VI 23.1 on the status of *decuriones* after retirement no longer applied, having been revised on precisely this point by *CJ* XII 16.1). Perhaps he was a *decurio* who became *dux et augustalis* while retaining his court post, or possibly he was one of the *decuriones* who seem to have

existed in addition to the three *decuriones* of the regular establishment at court and who perhaps lived mainly in the provinces; cf. *CJ* XII 16.3. These men may have acquired *spectabilis* rank by the grant of the honorary title of *decurio*; this could account for *decurio* appearing in Theodorus' titlature in the place normally occupied by a man's honorific titles.

Cf. also Iulianus 19.

**Theodorus 36** honorary MVM and ?scribo; envoy to Persia 579

In 579 he accompanied Zacharias 2 on an embassy to Persia for Tiberius; Men. Prot. fr. 54 (σὺν τῷ καὶ Θεόδωρόν τινα ἕνα τῶν βασιλείων μαχαιροφόρων, ἀξίωμα καὶ αὐτῷ στρατηγοῦ περιθείς), fr. 55. For the fate of the embassy, see Zacharias.

The interpretation of βασιλείος μαχαιροφόρος is not certain; the only imperial guards whose name mentions swords were the *spatharii*. Theodorus could have been a *spatharius* therefore, or he could have been one of the *scribonēs* (probably officers of the *excubitores*) whom emperors often employed on special missions. In either event he was given higher status, and the embassy therefore more weight, by the grant of the honorific dignity of *magister militum*.

**THEODORVS 37** v.c., apocrisiarius (at Alexandria) 580

A receipt for 2,205 *solidi*, revenues due for payment in Alexandria, was to be brought back from him (τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀποκρισιαρίου Θεοδώρου); *P. Oxy.* 144 (a. 580 Nov. 22). The money was to be paid to the bankers Ioannes 93 and Symeonius 4.

**Theodorus 38** (PPO Africae) 582

Addressee of a constitution of Tiberius and Maurice, on 11 Aug. 582, confirming a previous constitution of Justin II on the children of *adscripticii* and *ingenuae* in Africa which had been sent 'ad Theodorum tunc praefecturam tuam agentem' (see Theodorus 30); Zepos, *Ius Graecoromanum* I, *Coll.* I, *Nov.* xiii. He was therefore PPO Africae.

**Theodorus 39** magister (officiorum) 587/588

One of several Byzantine dignitaries to whom Childebert II wrote in 587/588 asking for their support for a treaty of friendship between the Franks and Byzantium; *Ep. Austras.* 34 (*MGH, Epp.* III, p. 142) (addressed 'Theodoro magistro'). In the letter he is styled 'gloriosa magnificentia vestra'.

He was *magister officiorum*, not *magister militum*; the word *magister* on its own normally denotes the *mag. off.*, and moreover foreign relations were

part of the sphere of the *mag. off.* Cf. also Goubert, II i, pp. 146-9. He is not to be confused with Theodorus 34 who had ceased to be *magister officiorum* in 576; the letters of Childebert were clearly addressed to current office-holders.

Theodorus 40 palatinus (in Italy) 590

In 590 he allowed the *comitiva* held by the recently dead Zemarchus 4 at Centumcellae to be transferred to his widow Luminosa; Greg. *Ep.* I 13 (a. 590 Dec.). See further Luminosa, where the text is cited. The *comitiva* was probably financial in character, cf. Zemarchus, and Theodorus may therefore have been a financial official sent out to Italy from one of the financial *scrinia* at Constantinople.

THEODORVS 41 ?v.c. (East) 590-597

Named in letters of pope Gregory to Narses 9 in Constantinople in 590 and 597, in which Gregory sends greetings to him; in both letters he is named with Alexander 9; Greg. *Ep.* I 6 (a. 590; cited under Narses), VII 27 (a. 597; *domnum autem Alexandrum et domnum Theodorum mea per vos peto vice salutari*).

Possibly a son or son-in-law of Narses and Hesychia; see Narses.

Theodorus 42 MVM (?honorary) and dux Sardiniae 591

MVM (?honorary) and DVX SARDINIAE a. 591 June-July: recently appointed in June 591; Greg. *Ep.* I 47 (a. 591 June; *gloriosum magistrum militum, qui ducatum Sardiniae insulae suscepisse dinoscitur*), cf. *Ep.* I 46 (a. 591 June; addressed 'Theodoro duci Sardiniae'). Magister militum; Greg. *Ep.* I 59 (a. 591 July). *Gloria vestra, excellentia vestra*; *Ep.* I 46. *Gloriosus vir*; *Ep.* I 59. He was probably an honorary MVM (and so a member of the senate) who in 591 obtained the post of *dux Sardiniae*. He may have succeeded Edantius.

He was asked by Gregory to see that two cases involving monastic property were resolved according to the law; one concerned the seizure of land by Donatus 2, one of his own *officiales*; Greg. *Ep.* I 46. In June 591, following a report from the bishop of Caralis, Ianuarius, that Theodorus was ignoring imperial orders to end abuses in Sardinia, Gregory wrote asking Honoratus, his *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople, to inform the emperor; *Ep.* I 47. In July Gregory wrote to ask Gennadius I, *exarchus Africae*, to intervene after a complaint from Marinianus, bishop of Turris, that Theodorus' men were harassing his clergy; *Ep.* I 59.

By 594 he had been succeeded by Zabardas.

Theodorus 43 doctor; envoy to the Avars 593

A doctor, described as adroit and outspoken; sent as envoy by Priscus

6 to the khan of the Avars in autumn 593 to negotiate an end to the fighting; he impressed the khan and persuaded him to a moderate arrangement; Theoph. Sim. VI 11.7-18, Theoph. AM 6087, Nic. Call. HE XVIII 29.

Possibly identical with Theodorus 28.

Theodorus 44 ex praefecto; archiatrus (at Constantinople) 593-597

Addressee of three letters from pope Gregory, sent to him at Constantinople between 593 and 597; Greg. *Ep.* III 64 (a. 593 Aug.; Theodoro medico), V 46 (a. 595 June; Theodoro medico imperatoris), VII 25 (a. 597 June; Theodoro medico Constantinopolim). Mentioned in Greg. *Ep.* III 63 (a. 593 Aug.; cited below).

(VIR GLORIOSISSIMVS,) HONORARY PRAEFECTVS a. 593-597; Greg. *Ep.* III 63 (cited below); styled 'gloria vestra' and addressed as 'gloriose fili' (or similar), Greg. *Ep.* III 64, V 46, VII 25.

A doctor, he was the personal physician of the emperor Maurice from 593 to 597; see the addresses of Greg. *Ep.* III 64, V 46, VII 25 (all cited above). In 593 he received Gregory's thanks on behalf of Narses 9 (*quod autem scripsit mihi caritas vestra, ut filio meo domno Theodoro archiatro et expraefecto pro vobis gratias agerem, feci. Et quantum potui commendare minime cessavi*); *Ep.* III 63 (to Narses). Because he enjoyed privileged access to the emperor, he was asked by Gregory in 593 to intercede with him in connection with a proposed new law forbidding public officials and soldiers to become monks; *Ep.* III 64 (*vos qui ei familiarius servitis loqui ei apertius et liberius potestis*). In 595 Narses was a patient of his; *Ep.* V 46.

In 595 and again in 597 he sent money to Italy for use in ransoming captives taken by the Lombards; Greg. *Ep.* V 46, VII 25.

In 595 he was reproached by Gregory because he allowed the pressure of secular affairs and ceremonial duties to interfere with the daily reading of the Scriptures (*indesinenter saecularibus causis astringitur, assiduis processionibus occupatur et cotidie legere negligit verba redemptoris sui*); Greg. *Ep.* V 46.

THEODORVS 45

vir magnificus; consiliarius (of pope Gregory) 593-600

In 593 he had no servants of his own and was sent a slave boy by Gregory as a reward for his loyal service; Greg. *Ep.* III 18 (a. 593 Jan; addressed 'Theodoro consiliario'; *te Theodorum virum eloquentissimum consiliarium nostrum mancipiorum cognovimus ministerio destitutum*). In 598 he and the former *rector patrimonii* of Sicily, Petrus,

were appointed at Rome to investigate allegations of misconduct against bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari; Greg. *Ep.* ix 11 (a. 598 Oct.; to Ianuarius). In 600 he read Leontius 11's report on Libertinus and agreed with Gregory and Palatinus that Libertinus had been unfairly treated; Greg. *Ep.* xi 4 (a. 600 Sept.; to Leontius; consiliario meo viro magnifico Theodoro).

The epithets *eloquentissimus* and *magnificus* and the absence of modes of reference normal for a cleric indicate that Theodorus was a layman, of high rank and with a legal background.

Theodorus Trpatuni 46 Armenian noble 595

An Armenian noble, he joined the revolt of the clan of the Vahewuni against the Romans, probably in 595; they were defeated, Theodorus escaped and fled to the Persian court, but was handed over to the Romans by Chosroes for execution; Sebeos vii, pp. 33-4. See further Samuel Vahewuni and Heraclius 3.

Theodorus 47 magister (?militum) 598

In 598 he accepted a bribe to oppose the transfer from the emperor to pope Gregory of an investigation into charges against the primate of Byzacena, Crementius; Greg. *Ep.* ix 27 (a. 598 Oct.; acceptis decem auri libris tunc Theodorus magister obstitit ut minime fieret). He was probably *magister militum* in Africa.

THEODORVS 48 vir magnificus, maior populi (at Naples) 598

Vir magnificus maior populi (at Naples); Greg. *Ep.* ix 47 (a. 598 Oct./Nov.), 76 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.), cf. ix 53 (a. 598 Nov.; vir magnificus). In late 598 he visited Gregory at Rome with complaints against bishop Fortunatus of Naples, complaints also made by his supporters in Naples (qui suprascripti maioris populi partem sequuntur); *Ep.* ix 47 (to Fortunatus). He also laid before Gregory a number of matters with which Maurentius 3 should be dealing, including demands from the new *comes Miseni* (see Comitaticius) that wine sent as a gift to his predecessor by Theodorus should continue to be given as of right; *Ep.* ix 53 (to Maurentius; the letter alludes to 'civitas sua', i.e. Naples, and 'populus cui praecet'). Gregory further ordered Fortunatus to reverse his judgement taking the gates of Naples (and management of the revenues therefrom) from Theodorus (see also Rusticus 5); *Ep.* ix 76 (to Fortunatus), and cf. Richards, *Consul of God*, pp. 166-7.

Theodorus 49 (vir gloriosus); curator (at Ravenna) 598-599

CURATOR (at Ravenna) a. 598 Oct.-599 April: addressee of four letters from pope Gregory, Greg. *Ep.* ix 44 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Theodoro

curatori Ravennae'; his role in promoting peace with the Lombards is praised by Gregory), *Ep.* ix 92 (a. 599 Jan.; addressed 'Theodoro curatori'; the letter commends Petrus 25 to him), *Ep.* ix 116 (a. 599 Feb./April; addressed 'Theodoro curatori'; he is asked to provide an escort for the wife of the PVR Ioannes 109 as far as Perugia; that he was at Ravenna is proved by the next letter of Gregory, *Ep.* ix 117, which is to bishop Marinianus of Ravenna on the same subject), *Ep.* ix 133 (a. 599 April; addressed 'Theodoro curatori'; he is asked to help the agents of Maurentius 3 with their business at Ravenna). In all four letters Theodorus is styled 'gloria vestra'.

Theodorus 50 rhetor M VI

Native of Cynopolis and author of an Ethopoïia; see Schissel, *Byz.-neogr. Jahrb.* 8 (1931), pp. 331-49. The text is on pp. 347-8.

Perhaps identical with Theodorus 22 (also from Cynopolis); cf. Schissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-2. See also Hunger, *Prof. Lit.* 1, p. 110.

Theodorus 51 pater civitatis (at Smyrna) ?M VI

He was *pater civitatis* and in charge of municipal funds at Smyrna, where he restored baths; he is praised for honesty; *Anth. Gr.* ix 615 (anonymous verses, possibly sixth-century; cf. lines 6-7 ὃς γὰρ ἔων πόλιος κτεάνων ταμῆς τε πατήρ τε κέρδεσιν ἔξ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔμηνε χέρας, and lemma in B, εἰς λουτρὸν ἐν Σμύρνῃ).

Theodorus 52 friend of Diogenes 3 M VI

One of the ἀναγκαῖοι of Diogenes 3, he was tortured at Theodora's command to give evidence of homosexuality against Diogenes but refused; Proc. *Anecd.* 16.25-7.

Theodorus 53 ?grammaticus (East) M VI

He was famous for reviving many forgotten poets; *Anth. Gr.* vii 594-5 (two quatrains by Iulianus 11, lamenting his death). Presumably a *grammaticus*.

Perhaps identical with a Theodorus commemorated by Paul the Silentiary, who died leaving a son who had looked after him in his old age; *Anth. Gr.* vii 606.

Theodorus 54 v.ill.; honorary mag. off.; proconsul (?Asiae) M VI

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM (honorary) and PROCONSUL (?ASIAE) (?for two years): according to verses composed by Agathias, Theodorus owed his honours to the archangel (presumably Michael) and had himself depicted in a painting at Ephesus as receiving them directly from him;



*Anth. Gr.* I 36 (= *IGC* 100 bis) title Εἰς εἰκόνα Θεοδώρου ἰλλουστρίου καὶ δις ἀνθυπάτου, ἐν ἣ γέγραπται παρὰ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δεχόμενος τὰς ἀξίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, and *vv.* 3-6 ἐκ σέο γὰρ Θεόδωρος ἔχει ζωστήρα μαγίστρου καὶ δις ἀεθλεύει πρὸς θρόνον ἀνθυπάτων, τῆς δ' εὐγνωμοσύνης μάρτυς γραφίς· ὑμετέτην γὰρ χρώμασι μιμητὴν ἀντετύπωσε χάριν; the lemma reads: ταῦτα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γέγραπται ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τοῦ Θεολόγου. The verses imply that Theodorus had sought the archangel's help with his career; the allusion to the *cingulum* of the *magister* and the use of ἰλλούστριος in the title both imply that he held the honorary title of *magister officiorum (vacans)*, not the actual office (cf. *CJ* XII 8.2 praef.), thus acquiring the illustrate; his proconsulship was an actual office, probably of Asia in view of the location of the inscription, and perhaps lasted for two years (δῖς probably means this, not that he was proconsul twice; cf. *Iacobus* I, *Nonnus* I and *Theodorus* 35).

The allusion to the archangel perhaps argues against identification with *Theodorus* 20 (who, as a retired *decurio palatii*, would be automatically admitted to the illustrate).

## THEODORVS 55

silentiarius (East) M VI

A *silentiarius* under Justinian, described as a clever man by Procopius, he built a fortress at Episcopia (near Athyras in Thrace, not far from Constantinople); *Proc. Aed.* IV 8.19-25, cf. 24 ἐνταῦθα Θεόδωρος βασιλεῖ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχετο, σιλεντιάριος τὴν ἀρχὴν, συνετὸς μάλιστα).

Possibly identical with *Theodorus* 20.

## THEODORVS 56

poet; proconsul M VI

Author of a poem included in the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* VII 556 Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου.

Probably not identical with *Theodorus* 54 (who would have been called either ἰλλούστριος or μάγιστρος).

## THEODORVS 57

decurio (palatii) M VI

Son of *Cosmas* I, he was *decurio (sacri palatii)* and the dedicatee of the *Cycle* of Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* IV 3 (Agathias' preface to the *Cycle*) lemma: συλλογὴ νέων ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐκτεθείσα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πρὸς Θεόδωρον δεκουρίωνα τὸν Κοσμᾶ, cf. IV 3b, lines 55ff. (where he is named in the poem itself).

*Theodorus* 58

philosopher (at Constantinople) M/L VI

A philosopher at Constantinople, he taught *Stephen* of Alexandria (*Stephanus* 51); *Agapius*, p. 465.

*Theodorus* 59 army commander (Egypt) L VI

Son of *Zacharias* 6, he served under *Aristomachus* 2 (in 578/582); later, in the reign of *Maurice*, he defeated the rebellious forces of *Abaskirōn* near Alexandria; *Joh. Nik.* 97.15-24 (pp. 531-2 *Zotenberg*) ('le général Théodore et ses soldats'). See also *Ioannes* 169.

*Theodorus* 60

scriniarius L VI

A σκρινιάριος, from Antioch, cured of leprosy by *Symeon* the Younger; *V. Sym. Iun.* 220.

*Theodorus qui et Picridius* 61

PPO L VI

*Theodorus*, ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἑπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων, ὁ ἐπὶ κλην Πικρίδιος, was miraculously cured, at Constantinople, by *Thomas* the *apocristarius* of *Symeon* the Younger; *V. Sym. Iun.* 232.

*Theodorus* 62

?v.c., argentarius (in Egypt) L VI

He and *Ioannes* 174 were bankers at Oxyrhynchus in the late sixth century; *P. Oxy.* 127 (cited under *Ioannes*).

*Theodorus* 63

monk and philosopher (at Alexandria) L VI

He delivered lectures at Alexandria, under the patriarchate of *Eulogius* (581-607), concerning heresies; his pupil *Leontius* 13 later published them; *Theodorus* taught both theology and philosophy; *Theodorus*, *De Sectis*, title (in *PG* 86. I. 1193) (Λεοντίου σχολαστικοῦ Βυζαντίου σχόλια ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἄββᾶ καὶ σοφωτάτου φιλοσόφου, τὴν τε θείαν καὶ ἔξωτικὴν φιλοσοφῆσαντος γραφῆν).

Possibly identical with *Theodorus*, a priest of Rhaithu, who also wrote about heresies; cf. *Theodorus* of Rhaithu, *Praeparatio*, ed. F. Diekamp (Rome, 1938), and M. A. Moffatt, 'Schoolteachers in the Byzantine Empire A.D. 330-610' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1972), pp. 315-16, but see Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 382-3.

*Theodorus* 64

?advocate; author of legal works L VI

Native of Hermopolis in the Thebaid, he was a *scholasticus* (evidently a man with a legal education, possibly practising as an advocate) and the author of abbreviated commentaries on the *Codex Iustinianus* and the Novels of Justinian; *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, VI 80-5 (his *Breviarium Codicis*), 88-9 (his *Breviarium Novellarum* - πίναξ (index) τῶν νεαρῶν). Both works were frequently cited in the old scholia to the *Basilica* and in many other later Byzantine legal sources; cf. *Bas.* VI 17-18 and see Heimbach, *Anecd.* I 210-18. In the citations he is sometimes styled σχολαστικός, sometimes Ἐρμοπολίτης (Θηβαῖος), sometimes both. His

*Breviarium Novellarum* is extant, published by Zachariae von Lingenthal in the *Anecdota* (Σύντομος τῶν νεαρῶν διατάξεων ... Θεοδώρου σχολαστικού Ἐρηβοπολίτου). This work, composed after his commentary on the *Codex* (to which it refers), was written after 578 and probably before the death of the emperor Maurice in 602 (he used the collection of 168 Novels, which contains two by the emperor Tiberius and so was not published before 578); see further Heimbach, in *Bas.* VI 17.

He apparently studied under Stephanus 22 (author of the σύντομος κώδιξ) whom he styles ὁ ἐμὸς διδάσκαλος; *Bas.* I 417.

See further B. Kübler, in *P-W* V A, 1863-5.

**Theodorus 65** honorary consul ?VI

Ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοδ[ω]ροῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, buried at Nicomedia on Aug. 13 of a thirteenth indiction; *ζ.* *Pap. Epigr.* 18 (1975), p. 36, no. 11 with plate II = *AE* 1977, 790 Nicomedia. The style suggests a sixth-century date; Theodorus was an honorary consul (and not to be identified with the *consul ordinarius* of either 399 or 505).

THEODORVS 66 referendarius VI

Θεοδῶρου referendariu; Zacos 533a and b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4441 (three similar seals; obv.: slightly different cruciform monograms (111, 112) of Θεοδῶρου; rev.: REFE/REΠΘ/RIU, or (Zacos b) REPh/IREΠΘ/GR14).

**Theodorus 67** honorary consul M/L VI

Θεοδῶρου ἀπο upaton; Zacos 511A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (112) of Θεοδῶρου; rev.: APO/VPA/TON).

**Theodorus 68** honorary consul and praefectus VI

Θεοδῶρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων (καὶ) ἐπάρχου; Zacos 512 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2232 (seal, dated VI/VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (115) of Θεοδῶρου; rev.: ΑΠΟΝ/ΠΑΤΩΝ/ΣΕΠΑΡ/ΧΟΝ). Possibly identical with Theodorus 158 (PVC in 612); see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 131.

**Theodorus 69** chartularius M/L VI

Theodoru χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 516 (seal; obv.: square monogram (118) of Theodoru; rev.: cruciform monogram (365) of χαρτουλαρίου).

**Theodorus 70** exarchus VI

Θεοδῶρου ἐξάρχου; Zacos 522 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.21 (seal; obv.: square monogram (103) of Θεοδῶρου; rev.: square monogram (75) of ἐξάρχου).

**Theodorus 71** honorary consul VI

Theodoru ὑπάτου; Zacos 524a and b (two seals; obv.: square monogram (119) of Theodoru; rev.: monogram (340) of ὑπάτου).

**Theodorus 72** ?curator M/L VI

Theodori. Θεοδῶρου ?κουράτορος; Zacos 541 (seal; obv.: Theodori; rev.: cruciform monogram (125) of Θεοδῶρου and another word which could be κουράτορος).

**Theodorus 73** admissionalis VI

Θεοδῶρου admissionalίου; Zacos 1028 = Fogg Art Museum 910 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡ/[OV]+; rev.: +/ΑΔΜΙΣ/ΣΙΟΝΑ/ΛΙCIV/+; sic Nesbitt; the reverse is read ΑΔΜΙΣ/ΣΙΟΝΑ/ALE(?M) by Zacos).

**Theodorus 74** scriniarius VI

Theodoru scriniariu; Zacos 1050 (seal; obv.: +[The]/ΟΘOR/Υ; rev.: + SCRI/NIARI/[Υ]).

(Theo)dorus (or ?Isidorus) 75 chartularius VI

[Θεο]δῶρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1313 (seal; obv.: a military saint and the inscription .../ΔΩΡΘ; rev.: square monogram (357) of χαρτουλαρίου).

**Theodorus 76** excubitor VI/VII

[T](h)eodoru excubit[o]ros; Zacos 1630, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3098 (two similar seals, dated E/M VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει and the inscription [T]eodoru; rev.: EXC/ΥβΙΤ/[O]ΡΟ).

**Theodorus 77** palatinus VI

Θεοδῶρου παλατίνου; Zacos 1047a and b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2363 and 58.106.4678 (four seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VI Oikonomides; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΔΩΡ/ΟV or similar; rev.: ΠΑΛ/ΑΤΙΝ/ΟV or similar). Another specimen of 1047b occurs in Zacos' series, and similar seals are recorded in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 562, Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 648a, and Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 253.

**Theodorus 78** patricius M/L VI

Theodori. Θεοδῶρου πατρικίου; Zacos 526a and b (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (120) of Theodori; rev.: ΘΕΟΔ/ΩΡΘΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙΘ). Three similar seals occur in Zacos' series and further similar ones are

described in Sabatier, *Iconographie, Plombs et Sceaux Titrés*, pl. I/9, and Laurent, *Médaillier*, no. 57.

**Theodorus 79** patricius M/L VI

Theodori patricii; Zacos 527 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (120) of Theodori (identical with the obverse of Zacos 526a and b, see above); rev.: +PA/TRI/CI[1]). Another similar seal occurs in Zacos' series.

**Theodorus 80** patricius VI

Theodoru πατρικίου; Zacos 528 (seal; obv.: square monogram (119) of Theodoru; rev.: square monogram (247) of πατρικίου).

**Theodorus 81** prim(icerius?) et patricius VI

Theodori prim(icerii) et patric(ii); Zacos 532 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (120) of Theodori; rev.: PRIM/ΕΤΡΑ/ΤΡΙC<sup>s</sup>).

**Theodorus 82** scribo VI

Theodori scribonos; Zacos 534, Fogg Art Museum seal 353 (two similar seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (120) of Theodori; rev.: SCRI/bOn/OS).

**Theodorus 83** strator (or ?MVM) VI

Θεοδώρου. Theodoru strat(oros?); Zacos 2827 (seal; obv.: monogram (106) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: ΤΗΕ/ΟΔΟΡΥ/ΣΤΡΑ/Τ<sup>s</sup>). The title on the reverse could also be read as 'strat(elatu)'.

**Theodorus 84** praefectus Insularum VI

Theodoro praef(ecto) Insular(um); Zacos 2928 (seal; obv.: Theo/δο- ro; rev.: PRGE/F<sup>s</sup>INSU/LGR<sup>s</sup>). A similar seal is in Rostowtsew-Prou, *Catalogue*, p. 280, no. 825, pl. VIII/l. On this office, see Iulianus 20.

**Theodorus 85** vir gloriosissimus, PVC VI/E VII (?612)

Θεοδώρου ένδοξοτάτου έπάρχου 'Ρώμης; Zacos 3000A (glass weight; obv.: cruciform monogram (117) of Θεοδώρου with the inscription +ΕΝΔΟΞ<sup>s</sup>ΕΠΑΡΧΩΡ<sup>s</sup>). Other glass weights probably name the same man; Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue C*, no. 14a (= Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 323, no. 9) (+ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΕΠΑΡΧΩ), nos. 15a-b (+ΕΠΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΕΠΑΡ<sup>s</sup>), cf. *Catalogue D*, nos. 6a-b (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ), G, no. 1, H, nos. 21, 24 (monograms).

Probably named in an acclamation engraved on a column at Constantinople (πολλά τὰ έτη, with the same monogram of Θεοδώρου as above); see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 131 with n. 75.

He may be identical with Theodorus 158 (PVC in 612); see Feissel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-2.

**Theodorus 86** MVM (East) ?VI

Recorded at Amida in an acclamation; CIG 8898 (Θεοδώρου/ [στ]ρατηλάτο[υ]/πολλά τὰ έτ[η]/διαμίνη του/των 'Ρωμαί[ων] (sic)). The date is uncertain, but inscriptions with such acclamations are commonest in the sixth century.

**Theodorus 87** father of Dorotheus 13 VI

*P. Oxy.* 2995. See Dorotheus 13.

**THEODORVS 88** comes (in Egypt) VI

A document from Oxyrhynchus records the payment of *solidi* πα(ρὰ) τῷ κόμ(ετι) Θεοδώρω; *P. Oxy.* 2032 (dated fourth century).

**Theodorus 89** chartularius and estate manager (Egypt) VI

Θεόδωρος χαρτου(λάριος) (καί) σύν Θε(εῶ) άντιγεοῦχος; he addressed a letter to *chartularii* and *meizones* (τοῖς π(ά)ντων) λαμπρο(τάτοις) τιμαξ(ιωτάτοις) χαρτουλαρ(ίοις) (καί) μείζοσι); *P. Oxy.* 156.

**FL. THEODORVS 90** comes (in Egypt) VI

Φλάφ[υιος] Θε[ό]δωρος ὁ [μ]ε[γα]λ[ο]π[ρ]ε[π]ε[σ]τατος κόμης, issued a receipt to a wine merchant; *P. Lond.* v 1701 Aphrodito. Line 9 records a παῖς τοῦ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμ(ετος) Θεοδώρο(υ).

**Theodorus 91** gloriosissimus?; dioecetes (in Egypt) VI

A document of unknown provenance records tax payments from the estates of Olybrius 3 in Thebais Superior, in Ptolemais, δ(ιὰ) Θεοδώρου καί Θεοδοσίου ένδοξ(οτάτων) διοικούντων τὰς προτεταγμένας οὐσίας, for an eighth indiction; *P. Flor.* III 377, lines 23-4. The two men, apparently *gloriosissimi*, were probably διοικηταί of the estates of Olybrius.

**Theodorus 92 (= PLRE II, Theodorus 51)** v.c., scholasticus (?) (Egypt) VI

Addressee of a letter, which in line 1 alludes to τῆς ὑμετέρας λαμπρᾶς σοφίας; *PSI* XIV 1428 provenance unknown. The address on the verso reads: δεσπότ(η) τ(ὰ) π(άντα) λαμπρο(τάτω) π.φω( ) π( ) π.ιδ. v. . . . . δ... λαμπροτάτω σχ( ) + Θεοδώρω +. The allusion to σοφία suggests that σχ( ) should be interpreted as σχ(ολαστικῶ).

## ?Theodorus 93

?PVC VI

A glass weight, Monneret de Villard, *Catalogue B*, no. 5a, reads . . . . ΜΑΩ . . . . ΕΠΑ . . . . ΡΩ around a monogram (110) which may read Θεοδώρου, or perhaps Δωροθέου. Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 130, n. 69.

## THEODORVS 94

comes (East) ?VI

Honoured in an acclamation recorded near Amathus in Cyprus: + Θεωδώρου/κόμιτος [π]/ολλά τ/ά εἴτη (sic); Mitford, *New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus*, no. 19 (in *Byz.* 20 (1950), p. 157). The name is so common in the late empire that he cannot safely be identified with any other Theodorus; he may be identical with the *comes Orientis* of c. 489/490 (so Mitford, p. 158) (= *PLRE* II, Theodorus 33) but a sixth-century date is perhaps more likely in view of the acclamation formula.

## Theodorus 95

ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Monceaux, *Rev. Arch.* 1903, II, pp. 72–3, no. 8 (seal, from Carthage; obv.: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ; rev.: ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ).

## Theodorus 96

honorary consul M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 511 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (116) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (33) of ἀπὸ ὑπάτων).

## Theodorus 97

candidatus M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου κἀνδιδάτου; Zacos 515 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (179) of κἀνδιδάτου).

## Theodorus 98

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 517 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (364) of χαρτουλαρίου). Two more similar seals occur in Zacos' series.

## Theodorus 99

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 518 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (116) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (362) of χαρτουλαρίου). Both monograms differ from those on Zacos 517.

## Theodorus 100

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1036 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡ/Ο[V]; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΟΝΛΑ/ΡΙΟΝ).

## Theodorus 101

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1312A (seal; obv.: female saint, not

identified; rev.: cruciform monogram (123) of Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου).

## Theodorus 102

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2825 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (117) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: ΧΑΡ/ΤΟΝΛΑ/ΡΙΟΝ). A similar seal is recorded in Panchenko, *Katalog*, p. 165, no. 451.

## Theodorus 103

?chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου(?); Zacos 2826 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (115) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (367), probably of χαρτουλαρίου).

## Theodorus 104

commerciarius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου κομμερκαρίου; Zacos 1037a (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΔ/ΩΡΘ; rev.: ΚΟΜΜ/ΕΡΚΙΑ/ΡΙΟΝ). There are several identical or closely similar seals, viz. Zacos 1037b (of which four more specimens occur in Zacos' series), 1037c, Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, p. 30, no. 17597, and Dumbarton Oaks seals 55.1.2132 and 58.106.4757 (both obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΔΩ/ΡΟΝ; rev.: ΚΟΜΜ/ΕΡΚΙΑ/ΡΙΟΝ).

## Theodorus 105

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου βασιλικού(?) χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 519 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (115) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (368) of βασιλικού (? or possibly κουβικουλαρίου) χαρτουλαρίου. Cf. Alexander 15).

## Theodorus 106

comes M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου κόμητος; Zacos 520 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.128 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (108) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (184) of κόμητος).

## Theodorus 107

commerciarius (of Tyre) M VI/E VII

Θεοδώρου, Ἰωάννου, Θωμᾶ, κομμερκαρίων Τύρου; Zacos 130 bis, note, no. 2 (= Millet, *Sceaux*, p. 307, fig. 29 = Laurent, *Bulletin* 1, p. 624, no. 9 = Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 237, no. 65) (a seal naming the three *commerciarii*). Cf. Ioannes 178 and Thomas 27.

## Theodorus 108

curator M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου κουράτορος; Zacos 521 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.181 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: +ΚΟ/ΥΡΑΤ/ΟΡ). Cf. Ioannes 178 and Thomas 27.

- Theodorus 109** ex praefectis M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου ex pr(a)e(Γ)ectis, δούλου τῆς Θεοτόκου; Zacos 523 (seal; obv.: monogram (105) of Θεοδώρου with ΕΧΡΕ above and ΕΤΙ[S] below; rev.: (in four columns) ΔΟΝΛ/ΟΝΤ<sup>σ</sup>Θ/[Ε]ΟΤΟ/ΚΟΝ).
- Theodorus 110** honorary consul and baiulus M VI/M VII  
 Theodoru up(atu) (καί) βαϊούλου; Zacos 2925 (seal; obv.: Theo/dor $\Psi$ ; rev.: [+ $\Psi$ ]ΥΡ/Β/ΔΙΟΝΛΟ/Ψ+).
- Theodorus 111** cubicularius et ... (?) M VI/M VII  
 Theodori [κ]ουβικουλαρίου (καί) ... (?); Zacos 2955 = Fogg Art Museum seal 525 (seal; obv.: bust of Virgin and child; rev.: cruciform monogram (121) of Theodori with around it the legend: [K]-ΟΥΒΙΚΟΥΛΑΡΙΩΣ ...).
- Theodorus 112** cubicularius (or ? vicarius) M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου κουβικουλαρίου (or ?βικαρίου); Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3247 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (112) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (193) of κουβικουλαρίου, or possibly βικαρίου).
- Theodorus 113** ?imperialis cubicularius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου ?βασιλικού κουβικουλαρίου; Zacos 542 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (115) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (195), perhaps of βασιλικού κουβικουλαρίου).
- Theodorus 114** curator M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου κουράτορος; Zacos 1038, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2134 (two seals; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΔΩ/Ρ $\delta$ ; rev.: ΚΟΝ/ΠΑΤΟ/ΡΟC). A second specimen exists in Zacos' series.
- Theodorus 115** expelleutes ?M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου ἐξπελλευτοῦ; Zacos 1042 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡ/ΟΝ; rev.: ΕΞΠ/ΕΛΛΕ/ΥΤ $\delta$ ). The ἐξπελλευτής was a collector of arrears of taxes; cf. Just. Nov. 128.6 (a. 545, when the title was, officially, abolished).
- Theodorus 116** illustrius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 1045 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2682 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡ/ΟΝ; rev.: +/ΙΛΛ/ΟΝCΤ/ΡΙΟΝ).
- Theodorus 117** mandator M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου μανδάτορος; Zacos 1046A (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΔΩ/ΡΟΝ; rev.: ΜΑΝ/ΔΑΤΟ/ΡΟC).

- Theodorus 118** imperialis nipsistarius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου β(ασιλικού) νιψιστ(ι)αρίου; BCTH 1925, p. xlv (seal, from Carthage; obv.: +Θ(εοτό)κε/βοήθη τοῦ δού/λου σου; rev.: +Θεο/δώρου/β, νιψι/σταρ). This was a eunuch post at the imperial court; cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 121-2, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 301.
- Theodorus 119** illustrius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 525 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.134 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (116) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (151) of ἰλλουστρίου).
- Theodorus 120** patricius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου πατρικίου; Zacos 529a and b (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (112) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου). Three more similar seals occur in Zacos' series.
- Theodorus 121** patricius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου πατρικίου; Zacos 529A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (113) of Θεοδώρου, differing from that on 529a and b; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου, identical with that on 529a and b).
- Theodorus 122** patricius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου πατρικίου; Zacos 530 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: ΠΑΤ/ΡΙΚ[Ι]/ΟΝ). Two other similar seals occur in Zacos' series.
- Theodorus 123** scribo M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου σκρίβωνος; Zacos 534A (seal; cruciform monogram (115) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: CKP/ΙΒΩΝ/ΟC).
- Theodorus 124** ?praefectus et scholarius M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου ?ὑπάρχου καί σχολαρίου; Zacos 540 (seal; obv.: square monogram (104) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: square monogram (386) consisting of two titles joined by the conjunction (καί), which may be ὑπάρχου καί σχολαρίου).
- Theodorus 125** scribo M VI/M VII  
 Θεοδώρου σκρίβωνος; Zacos 705 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram (112) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (305) of σκρίβωνος).

Theodorus 126 scribo M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρω σκρίβωνι; Zacos 1049, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2147 (two seals, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/-ΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΗ; rev.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩ/ΚΚΡΙΒ/ΩΝΙ). There is another specimen in Zacos' series.

Theodorus 127 scriniarius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου σκρινιαρίου (?); Zacos 535 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (112) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (309), probably of σκρινιαρίου; the absence of T makes unlikely the alternative suggestion κανστρισίου; cf. Anastasius 35 and Theodosius 36). For another seal of Theodorus, see Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, pp. 102-3, no. 18017.

Theodorus 128 MVM M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 536, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.779 (two seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (322) of στρατηλάτου). Three similar specimens occur in Zacos' series.

Theodorus 129 MVM M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 537 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (109) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: CTPA/THAA/TOV).

Theodorus 130 imperialis tabularius M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου βασιλικού ταβουλαρίου; Zacos 538 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: [B]ACILI/KCTAB/ΘΛΑΠΙ/Θ), cf. Fogg Art Museum seal 1304 (obv.: cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου, identical to that on Zacos 538; rev.: BACI/ΛΙΚ,ΒΟΝΛ).

Theodorus 131 vestitor M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου vestitoris; Zacos 539 (seal; obv.: monogram (107) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: [+ ]bES/CTCTO/RIS+).

Theodorus 132 vestitor M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου βεστίτορος; Zacos 706 (seal; obv.: eagle and cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (42) of βεστίτορος).

Theodorus 133 archon M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου ἄρχοντος; Fogg Art Museum seal 3241 (seal; obv.: monogram (102) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: monogram (35) of ἄρχοντος).

Theodorus 134 a secretis M VI/M VII

Θεοδώρου ἀδοσηκρίτου; Zacos 1033A (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΔΩ/ΠΟΝ; rev.: ΑΔC/ΗΚΠΙ/ΤΟΝ), 1034 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2678 (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΔΩ/ΠΟΝ; rev.: ΑC/ΗΚΠΙ/ΤΟΝ). Another specimen of 1034 occurs in Zacos' series, perhaps Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2128 (identical to 58.106.2678) and cf. also Laurent, *Corpus* II 15.

Theodorus 135 monk and philosopher (at Alexandria) L VI/E VII

Ὁ ἀββᾶς Θεόδωρος ὁ φιλόσοφος; known to John Moschus and Sophronius at Alexandria and famous for his learning and the simplicity of his life; Joh. Mosch. *Pratum* 245-6 (171a-b).

Theodorus 136 ?topoteretes or military vicarius (Egypt) L VI/E VII

'Theodore the vicar (or 'lieutenant'), that is the Adogshan' ('Théodore le vicaire, c'est-à-dire l'ethidjn'; Zotenberg); he was father of Menas 36; Joh. Nik. 107.18 (p. 543 Zotenberg).

Possibly identical with Theodorus 154.

Theodorus 137 servant of the emperor Maurice L VI/E VII

A favourite attendant ('famulus') of Maurice, who conferred a title on him ('ad dignitatem crexit'); allegedly he turned against the emperor after incurring his displeasure and, accepting a bribe from Phocas, murdered him, 'noctu ingressus'; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1082. This account of Maurice's murder differs from other versions and is doubtless a fiction, but Theodorus may be genuine.

Theodorus 138 scholaris; pater civitatis L VI/E VII

Α σχολάριος who became πατήρ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως (at Nicomedia); he was cured of demonic possession by Theodore of Syceon; he had brothers-in-law who were *fabricenses* (φαβρικήσιοι); *V. Theod. Syn.* 159.

Theodorus 139 vir magnificus (Egypt); princeps L VI/E VII

+ τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον κύριον Θεόδωρον/τὸν πρίγκιπα; named in a list of minor officials; *P. Oxy.* 1108, line 3. The purpose of the list is not recorded.

Theodorus 140 v.c. ?; chartularius (at Oxyrhynchus) VI/VII

Son of Isidorus; he was the *chartularius* of the *scholasticus* Marinus 10; *PSI* VIII 894 Oxyrhynchus (line 4 τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ Θεοδώρῳ χαρτουλαρίῳ).

Theodorus 141 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI/VII

A tax collector, recorded in a document from Heracleopolis; *Stud. Pal.* III 295, line 4 . . . ] δ(ιὰ) Θεοδώρου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου χρυσώ(νου).

Theodorus 142 scholasticus (in Egypt) VI/VII

He travelled to Alexandria from somewhere in Egypt in company with some *bucellarii* (μετά τοῦ ἐλ[λογ/ιμ(ωτάτου)?] Θεοδώρου σχολ(αστικῶς)); *Stud. Pal.* viii 891 = *BGU* iii 963 provenance unknown. The document records a payment of oil to the party.

Theodorus 143 tabellio (Egypt) VI/VII

Νομικάριος; recorded in a sixth/seventh-century document of unknown provenance; *P. Iand.* 45, line 1.

Theodorus 144 scholasticus (Egypt) VI/VII

Θεόδωρος σὺν Θεῶ(εῶ) σχολ(αστικός); wrote to the *diocetes* Phoebammon 19 concerning the non-payment of *calandica* to the *scrimarius* Ioannes 221; *P. Oxy.* 1869 (dated VI/VII).

Theodorus 145 MVM (in Egypt) VI/VII

*P. Lond.* iii, p. 249, no. 1083. See Olybrius 4.

Fl. Theodorus 146 illustris; ?bishop of Apollinopolis VI/VII

+Φλ. Θεόδωρος σὺν Θεῶ ἰλλούστριος; son of Ioannes 183; gave orders to Fl. Menas 31 to pay wheat and wine; *P. Grenf.* i 63, 1-2 Apollinopolis Magna. On the verso are the words: +ἐπίστολμα τοῦ ὀσιωτ(άτου) ἐπισκόπου; Theodorus was apparently therefore bishop of Apollinopolis.

Theodori 147 scholastici (Egypt) VI/VII

Two men named Theodorus were colleagues of Ioannes 219 at Oxyrhynchus; they were all σχολ(αστικοί); *P. Oxy.* 128. See Ioannes 219 and Anonymus 60. Cf. also Theodorus 23.

Theodorus 148 silentiarius 602

A *silentarius*, sent by Germanus 11 to the Greens during the night of Nov. 22, 602, to seek their support for his imperial ambitions; *Theoph. Sim.* viii 9.14 (σιλεντιαρίου δὲ οὗτος στρατεύματι ἐκεκόσμητο).

Theodorus 149 a secretis 602

He was an imperial *exceptor* serving as a *secretis* when on Nov. 23, 602, Phocas sent him to Constantinople to Hagia Sophia to summon the people, the patriarch and the senate to attend him at Hebdomon;

*Theoph. Sim.* viii 10.2 (τὸν ἀσηκρήτις Θεόδωρον, τῶν βασιλικῶν ταχυγράφων ἄνδρα ἐπίσημον), *Theoph. AM* 6094 (τὸν ἀσηκρήτην), *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 40.

The secretaries of the consistory (a *secretis*), originally drawn from the *notarii*, were normally in the fifth and early sixth centuries chosen from the *memoriales* or the *agentes in rebus*; cf. Jones, *LRE* ii 574 with n. 22. For the promotion of *exceptores*, see Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* iii 27.

Theodorus 150

PPO Orientis 605 or 607

Native of Cappadocia; on June 7, 605 or 607, when PPO Orientis, he was one of a group of highly placed officials executed for conspiracy against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (ὁ ἑπαρχος πραιτωρίων; June 7), *Theoph. AM* 6099 (ὁ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἑπαρχος), *AM* 6101 (ὁ ἑπαρχος Καππαδοκῆς, also ὁ ἑπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων). For the dates, cf. Constantina 1. This conspiracy was apparently different from that involving Constantina and Germanus 11. The *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. indicates that they were roughly contemporary (κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον) but not that they were connected, and *Theoph. AM* 6101 (naming Theodorus and Elpidius and also Anastasius = Athanasius, and evidently another account of the same conspiracy as in *AM* 6099) under the year 609, claims that the conspirators' intention was to put Theodorus on the throne, whereas the aim of Constantina and Germanus was to secure the throne for Theodosius, son of Maurice. The other conspirators were Andreas 22, Athanasius 9 (cf. s.n. Anastasius), David 4, Elpidius 3, Ioannes 232, Ioannes 233, Patricius 9, Romanus 14, Theodosius 39 and Tzittas 2.

Theodorus 151

imperialis strator 607/610

Ὁ βασιλικὸς στρατῶρ; miraculously cured by Theodore of Syceon who shortly afterwards, while en route to Constantinople, visited his house at Pylae and cleared it of demons; *V. Theod. Syc.* 129, 131. Theodore's visit to Constantinople was late in Phocas' reign, when Thomas was patriarch, i.e. 607/10 (cf. *V. Theod. Syc.* 133).

Theodorus 152

scribo; patriarch of Alexandria 608-609

A *scribo*, he was bishop of Alexandria for two years, after Eulogius and before John the Almsgiver; *Nic. Call. HE* xviii 56 (Θεόδωρος ὁ σκριβῶν), cf. Joh. Nik. 107.7.17 (pp. 542-43 Zotenberg), Eutychius, *Annales* ii 215, *Theoph. AM* 6099, 6100.

Theodorus 153

?praefectus annonae Alexandriae 609

In 609 he was in charge of the grain supply at Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 107.7 ('who was set over the grain supply') (p. 542 Zotenberg; 'qui était

préposé (à la perception) des grains (intendant des finances'), 107.17 ('who was set over the corn supply') (p. 543 Zotenberg; 'l'intendant des grains'). He was probably *praefectus annonae Alexandriae*.

He knew about the revolt of Heraclius and wrote, with the patriarch and the *augustalis* Ioannes 235, to inform Phocas; Joh. Nik. 107.7-8 (p. 542). After the victory of Heraclius' forces near Alexandria over troops loyal to Phocas, he and Ioannes fled for refuge to the church of St Theodore in the eastern part of Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 107.17 (p. 543).

Theodorus 154 military commander, with Nicetas (Egypt) 609

A partisan of Nicetas 7 (and Heraclius), in 609 in Egypt, he is alluded to as 'lieutenant' (or 'le vicaire'; Zotenberg) and 'general' ('le général'); Joh. Nik. 107.42 (p. 546 Zotenberg), 108.2 (p. 547). He was probably a military *vicarius*.

In 609 he and Plato 6 were near Athribis when the arrival of Bonosus 2 was feared; they wrote to Bonākīs for help; Joh. Nik. 107.32 (p. 545). After the defeat and death of Bonākīs, Plato and Theodorus hid in a monastery but were handed over by the monks to Bonosus, taken to Nikiu and executed; Joh. Nik. 107.38.42-3 (p. 546).

He told Nicetas about the stylite Theophilus the Confessor at Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 108.2 (p. 547).

THEODORVS 155 comes Abydi 610

At Abydus in 610 he told Heraclius about the state of affairs in Constantinople; Theoph. AM 6102 (Θεόδωρον τὸν κόμητα τῆς Ἀβύδου). He perhaps commanded a naval force based at Abydus.

Theodorus 156 prominent citizen (at Constantinople) 610

Son of Menas 10; in 609/610 he and Tenkerā (? = Priscus) secretly conspired with Heraclius 3 to overthrow Phocas; Joh. Nik. 107.5 (p. 542 Zotenberg). Presumably a leading member of the senate.

Theodorus 157 vir illustris 610

'Theodore the Illustrious', with a large number of prominent senators, abandoned Phocas in 610 and gave support to Heraclius; Joh. Nik. 109.26 (p. 551 Zotenberg).

Perhaps to be identified with the *comes Abydi* Theodorus 155.

Theodorus 158 PVC 612

A former imperial *notarius*, he was city prefect of Constantinople in 612; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 612 (ὄντος ἐπάρχου πόλεως Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἀπὸ νοταρίων τῆς βασιλικῆς). Possibly identical with the PVC Theodorus ὁ κατὰ Καλλίνικον recorded in the *Mir. Artem.* 18 (perhaps early in the

reign of Heraclius, cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 123, n. 21). Perhaps identical with Theodorus 68 and 85.

His monogram (182) occurs in stamps on silverware dated to the reign of Heraclius; Dodd, *BSS*, Table III, nos. 58-67, and see Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 139, with n. 109, for the identification.

Probably identical also with Theodorus 155.

Theodorus 159 syncellus 626

Theodorus, ὁ θεοφιλέστατος σύγκελλος, was one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople who went on an embassy to the khan of the Avars on Aug. 2, 626 (cf. Georgius 48); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626, p. 721. He wrote an account (extant) of the siege of Constantinople; Theod. Sync. (ed. L. Sternbach, 1900), and see F. Barišić, *Byz.* 24 (1954), pp. 373-5 with p. 373, n. 2 (the work, a homily, was delivered by him in Hagia Sophia in 627, perhaps on Aug. 7).

Theodorus 160 vir gloriosissimus, commerciaris 626

Theodorus, ὁ ἐνδοξότατος κομμερκιάριος ὁ τὴν ἴσστιν (= blue dye, woad), was one of the ἄρχοντες at Constantinople who went on an embassy to the khan of the Avars on Aug. 2, 626 (cf. Georgius 48); later, when withdrawing from the city, the khan asked to talk to τὸν ἐνδοξότατον κομμερκιάριον (presumably Theodorus); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626, p. 721.

THEODORVS 161 praeses Sardiniae 627

Praeses eiusdem Sardiniae; he prevented the clergy of Cagliari from sailing to Rome when summoned by pope Honorius and sent them to Africa instead; Honorius asked the PPO Africae (Gregorius 16) to punish him and put the matter right; *PL* 80, col. 478 = Mansi x 582 (letter of Honorius, dated June 10, 627).

Theodorus 162 ?vicarius (in Palestine) 629

Theodorus ὁ βικάριος, while stationed at the village of Moucheis, engaged in battle with the army of Mohammed and defeated it at Mu'ta (ἐν χωρίῳ ἐπιλεγομένῳ Μόθους), killing three successive commanders with many of their troops; Theoph. AM 6123, cf. Cedr. 1 751 (where he is called Θεοδώρου κουβικουλαρίου). See Stratos 1, pp. 313-14, and cf. also Khālid ibn al-Walid.

Theodorus 163 brother of Heraclius; general 634

In some non-Greek sources his name is given as Theodericus; Mich. Syr., *Chron.* 1234, Bar Hebr. In Sebeos xxiv, p. 67 he is called Theodosius.





Brother of the emperor Heraclius; Nic. *Brev.* 7, 23, 25, Theoph. AM 6117, 6119, 6125, Cedr. 1 727, 735, 745, Sebeos xxx, p. 96, Thomas Artsruni II 4, Mich. Syr. XI 3, 5, *Chron.* 1234, c, ci, cx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, Agapius, pp. 454, 465, Joh. Nik. 106.2 (p. 541 Zotenberg). Father of Theodorus 171 (magister); Nic. *Brev.* 25. Father also of Gregorius; *Chron.* 1234, cxxxiii. See stemma 6.

CVROPALATES a. (610–)612: he held this office in late 612 (see below) and perhaps had held it from the start of the reign of Heraclius; Nic. *Brev.* 7 (Θεόδωρον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν, τὴν μετὰ βασιλεία πρώτην ἀρχὴν κερτημένον – κουροπαλάτην δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία καλεῖν εἰώθασιν).

After the downfall of Priscus 6 (Dec. 612), Theodorus and Philippicus were given command of his troops; Nic. *Brev.* 7 (Ἡράκλειος δὲ Θεόδωρον... ἔτι καὶ Φιλιππικόν... ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὑπὸ Κρίσπου πρῶτην ἰθυνομένης ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεμπε). Priscus combined the posts of *comes excubitorum* and MVM in the east; his successor as *comes excubitorum* was Nicetas 7; Philippicus and Theodorus presumably assumed command of troops who had been under him in the east; cf. Philippicus. He was defeated by Persian forces in c. 613/614; Sebeos xxiv, p. 67.

In 626 Theodorus was with his brother for the war with Persia; Heraclius divided his forces into three and put one section under Theodorus, who led it to victory over the Persian general Shāhīn; Theoph. AM 6117, Cedr. 1 727–8. He is perhaps the unnamed brother of Heraclius (ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης) whose arrival near Constantinople was announced by Bonus 5 to the Avar khan at the end of the siege in 626; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626. In 628, after the conclusion of peace with Siroes (= Cavades II), Theodorus was sent, with written authorisation from Siroes and accompanied by Persians, to organise the peaceful withdrawal of Persian forces from occupied Roman territories in the east; opposition seems mainly to have been encountered at Edessa, where the garrison and the local Jewish community refused to obey and the city had to be captured; after that, the operation seems to have gone smoothly; Theoph. AM 6119, Cedr. 1 735, Mich. Syr. XI 3, *Chron.* 1234, c, ci, cii, Agapius, p. 465, Thomas Artsruni II 4.

In 634, after the defeat and death of Sergius 43, Theodorus was sent against the Arabs; he apparently gathered troops from Mesopotamia and west of the Euphrates and led them past Emesa; subsequent events are obscure, but he seems to have remained inactive for some months before joining battle at a place called Gabitha (al-Jābiya) and suffering a heavy defeat; he then fled to rejoin Heraclius at Edessa; Theoph. AM 6125 (Gabitha), Cedr. 1 745, Mich. Syr. XI 5 (near Antioch), Bar

Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, *Chron.* 1234, cx, Sebeos xxx, p. 96, Vardan, p. 75, Agapius, p. 454. The battle in which he was defeated was perhaps that of Ajnādayn (July 30, 634); cf. Stratos II, pp. 54–6, 209, but the testimony of *Chron.* 1234, cx, indicates that Theodorus was defeated in October. See also Donner, *Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 134, 145–6.

According to Nicephorus, Theodorus was now disgraced by Heraclius and sent back to Constantinople, where Heraclius' son, Constantinus, was ordered to have him dishonoured before the people and held in detention; the reason allegedly was the condemnation by Theodorus of Heraclius' marriage with Martina; Nic. *Brev.* 23. Whatever the reason, Theodorus is not recorded again.

?PATRICIVS: the Syriac source, *Chron.* 1234, cx, styles him *patricius*. This source represents a good tradition, but its testimony on this is not conclusive since *patricius* may be used imprecisely in non-Greek traditions.

#### Theodorus 164 *qui et Trithyrius*

sacellarius and MVM per Orientem 634–636

Θεόδωρος, ... τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Τριθύριος; Nic. *Brev.* 23. Theodorus; Theoph. AM 6125, 6126, Cedr. 1 745. In the non-Greek sources either he is unnamed or his title of *sacellarius* is used as his name (*Chron.* 1234, cx, Anon. Guidi, p. 37 = 31).

SACELLARIVS a. 634–636: ταμίης τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων, Nic. *Brev.* 23; ὁ βασιλικὸς σακελλάριος, Theoph. AM 6126; σακελλάριος, Theoph. AM 6125, Cedr. 1 745, Mich. Syr. XI 6, cf. Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94 ('the treasurer of the king'), *Chron.* 1234, cx (cited below), Anon. Guidi, p. 37 = 31 (cited below). Two Armenian sources describe him as 'a faithful eunuch'; Sebeos xxx, p. 96, Vardan, p. 75. This may well be correct since the post of imperial *sacellarius* was sometimes, if not always, held by eunuchs, and often by eunuchs holding high military command (cf. *Fasti*). For the dates, see below.

?PATRICIVS: one Syriac source, *Chron.* 1234, cx, styles him *patricius*. In view of the imprecise use of this word in non-Greek sources, this evidence has to be treated with caution, but it would be appropriate for an imperial *sacellarius* to be a *patricius*.

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 634–636: in 634 he was appointed commander of Roman forces in the east, with Baanes as his colleague, after the defeat of the emperor's brother Theodorus 163 probably at Ajnādayn (July 30, 634); Nic. *Brev.* 23 (στρατηγὸς ἀνατολῆς), Theoph. AM 6125, Cedr. 1 745, *Chron.* 1234, cx ('misit Heraclius Baanem... et Sacellarium patricium Edessae'). In 635 he was active with Baanes against the Arabs and successfully encountered them near Emesa; Theoph. AM 6125,

Cedr. 1 745, and cf. Baanes. In 636 from Edessa he united his forces with those of Baanes, Nicetas 9 and Jabalah against the Arabs; his own troops suffered a reverse (on July 16, 636, Theoph. AM 6126, Cedr. 1 745, and see Grumel, *Chronologie*, p. 169), and then the whole army was crushed by the Arabs at the battle of Yarmuk (Aug. 20, 636); Theodorus was killed in the battle; Theoph. AM 6126, Cedr. 1 745, Nic. *Brev.* 23-4, Balādhurī, p. 135 = Hitti, p. 207, Sebeos xxx, pp. 96-8, Vardan, pp. 75-6, Mich. Syr. xi 6, Anon. Guidi, p. 37 = 31 ('magnum exercitum... cuius dux nominabatur Sacellarius'), *Chron.* 1234, cx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 94, *Narr. de expugn. Syriae*, 14-15.

Theodorus 165

cancellarius 641

He arrived in Carthage in November 641 (indiction 15) with a letter from Martina 'the Patricia' to the PPO Georgius 50 ordering the release of monophysite nuns; Max. Conf. *Ep.* 12 (PG 91.460A) (Θεόδωρος τις τοῦνομα καγκελλάριος εὐγενῆς ὄντως, καὶ τρόπων ἐλευθερίας οὐκ ἀμοιρῶν). On the date, see Sherwood, *Stud. Anselm.* xxx, pp. 45-6.

Theodorus 166

?dux et augustalis Alexandriae 641-642

?MVM in Egypt a. 640-641: in spring 640 he was 'commander-in-chief' in Egypt during the Arab invasion; Joh. Nik. 111.1 (pp. 553-4 Zotenberg). Styled 'the general', in 640, Joh. Nik. 111.16 (p. 556), 112.1 (p. 556; 'le général en chef'); in 640/641, Joh. Nik. 114.2 (p. 560), 114.6 (p. 561), 115.8 (p. 562); in 641, Joh. Nik. 118.9 (pp. 568-9), 119.7 (p. 570), 120.7 (p. 573). He was presumably the senior army commander under the authority of Cyrus 17, and may have been MVM.

In spring 640 he was active in defending the Fayum against the Arabs, occupying the island of Lokyōn with troops of the Egyptian army and auxiliary forces and staging sorties from Abūt and the town of Fayum; Joh. Nik. 111.1-2 (p. 554), 111.14 (p. 555). After the death of Ioannes 246, Theodorus retrieved his body from the river and sent it with honour to the emperor; Joh. Nik. 111.15 (p. 556). Bad feeling arose between him and the other generals Theodosius 41 and Anastasius 37 over the emperor's discontent (with the way the war in Egypt was being conducted); Joh. Nik. 112.1 (p. 556). Theodosius and Anastasius waited in the fortress of Babylon for Theodorus to join them before the Roman forces were strong enough to march against the Arabs; Joh. Nik. 111.16 (p. 556). When the Romans marched out to meet the Arabs at the battle of Heliopolis, Theodorus was presumably their commander, although John of Nikiu does not mention him. For the battle, a heavy defeat for the Romans, see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 227-34.

In late 640/early 641, during the siege of Babylon, 'Amr marched

north into the Delta and Theodorus sent troops under Jeqbarī and Saffārī to Sebennytos to resist his advance; Joh. Nik. 114.2-3 (p. 560), cf. Butler, p. 267. At about this time he persuaded the Roman deserter Kalādji to return; Joh. Nik. 114.6-7 (p. 561). Theodorus had relations and family at Šaūnā (cf. Scutaeus) where the Arabs found and killed them; Joh. Nik. 118.9 (pp. 568-9).

According to a passage in the surviving text of John of Nikiu, Theodorus and Domentianus 'were unable to do any injury to the inhabitants of the city on account of the Moslem who were amongst them'; Joh. Nik. 115.8 (p. 562 Zotenberg; Zotenberg's translation is in agreement with that of Charles). This is very obscure, but in view of the military situation it is perhaps possible to conjecture that in the original John stated that Theodorus and Domentianus were unable to help the inhabitants of the city of Babylon (then under siege) because of the Arab forces which were between them.

In spring 641 'Amr advanced on Alexandria; Theodorus tried to stop him at the fort of Kariūn but was defeated and retreated with his troops into Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 119.3 (p. 570), Balādhurī, p. 220 = Hitti, p. 346, and cf. Butler, pp. 287-90. He was now the leader of those in Lower Egypt who continued to oppose the Arabs; Joh. Nik. 119.1 (pp. 569-570).

In Alexandria, where there was disunity among the Roman officials, Theodorus supported Menas 41 against Domentianus to whom he was deeply hostile because of the way in which he had abandoned Nikiu; after street fighting broke out he dismissed Domentianus and replaced him with Artānā; Joh. Nik. 119.7.17 (pp. 570, 571).

In spring/summer 641 he was summoned to Constantinople for discussions by the emperor Constantine, leaving Alexandria under Anastasius 37; Joh. Nik. 116.8 (p. 564). In autumn he returned to Egypt, arriving in Alexandria in company with Cyrus on Sept. 14, 641; he had apparently intended to sail from Rhodes independently to Pentapolis but was prevented by adverse winds; Joh. Nik. 120.7 (pp. 573-4), and see Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 307-8.

?DVX ET PRAEFECTVS AVGVSTALIS ALEXANDRIAE ?a. 641-642: he is now described as 'préfet d'Alexandrie', Joh. Nik. 120.6 (p. 573) (in autumn 641); and as 'l'augustal', Joh. Nik. 120.23 (p. 576) (in late 641), 120.70 (p. 583) (in 642). He perhaps returned to Alexandria as *dux et praefectus augustalis Alexandriae*.

After their return to Alexandria he held secret talks with Cyrus following which he appointed Menas 41 as general and banished Domentianus from Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 120.10 (p. 574) (and cf. above). Subsequently Cyrus reported to him and Constantinus 37 the

result of his negotiations with 'Amr for the surrender of Alexandria, asking them to inform the emperor Heraclius (= Heraclonas); Joh. Nik. 120.22-3 (pp. 575-6). In early 642 Theodorus and Constantinus returned to Alexandria with the remaining Roman soldiers from throughout Egypt, as well as those Roman citizens who had been held by the Arabs as hostages; Joh. Nik. 120.70 (p. 583). Then, on July 14, they installed the new patriarch Petrus at Alexandria, Cyrus having died in March; Joh. Nik. 120.71 (p. 583). Finally, on Sept. 17, 642, Theodorus, with all the remaining officers and men, set sail from Alexandria for Cyprus, leaving the city to the Arabs; Joh. Nik. 120.72 (p. 583), and cf. Butler, pp. 366-7. One of his last acts was to install Ioannes 251 at Alexandria to co-operate in the transition of power to the Arabs; Joh. Nik. 121.4-5 (p. 584).

#### Theodorus Rshtuni 167

patricius; governor and commander of Armenia 643-653

In Theophanes AM 6143 he is called Πασαγνώθης, and cf. Agapius, p. 482 (where this name is restored).

A member of the Armenian dynastic family of the Rshtuni, he is often alluded to as 'Lord of the Rshtunis'; Sebeos xxviii, p. 87, xxx, p. 101, xxxii, pp. 107-8, xxxv, pp. 133, 138, xxxviii, p. 145. Father of Vard; Vardan, p. 87, and cf. Theoph. AM 6143, Agapius, p. 482 (allusion to an unnamed son). Father-in-law of the Mamikonian Hamazasp; Sebeos xxxv, p. 138.

He was brought up at the Persian court under Chosroes II Parwez, together with Varaztiroch; Sebeos xxxii, pp. 106-7.

He became *ishkhan* (ruler) of the canton of the Rshtuni (near lake Van); Sebeos xxix, p. 94. In 628 he proposed Christopher, a religious with Rshtuni connections, to succeed Comitas as *catholicus* of Armenia; Sebeos xxviii, p. 87. In 632/633 he attended the council of Theodosiopolis; *Narr. de reb. Arm.* 121, and see Toumanoff, *Traditio* x, p. 156, n. 202. In 638, when disturbances occurred over the overthrow of David Saharuni, he is said to have maintained his troops in good order and preserved several cantons from trouble; Sebeos xxix, p. 94.

ΜΥΜ ΠΕΡ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΜ a. 638-642/643: described as the successor of David 6 Saharuni (and so presumably perhaps ΜΥΜ *per Armeniam*) in 638; Stephan Orbelian (cited in Garitte, *CSCO*, Subsidia 4, p. 296) (he 'prit le gouvernement de l'Arménie'). He was in office in October 642 when the Arabs attacked Armenia and captured Dvin; Vardan, p. 83 (this occurred 'in the time of the command of Theodorus Rshtuni, who succeeded Dawith').

PATRICIVS and governor of Armenia a. 643-c. 645, 646-653: ap-

pointed *patricius* and supreme commander over Armenia by Constans II, shortly after the fall of Dvin (cf. above) and at the suggestion of the *catholicus* Narses III (a. 642-661); Sebeos xxx, p. 101, xxxii, p. 106 (in the second year of Constans; after the death of Valentinus 5), cf. Agapius, p. 482 ('patricius'), Theoph. AM 6143 (ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων πατρικίος). On Aug. 10, 643, he had a notable victory over an Arab army; Sebeos xxxiii, p. 110, and cf. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 299.

In c. 645 he was the victim of a plot and was arrested in Armenia and taken to Constantinople for examination; he was acquitted and befriended by the emperor Constans, who had released Varaztiroch and Smbat (Symbatius 2) from exile at his request and in 646 reappointed him to his Armenian command, giving him honours and an annual payment; Sebeos xxxii, pp. 106-7, cf. Vardan, p. 86 ('commander of the army'). His title was equivalent to 'duke' or 'prince'; cf. Toumanoff, *Traditio* x, p. 160 with n. 218 on *Narr. de reb. Arm.* 140.

In 648/649 he attended the discussions at Dvin on the faith, where he had orders from Constans to accept Chalcedon; Sebeos xxxiii, p. 112, and cf. Toumanoff, *Traditio* x, p. 159 for the date.

His term in office was ten years; cf. List of ἡγεμόνες cited in Garitte, *CSCO*, Subsidia 4, pp. 405, 410, 437-38 (he is Τοτρούσης ὁ Ὀροστούνης, who succeeded David).

In 653 he negotiated the submission of Armenia to the Arabs and was dismissed from his post by Constans; Sebeos xxxv, pp. 132-3, 138, 139 (given authority over Armenia, Georgia, Albania and Siunia by Mu'awīya), xxxvi, pp. 142-3, xxxviii, p. 145, Vardan, p. 87, Agapius, p. 482, Theoph. AM 6143.

He died, probably, in 656; Sebeos xxxviii, p. 146, Vardan, p. 89, and cf. Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

#### THEODORVS 168 proconsul Palaestinae Primae; discussor E VII

Native of Caesarea (Turris Stratonis) in Palestine; he was *proconsul Palaestinae Primae* and perhaps subsequently visited Hierapolis (in Euphratensis) as a *discussor*; there he married a wealthy local girl of good family, Ioannia, and took her back with him to live in Caesarea; Sophronius, *V. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 68 (PG 87.3.3657) (ἐν Ἱεραπόλει γὰρ ὁ δισκούρωρ (or δισκούσσωρ) Θεόδωρος, ὁ Καισαρείας χρηματίσας ἀνθύπατος, Καισαρείας τῆς Πυργοστράτωνος καλουμένης ὀρῳμένως, married Ioannia). The 'proconsul of Caesarea' was the proconsul of Palaestina Prima (cf. Just. *Nov.* 103). The word δισκούρωρ is difficult; it occurs on seals (see Theodosius 27 and 48) but is otherwise not recorded; there were *cursores* in the imperial palace (as well as in the

praetorian prefecture and provincial *officia*, see Jones, *LRE* II, pp. 582, 590, 593) but they were relatively humble persons and it does not seem likely that Theodorus could have been *cursor* (or *discursor*) either actually or in an honorific capacity. The word should probably be read as *δισκούσσωρ* (cf. Sophocles, *Lexicon*), though this again is not easy; for *discussor*, see Ioannes 11 (the Cappadocian); the text seems to mean that, while in office as proconsul of Palestine, Theodorus went to Hierapolis in the role of *discussor*; this combination of functions is not otherwise attested (and provincial governors were not normally employed on missions outside their own provinces), and the text should perhaps be understood to mean that Theodorus, a former *proconsul Palaestinae*, visited Hierapolis in the role of *discussor* and there met his bride. He evidently was still living in Caesarea, however.

Theodorus 169 doctor (in Cyprus) E VII

A doctor (*ιατρός*) at Lapethus in Cyprus, able and well-known; cured by Sts Cyrus and John in Alexandria after allegedly falling victim to witchcraft; Sophronius, *V. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 55 (PG 87.3.3625).

## THEODORVS 170

v.c., comes and pagarchus (Egypt) VI/VII (?E VII)

Addressee of letters from Victor 15 and Menas 42; *P. Oxy.* 1849-52 (from Victor), 1857-8 (from Menas) (all VI/VII, but possibly E VII, cf. Victor). The letters from Victor are addressed: + δεσπό(τη) τὰ πά(ντα) λαμπρο(τάτω) πᾶ(σης) τιμ(ῆς) ἀξίω γνη(σίω) ἀδελφῶ Θεοδώρω μειζοτ(έρω), or similar. Those from Menas are addressed: + δεσπό(τη) ἐμῶ τὰ πά(ντα) λαμπρ[ο]τ(άτω) (1858 has μεγαλοπρεπεστάτω) (καί) πᾶ(σης) τιμ(ῆς) (καί) προσκ(υνήσεως) ἀξί(ω) γνη(σίω) με(τὰ) Θε(ό)ν ἀδελφῶ (1858 προστάτη) Θεοδώρω κόμε(τι) μειζοτέ(ρω) (1858 κόμε(τι) (καί?) παγάρχ(ω)). By Victor he is styled, in 1849-50 ἡ σὴ γνήσια ἀδελφότης and in 1851-52 ἡ σὴ γνήσια λαμπρότης, and by Menas in 1857-58 ἡ ὑμέτερα προστατικὴ μεγαλοπρέπεια.

He had the imperial title of *comes*, presumably giving him the right to the epithet *λαμπρότατος*, and held local positions at or near Oxyrhynchus, as *μειζότερος*(?) and pagarchus. He may be identical with Theodorus ὁ μειζότερος at Cynopolis; *P. Oxy.* 1861.

Theodorus 171 (honorary) magister (officiorum) E/M VII

Son of Theodorus 163 (europalates) and nephew of Heraclius, in either 635 or 637 he was accused of conspiring with Athalarichus (= Ioannes 260 *qui et Athalarichus*) and others to depose Heraclius and make Athalarichus emperor; he was maimed and exiled to the island of

Gaudomelete; he had the title of *magister* (ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος); *Nic. Brev.* 25, cf. Sebeos xxix, p. 93 (wrongly called 'his (Athalarich's) brother, son of Heraclius, surnamed Magistros'). The formula used by Nicephorus suggests that his title was honorary; it was probably *magister officiorum*. For the date of the conspiracy, see Varaztiroch.

Theodorus 172 antigrapheus (magister scrinii) VII

Θεοδώρου ἀντιγραφέως; Zacos 1029 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3264 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΘΕ/ΟΔΩ/ΡΟΝ; rev.: ΑΝ/ΤΙΓΡ/ΑΦΕΩ/Σ).

Theodorus 173 argentarius VII

Θεοδώρου ἀργυροπράτου ... (?); Zacos 513 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΟΝ/ΑΡΓΥΡΟ/ΠΡΑΤΩ; cruciform monogram (387) of unknown significance).

Theodorus 174 candidatus VII

Θεοδώρου κανδιδάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.927 (seal; obv.: monogram (127) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (178) of κανδιδάτου).

Theodorus 175 chartularius VII

Θεοδώρου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 1269 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4051 (seal; obv.: busts of SS Peter and Paul; rev.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΟΝ/ΧΑΡΤΟΝ/ΛΑΡ(Ι)Ω).

Theodorus 176 chartularius VII

Θεοδώρω χαρτουλαρίω; Zacos 2856 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (122) of Θεοδώρω χαρτουλαρίω).

## Theodorus 177

honorary consul; commerciarus (of Cyprus) E/M VII

Θεοδώρου εὐκλε(οῦς) ἀπὸ ὑπ(άτων) (καί) γενικ(οῦ) κομμερ(κίαρίου) ἀπ[ο]θήκ(ης) Κύπρου; Zacos 132 (seal; obv.: busts of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine; rev.: +ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ/ΚΛ<sup>ε</sup>ΑΠΘ<sup>ε</sup>Π<sup>ε</sup>ΓΕΝ/ΙΚ, ΚΟΜΜΕΡΑΠ[Ο]ΘΗΚΚΝΠ/ΡΩ. The busts resemble those on coinage minted in 629/631), 133 (seal; obv.: busts similar to those on 132; rev.: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ/Κ, ΑΠΘ<sup>ε</sup>Π<sup>ε</sup>ΓΕΝ/Ι, ΚΟΜΜΕΡΚΟ/..ΤΟΜ..), and cf. also Zacos 1032 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2140 (seal, dated L VII Zacos, VII, probably early, Oikonomides; obv.: .ΕΟ/ΩΡΩ/ΠΟΝΠ/.ΩΝ; rev.: ΖΓΕ/ΙΚΩΚ/ΜΜΕΡ/ΙΑ...).

- Theodorus 178** honorary consul; patricius VII  
 Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ ὑπάτω(ν), σὺν Θεῶ πατρικίου; Zacos 1033 =  
 Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2388 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩ/ΑΠΟΝΠ/ΑΤΩ; rev.: +CVN/ΘΕΩΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ/ΟV).
- Theodorus 179** honorary consul VII  
 Θεοδώρου ὑπάτου, δούλου τῆς Θεοτόκου; Zacos 1043 (seal; obv.:  
 ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩΝ/ΝΠΑΤ/Ο[V]; rev.: +ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗ/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟV).
- Theodorus 180** honorary consul VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ ἀ[πὸ] ὑπάτων; Fogg Art Museum seal 2981 (seal; obv.:  
 ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙ; rev.: cruciform monogram (128) probably of  
 Θεοδώρῳ with the legend Α[ΠΟ]/V/ΠΑ/ΤΩΝ in the corners).
- Theodorus 181** domesticus VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ δομεστικῶ; Zacos 1628A, Fogg Art Museum seal 271 (two  
 seals, obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΘΕΟ/  
 ΔΩΡΩΔ/ΟΜΕCΤΙ/ΚΩ+).
- Theodorus 182** domesticus VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ δομεστικῶ; Zacos 1629 = Dumbarton Oaks seal  
 58.106.5070 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.:  
 Θ+Ε/ΩΔΩΡ/[Ω]ΔΩΜ/ΕCΤΙΚ/Ω).
- Theodorus 183** domesticus scholarum ?VII  
 Θεοδώρου, δομεστικῶ τ(ῶν) [θεο]φ(υλάκτων?) σχολῶν; Fogg Art  
 Museum seal 2734 (seal, dated VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform  
 monogram (114) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: +ΔΟ/ΜΕCΤΙΚΩ/Τ...ΦC/  
 ΧΟΛΩ/[N]). On the δομεστικός τῶν σχολῶν, first attested in the eighth  
 century, cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 50-1, Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 329.
- Theodorus 184** excubitor VII  
 Θεοδώρου ἐξκουβίτορος, δούλου τῆς Θεοτόκου; Zacos 1041 =  
 Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4786 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΔΩΡΩ/  
 ΕΞΚΟΝΒ/ΙΤΟΡΟ/C+; rev.: +ΔΟ/ΝΛΟΝΤ/ΗCΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΟV).
- Theodorus 185** illustrius; diocetes E VII  
 Θεοδώρου μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτου) ἰλλουστ(ρίου) κ(αί) διοικῆτ(ου)  
 τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ...(?); Zacos 131 (seal; obv.: four imperial busts  
 probably representing the Virgin with Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine,  
 Martina and one of the emperor's daughters, and underneath

- the legend: [+ ] ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΜΕΓΑ/[Λ]ΟΠΡ[Ε]Π, ΙΛΛCΤ,/ΚΔΙΟΙΚΗΤΤΩΝΑ/ΠΑΝΤΑ[Χ]Ω.../ΡΙΑ...Α.../...ΟV; the reverse is blank). The identity of his office is not known; it was probably financial, cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 89.
- Theodorus 186** MVM VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 1052 = Dumbarton Oaks seal  
 55.1.2150 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΕΙ; rev.: +ΘΕ/ΟΔΩΡΩ/  
 CΤΡΑΤΗ/ΛΑΤΗ).
- Theodorus 187** MVM and archon VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ στρατηλάτῃ καὶ ἄρχοντ(ι); Zacos 1053 = Dumbarton  
 Oaks seal 55.1.2151 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒΟ/ΗΘΙΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩ;  
 rev.: CΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΑΤ/Η/ΑΡΧΟ/ΝΤΗ+).
- Theodorus 188** MVM E/M VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ stratihlatu; Zacos 1635 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram  
 (131) of Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδώρῳ; rev.: CΤΡ/ΑΤΗΛ/ΑΤΥ).
- Theodorus 189** MVM VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 1635A (seal; obv.: cruciform mono-  
 gram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩ/CTPAT/ΗΛΑΤ/Η).
- Theodorus 190** MVM E/M VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 3058 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram  
 of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (130) of Θεοδώρῳ  
 στρατηλάτῃ).
- Theodorus 191** MVM and curator VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ στρατηλάτῃ καὶ κουράτορι; Zacos 1636 (seal; obv.:  
 cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩC/  
 ΤΡΑΤΗΛ/ΑΤΗ/ΚΩ/PΑΤΟΡ,).
- Theodorus 192** MVM and chartularius VII  
 Θεοδ[ώρ]ου στρατηλάτου καὶ χαρτουλαρίου; Fogg Art Museum seal  
 1124 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, with the  
 legend ΘΕ/Ο[Δ]/.../ΟV in the quarters; rev.: CΤΡΑΤ/ΗΛΑΤΟV/  
 ΚΑΙΧΑΡΤ/ΟΝΛΑΡ[Ι]/ΟV).
- Theodorus 193** patricius VII  
 Θεοδώρῳ πατρικῶ; Zacos 1048 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ[Ο]/ΗΘΙ+;  
 rev.: +ΘΕ[Ο]ΔΩΡΩ/ΠΑΤΡΙΚ/ΙΩ+).

**Theodorus 194** patricius VII

Θεοδώρου πατρικίου; Zacos 1370 (seal; obv.: [Θ]ΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ; rev.: [Π]ΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΝ. On both sides the letters are arranged in the form of a cross).

**Theodorus 195** patricius E/M VII

Θεοδώρω πατρικίω; Zacos 1632 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (126) of Θεοδώρω πατρικίω), cf. 1633 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, identical with obverse of 1632; rev.: cruciform monogram (129) of Θεοδώρω πατρικίω, not identical with reverse of 1632).

**Theodorus 196** ex praefectis VII

Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 510 (seal; obv.: circular inscription of +ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ and in the centre a cruciform monogram (111) of Θεοδώρου; rev.: cruciform monogram (29) of ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν).

**Theodorus 197** ex praefectis VII

Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 1030 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩ/ΑΠΟΕΠ/ΑΡΧΩ[N]; rev.: ΔΟΝ/ΛΟΝΤΗ/ΣΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΩ).

**Theodorus 198** ex praefectis VII

Θεοδώρω ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 1624 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (132) of Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδώρω; rev.: ΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

**Theodorus 199** ex praefectis VII

Theodoro apo eparhon; Zacos 2414 = Fogg Art Museum seal 385, Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.4440 (two seals, dated VII, but possibly not before L VII; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει with the legend [ΤΩ]/ΔΩ/ΛΩ/ΣΘ in the corners; rev.: +ΣΗΕ/ΟΔΟΡΟΩ/ΡΟΕΡΩ/ΥΗΟΠ+).

**Theodorus 200** ex praefectis and PPO Italiae VII

Θεοδώρου ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν καὶ ἐπαρχου Ἰταλίας; Zacos 2923 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒΟΗ/[Θ]ΕΙΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΩ; rev.: ΑΠΟΕ/ΠΑΡΧΩ[N]/ΚΑΙΕΠΑ[Ρ]/ΧΟΝΙΤΑ/[ΛΙ]Α[Σ]) (= Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 211, Laurent, *Médailles*, no. 99).

**Theodorus 201** ex praefectis VII

Θεοδώρω ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 3054 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (124) of Θεοδώρω ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν).

**Theodorus 202** referendarius VII

Θεοδώρου ῥεφενδαρίου; Zacos 1048A (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡΟΝ/ΡΕΦΕΡ/ΕΝΔ.; rev.: +ΔΩ/ΛΟΝΤΗ/ΣΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΟΝ).

**Theodorus 203** scribo E/M VII

Θεοδώρω scribona (sic); Zacos 1634A (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (133) of Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδώρω; rev.: +ΣΣ/ΡΙΒΟ/ΠΡ+).

**Theodorus 204** strator imperialis VII

Θεοδώρου στράτορος βασιλικού; Zacos 1054 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3330 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΩΡ/ΟΒ+; rev.: ΣΤΡΑ/ΤΒΑΚΙ/ΛΕΙΚΣ). A similar specimen is in Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 39.

**Theodorus 205** turmarch VII

Θεοδώρου τουρμάρχου, δούλου τῆς Θεοτόκου; Zacos 1055 (seal; obv.: Θ[ΕΟΔ]/ΩΡΟΝΤ/ΟΝΡΜΑ/ΡΧΟΝ; rev.: [Δ]ΟΝ/[Λ]ΟΝΤΗ/Σ[Θ]ΕΟΤ/ΟΚΟΝ).

**Theodorus 206** ?v.c. (Egypt); epimeletes (at Arsinoe) VII

Addressee of a petition from his aunt Christodora (daughter of the monk Georgius (now dead) and a native of Arsinoe); *Stud. Pal.* xx 243, 10 (τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷπαιδι Θεοδώρω) and verso (εἰς τὸν λαμπρό(τατον) αὐτ(ῆς) ἀδελ[φ]ο[υ]παιδ(α) Θεόδωρο[ν] ἐπ[ι]μ[ε]λητή[ν]) (from Arsinoe, seventh century).

**THEODORVS 207** comes and chartularius (Egypt) VII

Named in a seventh-century document from the Fayum (exact provenance unknown); *Stud. Pal.* viii 1121, line 1 Θεοδώρω κόμ(ε)τι χαρτουλαρ(ίω). Presumably a *comes* holding the post of *chartularius* of a private estate.

**Fl. Theodorus 208** ?v.c. (in Egypt) ?VII

Native of Hermopolis; son of Magister; addressee of a letter from a γέωργος; *P. Flor.* 170 Hermopolis Magna (lines 5-6 Φλαυίω Θεοδώρω τῷ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμη[ς Μ]αγίστερος). Cf. Menas 19.

**Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius**

(Fl. Marianus) Michael Gabriel Ioannes Theodorus Iulianus Theodorus Marinus Athanasius

Fl. Comitas Theodorus Bassus

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Sergius Bacchus Narses Conon  
Anastasius Dominus Theodorus Callinicus

Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion  
Hephaestus

Fl. Theodorus Menas Iulianus Iacobus

Fl. Soterius Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Nicetas  
Theodorus Bonus Eutropius Olympius Ioannes

Fl. Marianus Michaelius Gabriellus Ioannes Theodorus Georgius  
Marcellus Iulianus Theodorus Iulianus

**Theodosiacus** v.glor., MVM (in Egypt) 605

A land and property owner at Arsinoe, recorded in 605; *BGU* 1 3, line 8 (a rent collector οὐσίας Θεοδοσακίου τοῦ ἐνδοξο/τάτου στρατηλάτου), lines 15-16 (a room belonging Θεοδοσακίῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ) (dated June 7, 605; in year 3 of Phocas, Payni 13, late in indiction 8).

His title was probably honorific.

Theodosia (*Quart. Dept. Ant. Pal.* II (1932), 167, no. 116 = *SEG VIII* 175)  
V/VI: *PLRE* II.

**THEODOSIA** wife of Stephanus 24 LVI

Wife of Stephanus 24, whose property she inherited; in 593 pope Gregory corresponded with bishop Ianuarius of Cagliari about the fulfilment of her husband's will; *Greg. Ep.* IV 8, 10 (both dated a. 593 Sept.). In *Ep.* IV 10 she is styled 'honesta femina' but her husband was a *vir magnificus*. See further Stephanus.

In 594 Gregory wrote instructing bishop Felix of Portus and the abbot Cyriacus to assist her with problems arising from the building of the monastery (post fundatum a se servorum Dei monasterium); *Greg. Ep.* V 2 (a. 594 Sept.).

In 593 Gregory had instructed the *defensor* Sabinus to arrange the journey of Theodosia and Pompeiana to Rome; *Greg. Ep.* III 36 (a. 593 May).

Theodosius (Robert, *Hell.* IV, p. 62 = *Anth. Gr.* XVI 42) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Theodosius (*SB* 7425) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Theodosius I served under Theodahad 534

Instructed by the Ostrogothic king Theodahad in 534 to maintain discipline and good order among members of the royal household under his care (quicumque ad domum nostram noscitur pertinere et curae tuae probatur esse commissus); *Cass. Var.* X 5 (addressed 'Theodosio homini suo'). He was perhaps Theodahad's *maior domus*.

Theodosius 2 v.d., memorialis 535

One of five *memoriales* at Constantinople who assisted Tribonianus I 'in legum confectione' and as a reward were offered in 535 priority in the queue to become *adiutores quaestoris*; *Just. Nov.* 35 (a. 535 May 23). The others were Epictetus, Quirillus, Perigenes I and Sabbatius.

**FL. THEODOSIUS 3**

v.c., scriniarius and principalis (?) of the officium of the dux  
Thebaidis 537

Recorded in a papyrus from Aphrodito, dated Oct. 30, 537 - δ(ιὰ) [σ]ο(ῦ) Φλ[αυ]ῖο[ν] Θεοδοσίου, λαμπρ[ο]τάτου σκ[ρ]ι(νιαρίου) καὶ π[ρ]ο- ἐχ[ο]ν[τ]ο[ς]; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67123, line 3. If προέχων is correctly read, it probably means that Theodosius was one of the πρωτεύοντες of the officium; cf. Rouillard, *Adm. civ.*, p. 42, n. 3.

Theodosius 4 ?maior domus (of Belisarius) 539/540

Τὸν τῆ οἰκίᾳ τῆ αὐτοῦ ἐφειστώτα (?maior domus); sent by Belisarius as envoy to Ravenna in late 539/early 540 to counter a Frankish embassy to the Goths; *Proc. BG* II 28.8. See Belisarius, p. 205.

**THEODOSIUS 5a**

comes (in Egypt) 540

A document from Aphrodito, probably dated May/Dec. 540, alludes to (lines 15-16) τῷ φορικῷ μέτρῳ το(ῦ) μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτου)/κόμιτος [... Θεο]δοσίου(ῦ); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67107.

**Theodosius 5b**

(vir illustris) 541

A member of the senate (ἐξ ἀξίωμα βουλῆς ἤκοντα), in 541 he accompanied Photius 2 to Ephesus to obtain evidence against Antonina; for this he was imprisoned by Theodora in an underground dungeon for four months and then died of ill-treatment; *Proc. Anecd.* 3.9-11.

**THEODOSIUS 6**

v.c. (Egypt) E/M VI

Father of Ammonius I; dead by 545 Oct./Nov. (τῆς λαμπρ(ᾶς) μνήμ(ης) Θεοδοσίου); *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 37.

**Theodosius 7** illustrius (in Egypt) E/M VI

Father of Cyriacus, grandfather of Aurelia Maria 3; dead by 569 ([το(ῦ) τῆς ἐγδοξο(τάτης) μνήμης [Θ]ε[ο]δο[σ]ίου(υ) ἰλλο(υ)στρ(ίου)]; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67309, line 8 Antinoe, dated March 569.

**Theodosius 8** adopted son of Belisarius M VI

A young man, from Thrace, in the household (οἰκία) of Belisarius; he was brought up in the Eunomian heresy (δόξης γεγωνώς ἐκ πατέρων Εὐνομιανῶν καλουμένων); *Proc. Anecd.* 1.15. In 533 he was adopted as his son by Belisarius and accompanied him and Antonina on the expedition to Africa; *Anecd.* 1.16. On the voyage he and Antonina allegedly began a love affair which lasted for about ten years, until his death from dysentery in c. 542/543; *Proc. Anecd.* 1.16-2.18, 3.1-20 (attested in Africa and Sicily, and in Italy after the departure of Photius 2; he spent much time at Ephesus when not with Antonina; see further Belisarius, p. 222 and Photius 2), cf. *Suid.* A 1933, E 532, 902.

**Theodosius 9** vir magnificentissimus (in Egypt) M VI

Θεοδόσιον δὲ τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον; he collected the taxes from the village of Aphrodito for the eleventh indiction (a. 547-8) and kept them for himself; *SB* 9102, cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67024, recto 8 (probably from Aphrodito, dated c. 551, a petition arising from the affair); *P. Cairo Masp.* 67029 (probably from Aphrodito, mentions Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτῳ), who had kept the village taxes for himself). The same man may be the Theodosius alluded to in *P. Cairo Masp.* 67123.

**Theod(osi)us 10** comes domesticorum et curator (?domus divinae) M VI

Justinian built a church at Kejiut in Pontus σπουδῆ κὲ προνοίᾳ Θεοδ[οσί]ου το[ῦ] ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμητ(ος) τῶν καθο(σιωμένων) δομ(εστικῶν) κὲ θείου κουράτορος; *JHS* 18 (1898), p. 325, no. 45 = *AE* 1899, 85 Kejiut (Pontus). Θεῖος κουράτωρ, i.e. imperial *curator*, perhaps signifies a *curator domus divinae*. The *comitiva domesticorum* was honorific. The name could also be restored as Θεοδ[ώρ]ου; cf. Theodorus 25.

**THEODOSIUS 11** v.c., principalis (of Ravenna) 572

Present with other *principales* to witness a donation at Ravenna in 572; Marini, *P. Dip.* 88 = *P. Ital.* 14-15, line 1 ([praesentibus... The]odosio v.c. atque Melminiis Bonifacio et Iohanne iun(iore) principalibus).

**Theodosius 12** v.d., magister litterarum(?) (at Ravenna) 575

Theodosius v.d. mag(ister) l(it)terarum(?); one of the witnesses to the

will of Manna at Ravenna, in 575; Marini, *P. Dip.* 75 = *P. Ital.* 6, lines 14 and 40. On the meaning of 'mag. l.' see Tjäder's note 6, *P. Ital.*, p. 421.

**Theodosius 13** Augustus 590-602

Son of the emperor Maurice and the empress Constantina; Evagr. *HE* vi 24, Theoph. Sim. viii 4.10, 8.3, 8.10, 11.1-2, 11.9 (the eldest son), 13.3, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.14, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587, 588, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 590, 602, Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1, *Ep. Austras.* 44, Theoph. AM 6077, 6082, 6093, 6094, 6095, Cedr. i 693, 695, 703, 709, Zon. xiv 12-14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 37, 39, 40, 41, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 26, Joh. Nik. 103.8 (p. 539 Zotenberg), Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Sebeos xxi, p. 55, Mich. Syr. x 21-2, *Hist. Nest.* ii 70, 79, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83. See stemma 4.

He was born on Aug. 4, 583 or 585; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.14 ('die mensis ab die quarto eius anni 894' = Aug. 4, 583), Mich. Syr. x 21 (Aug. 4), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 83 (in the first year of Maurice), Theoph. AM 6077 (recorded in 585), Cedr. i 693 (in 585). He was four and a half years old on March 26, 590, according to Theophanes and Cedrenus (see below), and so was born in autumn 585. He was named after Theodosius II, the last emperor born in the purple; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 5.14.

CAESAR: proclaimed Caesar, possibly in 587; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 587 (Mauricius Theodosium filium suum ex filia Tiberi imperatoris natum Caesarem facit).

AVGVSTVS a. 590 March 26-602: proclaimed Augustus on March 26, 590, at Easter; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 588 (Mauricius Theodosium filium, quem supra Caesarem diximus, Romanorum imperatorem facit), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 590 (at Easter), Theoph. AM 6082 (March 26) (= Cedr. i 695), Zon. xiv 12, Mich. Syr. x 22, cf. Greg. *Ep.* xiii 1 (after his death he is described as 'iam coronatus').

In Feb. 602 he married the daughter of Germanus 11; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602 (the festivities lasted seven days, from Feb. 9 to Feb. 15), Theoph. AM 6094 (dated to November 601, presumably wrongly, but see Whitby, p. 215, n. 17), Theoph. Sim. viii 4.10-11 (dated within forty days of Christ's birthday, probably here meaning Epiphany, and so in mid February, at Candlemas, see Whitby, p. 215, n. 19), Cedr. i 703, Zon. xiv 13, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 37. Son-in-law of Germanus; Theoph. Sim. viii 8.3, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 603, Theoph. AM 6094, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39.

He was offered the throne during the rebellion of Nov. 602; Theoph. Sim. viii 8.4-5, Theoph. AM 6094, Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 39. On Nov. 22, he fled with his father from Constantinople; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.7, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602. Sent by his father from Chalcedon to Nicaea,



accompanied by Constantinus 33 Lardys, with instructions to go to the Persian king Chosroes for help, unless recalled by his father; Theoph. Sim. viii 9.11-12, Theoph. AM 6094, Cedr. i 709, Zon. xiv 13, Nic. Call. HE xviii 40. He was recalled by Maurice but fell into the hands of Phocas' men and was executed with Constantinus Lardys at Chalcedon; his execution was apparently separate from that of his father and brothers; Theoph. Sim. viii 11.1-2, 13.3 (killed by Alexander 18), Chron. Pasch. s.a. 602, Greg. Ep. xiii 1, Cedr. i 709, Zon. xiv 14, Nic. Call. HE xviii 40-1, Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang. iv 26, Joh. Nik. 103.7 (p. 539 Zotenberg).

There was a widespread rumour that he escaped with his life and fled to the east, fleeing from place to place before reaching Colchis (Lazica) and then finally dying exhausted in the wilderness; this is explicitly denied by Theophylact; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.4-6 (= Nic. Call. HE xviii 41). The rumour was apparently exploited for his own ends by Chosroes, claiming that Theodosius was with him and was the rightful emperor; Theoph. AM 6095, Cedr. i 709, Anon. Guidi, pp. 20-1 = 18-19, Hist. Nest. ii 70, 79, Thomas Artsruni ii 3, Sebeos xxi, pp. 55, 57, xxiii, pp. 61-2. Silver coins minted at Carthage in the name of Theodosius have been thought to belong to the short period after the death of Maurice when it was believed that Theodosius had survived, but the discovery of a *solidus* (H. J. Berk, *Roman Gold Coins of the Medieval World* 383-1453 A.D., no. 95) dated to the first indiction (a. 591/592) shows them to have been struck in the year following his proclamation as Augustus.

Theodosius 14 follower of Mastalo 599

A follower of Mastalo, praised with him by Gregory for his efforts to reconvert schismatics in Istria; Greg. Ep. ix 161 (a. 599 May/June; to Mastalo; 'Theodosius filius noster tui sequax bonique cooperator studii').

Theodosius 15 governor (in Egypt?) M/L VI

Aristomachus 2 was 'son of the prefect Theodosius' ('gouverneur'; Zotenberg) and a citizen of Nikiu; Theodosius supposedly urged his son to be content with the wealth and position which he already had; Joh. Nik. 95.3 (p. 523 Zotenberg). Theodosius was apparently a native of Nikiu and a man of wealth and position. Although described as 'governor' and 'prefect', he may perhaps have been one of the wealthy landowners who feature in the papyri in this period as bearers of imperial titles which were honorific and did not imply the tenure of any actual office.

Theodos(ius) 16 Trpatuni Armenian noble L VI

An Armenian noble, he took part in the revolt of Atat Khorkhoruni, Samuel Vahewuni and others against both Rome and Persia; Sebeos vi, p. 31. On the date, probably 595, see Mamak Mamikonian and cf. also Gagik Mamikonian.

Theodosius 17 protector (at Anastasiopolis) L VI

Entrusted by Theodore of Syceon, then bishop of Anastasiopolis, with administering church estates; his high-handed methods and acts of injustice provoked the peasantry and led to quarrels with Theodore; V. Theod. Syc. 76 (ἐκδεδωκότος αὐτά τιμι προτίκτορι τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, ὀνόματι Θεοδοσίῳ, οὗτος ἦν ἀδικῶν καὶ πλεονεκτῶν τοὺς γεωργούς). He was a *protector* living at Anastasiopolis.

Theodosius 18 ?MVM (in Egypt) VI

Θεοδόσιος σὺν Θ(εῶ) στρατηλά(της); ordered Tzicitas to make payments to Cyrus 10 and Zacharias 8 in connection with the *embole* of barley; Stud. Pal. viii 1111 Fayum. The payment was to be made 'from the revenues of the sixth indiction' and was therefore from public funds, implying that Theodosius was acting in an official capacity. He was probably a wealthy landholder with the honorific title of MVM, whose activities straddled public and private affairs, rather than a *tribunus* or possibly the *dux* (?of Arcadia). Cf. Gasco, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9.

Theodosius 19 gloriosissimus?; dioecetes (in Egypt) VI

P. Flor. iii 377, lines 23-4. See Theodorus 91 (his colleague as διοικητής), and cf. Olybrius 3.

Theodosius 20 (= PLRE ii, Theodosius 14) scholasticus (Egypt) VI

His heirs are recorded in a list of tax payments at Aphrodito-κλ(ηρονόμοι) Θεοδοσίου σχολ(αστικοῦ); P. Flor. iii 297 Aphrodito.

Theodosius 21 honorary consul VI

Θεοδοσί(ο) ὑπ[ά]του; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2069 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +/ΘΕΟΔΟ/ΣΙΟΝΠ/.ΤΟV/+).

Theodosius 22 illustrius VI

Θεοδοσίου ἰλλουστρίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 1516 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV/+; rev.: +/ΙΛΛ/ΣCΤΡΙ/ΟV/+).

Theodosius 23 scholarius M/L VI

Θεοδοσίου scholariv; Zacos 544 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.757

(seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (97) of Θεοδοσίου; rev.: SCHO/LAR[1]/4).

Theodosius 24 scriniarius VI

Θεοδ(ο)σίου σκρινιαρίου; Zacos 2930 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΔΩC/ΙΟV; rev.: CKP/INIA/ΠΙΟV). For a similar seal, see Constantopoulos, *Molybdoboulla*, no. 208d, and for a seal with the inscription 'Theodosii scriniarii', see Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 330.

THEODOSIUS 25 (= PLRE II, Theodosius 15) comes VI/VII

\*Εργον - κόμη/τος Θ-εοδο/σίους; *M.A.M.I* IV 34 = VI 400 = *DOP* 27 (1973), p. 307 inscription of Byzantine date, found built into a Turkish bridge at Afyon Karahisar (in Phrygia).

Theodosius 26 vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) VI/VII

[Θ]εοδόσιος ὁ ἐνδοξοτάτος; from Eudaemonos (κόμη?); mentioned in a document from Antinoe; *P. Antin.* III 188. Cf. Droserius 1.

Theodosius 27 chartularius et discursor (discussor?) VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου χαρτουλαρίου καὶ δισκούρσορος; Zacos 1060 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΔ/ΟCΙΟ/V; rev.: ΧΑΡΤΔ/Λ/ΣΔΙC/ΚΔΡ). Two further specimens occur in Zacos' series, one of which is Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2157. Cf. Theodosius 48. On *discursor*, see Theodorus 168.

Theodosius 28 honorary consul VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 1058 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΔΟ/CΙΔ; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑ/ΤΩN), 1059 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV+; rev.: ΑΠΟ/VΠΑΤ/ΩN; perhaps the same man). A second specimen of 1059 occurs in Zacos' series, and a similar one is in Panchenko, *Katalog*, p. 91, no. 261.

Theodosius 29 domesticus VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου δομεστικού; Zacos 543 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3910 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (97) of Θεοδοσίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (72) of δομεστικού).

Theodosius 30 logothetes VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου λογοθέτου; Zacos 1061a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2158 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV+; rev.: +ΛΟΓ/ΟΘΕΤ/ΟV+). Three similar seals occur in Zacos' series, and others in

Mordtmann, *Hell. Phil. Soc.* VII (1872-3), p. 69 and Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 528. The same inscription occurs on Zacos 1061b (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV; rev.: ΛΟΓΟ/ΘΕ/ΤΔ), but b) is 'markedly different in style' to a).

Theodosius 31 magister (?militum) VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου μαγίστρου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1162 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (97) of Θεοδοσίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (213) of μαγίστρου).

Theodosius 32 MVM VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1063 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1163, Fogg Art Museum seal 983 (two seals; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV; rev.: CΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΑ/ΤΟV).

Theodosius 33 patricius VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου πατρικίου; Zacos 2828 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (97) of Θεοδοσίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (251) of πατρικίου).

Theodosius 34 PVC VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου ἐπάρχου πόλεως; Zacos 1060A (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV; rev.: ΕΠΑ/ΡΧΔΠ/ΟΛ).

Theodosius 35 scribo VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου σκριβονος; Zacos 545 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.185 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (97) of Θεοδοσίου; rev.: +CK/PIBO/NOC).

Theodosius 36 scriniarius VI/VII

Θεοδοσίου σκρινιαρίου(?); Zacos 546 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1367 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (97) of Θεοδοσίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (309) of σκρινιαρίου). Cf. Theodorus 127.

Theodosius 37 follower of Nicetas L VI/E VII

One of the followers of Nicetas 7, whom he told about the stylite Theophilus the Confessor at Alexandria; *Joh. Nik.* 108.2 (p. 547 Zotenberg).

Theodos(ius) Khorkhoruni 38 Roman commander (in Armenia) c. 605/606

Evidently a member of the noble Armenian family of the Khorkhoruni.

In c. 605/6 he commanded a Roman army encamped at a fortified site in Armenia, near the village and fortress of Angin (? = Anglon, cf. Proc. *BP* II 25.5-7); defeated by a Persian army under Senitam Chosroes, he took refuge in the fortress but surrendered immediately; sent to the Persian court, he was well received and granted money and a royal pension, but later came under suspicion and was put to death on Chosroes' orders; Sebeos xxii, pp. 59-60.

Theodosius 39 subadiuva of the mag. off. 605 or 607

On June 7, 605 or 607, he was executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (σουβαδιουβᾶ τοῦ μαγίστρου), Theoph. AM 6099 (τὸν τὴν σουβαδιουβᾶ περικείμενον ἄξιαν). See further Theodorus 150. On the *subadiuuae*, see Jones, *LRE* III, 167, n. 35.

Theodosius 40 patricius and logothetes; envoy to the Avars 626

Θεοδόσιος ὁ ἐνδοξότατος πατρικίος καὶ λογοθέτης; one of the envoys sent to the khan of the Avars on Aug. 2, 626 (see Georgius 48); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 626. For λογοθέτης in this period, cf. Constantinus 33 Lardys (where it appears to be used of a *curator domus divinae*) but see also Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 86, and Guiland, *REB* 29 (1971), p. 12 (perhaps ὁ λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ).

Theodosius 41 dux et augustalis Arcadiae 640

Described as 'préfet d'Arcadie' (Zotenberg); 'prefect of Arcadia' (Charles); Joh. Nik. 111.1 (p. 554 Zotenberg). Also styled 'the general Theodosius'; Joh. Nik. 111.9 (p. 555). He was certainly *dux et augustalis Arcadiae*; cf. also Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, pp. 73-4.

In 640 he reported the death of Ioannes 246 to the overall commander of troops in Egypt, Theodorus 166; Joh. Nik. 111.1 (p. 554). In c. May 640, when the Arabs under 'Amr approached the Fayum, Theodosius moved from place to place trying to follow their movements; Joh. Nik. 111.9 (p. 555). He and Anastasius 37 were about twelve miles from Nikiu when news came of the capture of Bahnasā and the death of Ioannes 246; they immediately withdrew to the fortress of Babylon and sent Leontius 33 to Abūīt to assess the situation; Joh. Nik. 111.13 (p. 555). In June he and Anastasius led their troops out to Heliopolis (Ōn) to join battle with 'Amr; Joh. Nik. 112.2 (p. 556). The battle was a decisive defeat for the Romans (Joh. Nik. 112 = pp. 557-8 Zotenberg) but the fate of Theodosius is unknown; if he survived he probably was among the Roman commanders who went to Nikiu and then on to Alexandria; Joh. Nik. 113.5 (p. 560 Zotenberg).

Between Theodosius and Anastasius on the one hand and Theodorus on the other there was much bad feeling, apparently arising from reports to the emperor critical of the conduct of the war; Joh. Nik. 112.1 (p. 556).

Theodosius 42 vir gloriosus; MVM (in Egypt) ?E VII

Owner of estates in the vicinity of Arsinoe; his *chartularius* was Gerontius 5; *P. Lond.* I, p. 215, no. 113 (6c) = Mitteis, *Chrest.* 148 from Arsinoe, probably from the Persian period. See further Gerontius (where the text is cited). Theodosius was probably a high-ranking aristocrat, a member of the senate of Constantinople, with the honorific dignity of *magister militum* (rather than a real military man) who owned estates in Egypt. He was evidently still alive at the date of the papyrus.

Possibly identical with Theodosius τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης, owner of an οὐσία somewhere in the Fayum of which Iustus 10 was the διοικητής; *BGU* I 323 provenance unknown (cited under Iustus).

Theodosius 43 v.h., tabellio (at Rome) E VII

He wrote the document recording the donation by Stephanus 58 of property to the church of Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 92 = *P. Ital.* 18-19, lines 59-61 ego Theodosius v.h. tabell(io) urb(is) Rom(ae) habens stationem in porticum de Subora reg(ione) quarta scriptor huius chartulae.

Theodosius 44 son of Heraclius E/M VII

Second son of the emperor Heraclius by Martina; he was born deaf; Nic. *Brev.* 14. Probably in c. 629/30 he was married to Nice, daughter of the Persian Sarbarus (Shahrbaraz); Nic. *Brev.* 21.

Theodosius 45 cubicularius and ostiarius VII

Θεοδοσίου κουβικουλαρίου καὶ ὀστιαρίου; Zacos 2939 (seal; obv.: image of Christ and the inscription ΘΕΟΔΟ/CIΟV; rev.: Κ8ΒI/Κ8ΛΑΡΙ/8/ΟCTI/ΑΡΙ8).

Theodosius 46 MVM VII

Θεοδοσίω στρατηλάτῃ; Zacos 1644 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΘΕΟΔΟ/CIΩCTP/ΑTHΛ[A]/TH+).

Theodosius 47 patricius VII

Θεοδοσίου πατρικίου, Σεργίου πατρικίου; Zacos 2929A (seal, owned by two men; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ8/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΟV; rev.: +CΕP/ΠΙΟVΠ/ΑΤΡΙΚ/ΙΟV). Cf. Sergius 51.

**Theodosius 48** ex praefectis and discussor VII  
 Θεοδοσίου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ω)ν καὶ δισκοῦσορος; Zacos 1057 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙ/ΟV; rev.: + ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡΧΟ/Ν/ΔΙCΚ/ΥCΟΡΟ/C). Cf. Theodosius 27.

**Theodosius 49** ex praefectis VII  
 Θεοδοσίω ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ[χ]ων; Zacos 1640 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΟCΙΩΑ/ΠΟΕΠΑΡ/[Χ]ΩΝ).

**Theodosius 50** imperialis spatharius VII  
 Θεο[δ]οσίου βασιλικῷ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 2976 (seal; obv.: bearded saint; rev.: + ΘΕΟ[Δ]/ΟCΙΟVΒ/CΠΑΘΑ/ΡΙΟV).

**Theodotus qui et Colocynthius** (*PLRE* II, pp. 1104-5, *PVC* a. 522/3): see **Theodorus 1** (*Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 11, 14).

**Theodotus**: philosopher ?V/VI; *PLRE* II (and see **Tribonianus 2**).

#### THEODOTVS *qui et* MAGALAS 1

dux Palaestinae ?late 529-530

When Irenaeus (= *PLRE* II, Irenaeus 7) suppressed the Samaritans in Palestine (in 530), he was accompanied by the *dux Palaestinae* Theodotus (ἤγαγεν Θεόδοτον δοῦκα Παλαιστίνης τὸν ἐπὶ κλην Μάγαλαν); they are said to have defeated the rebels, capturing and killing their leader Iulianus 3; Joh. Mal. fr. 44 (= *Exc. de ins.*, p. 171).

This account is partly contradicted by Joh. Mal. 447 and Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sabae* 70, according to whom the Samaritans were defeated and Iulianus killed by Theodorus 5, aided by Ioannes 8 and the phylarch of Palestine; Irenaeus, sent to succeed Theodorus as *dux Palaestinae* (probably in late 529), then pursued the Samaritan survivors who had taken to the hills, continuing military operations against them well into 530. The account in Joh. Mal. fr. 44 omits Theodorus and has attributed his achievement to Irenaeus.

The evidence in Joh. Mal. 447 and Joh. Mal. fr. 44 indicates that Irenaeus (as successor of Theodorus) and Theodotus were *duces Palaestinae* at the same time; they were therefore colleagues and it would appear that Justinian's policy of subdividing some *ducatus* may have applied also to Palestine (cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 289). If so, it is probable that the two *duces* Theodorus and Ioannes were succeeded (late 529) by Irenaeus and Theodotus. Theodotus then took part in actions against

the Samaritans in 530 with Irenaeus (who seems to have had the greater authority, cf. Joh. Mal. fr. 44 ἐξουσίαν ὥστε γράφαι τοῖς κατὰ τόπον ἀρχουσιν).

**THEODOTVS 2** dux (East) c. 535

Responsible for assembling the monophysites at Constantinople in 535 ('through the general (δούξ) Theodotus'); Mich. Syr. IX 22.

**Theodotus 3** PPO II Orientis 546/547-?548

PPO ORIENTIS a. 541 June 1-542 Dec. 18 (-?543): successor of Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian (last attested on May 7, 541); Proc. *Anecd.* 22.2.6. In office a. 541 June 1, Just. *Nov.* 111 (styled 'p(raefectus) p(raetorio)' in the Latin version; the Greek title is lost); Sept. 10, Just. *Nov.* 112 (styled 'p.p. per Orientem' and ἐπάρχος πραιτωρίων); Nov. 1, Just. *Nov.* 114 (Latin version only; styled 'p.p.');

Nov. 22, Just. *Nov.* 113 (styled 'p.p.');

a. 542 Feb. 1, Just. *Nov.* 115 (styled 'p.p.' and ἐπάρχος τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων); April 9, Just. *Nov.* 116 (styled 'p.p.' and ἐπάρχος πραιτωρίων); Dec. 18, Just. *Nov.* 117 (styled 'p.p.');

the Greek title is lost). According to Procopius he was not a particularly good man but was not wicked enough to please Justinian and Theodora, who therefore looked for a successor and replaced him with Petrus 9 Barsymes; Proc. *Anecd.* 22.3.6 (= Suid. Θ 141, where his office is styled ὑπάρχος τῶν στρατευμάτων). Petrus was in office by July 16, 543. Perhaps it was in this first office that Theodotus issued an extant prefectural decree; Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνεκδοτα*, pp. 258ff., no. 34 (Θεοδότου ἐπάρχου).

PPO (II) ORIENTIS a. 546/547-?548: in office between 546 May 1 and 547 March 31, Just. *Nov.* 126 (addressed Θεοδότῳ ἐπάρχῳ πραιτωρίων, and dated to year 20 of Justinian, 546 April 1/547 March 31; cf. Just., *Nov.* (ed. Schoell and Kroll), p. 631, on line 13. Petrus Barsymes was still in office on May 1, 546). His successor, Bassus 4, probably took office in early 548. Theodotus apparently died in office; some years later Addaeus admitted that he had killed Theodotus by the use of sorcery; Evagr. *HE* v 3 (αὐτὸν γὰρ γοητεία τὸν Θεόδοτον ὑπάρχον τῆς αὐλῆς ἀνελεῖν) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 34), and cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 784-5.

**Theodotus 4** ?brother-in-law of Agathias M VI

Husband of Eugenia, with whom circumstances had led him to quarrel; commemorated in verses by Agathias; *Anth. Gr.* VII 596. According to the lemmata (*Palatine corrector* and Planudes) he was Agathias' brother-in-law.

Theodotus 5 candidatus M/L VI  
 Θεοδότου κανδιδάτου; Zacos 551 (seal; obv.: monogram (98) of Θεοδότου; rev.: cruciform monogram (179) of κανδιδάτου).

Theodotus 6 PVC ?VI

Named on a number of glass weights (ἐπι Θεοδότου ἐπάρχου); Zacos 3001a, b and c, Monneret de Villard, Catalogue, C, nos. 17a-f (of which c and d = Schlumberger, *MéL.*, pp. 323-4, no. 10 = *IGLS* v 2469, found at Emesa). Another specimen is in the British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, 93, 4-9, 2 (a cruciform monogram reading Θεοδότου). See Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), pp. 122, 125 with n. 32.

THEODOTVS 7 v.magn., drungarius 628

One of three men sent by Heraclius on March 25, 628, to escort Persian representatives to him; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 628 (Θεόδοτον τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον δρουγγάριον). Cf. Elias 10 and Gusdanaspes.

Theodotus 8 cubicularius VII

Θεοδότου κουβικουλαρίου; Zacos 1064 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΔΟ/ΤΟΝΚΟΝ/ΒΙΚΟΝΛ/ΑΡΙΟΝ; rev.: ΔΟΝΛΔ/ΤΗΘΕ/ΩΤΟΚ/ΟΝ).

Theodotus 9 ex praefectis VII

Θεοδότου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 710 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (100) of Θεοδότου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων).

Theodotus 10 imperialis a secretis VII

Θεοδότου βασιλικῷ ἀσηκρήτις; Zacos 548 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3983 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (99) of Θεοδότου; rev.: +ΒΑC/ΙΛΙΚΔΑ/.ΗΚΡ/.ΤΔ([Η]ΤΙ[С] Zacos)).

Theodotus 11 MVM VII

Θεοδότου στρατηγ(άτου); Zacos 1650 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.584 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΘΕΟ/ΔΟΤΟΝ/СТΡΑΤ/ΗΛΙ).

Theodotus 12 scribo VII

Θεοδότω σκρίβονι; Zacos 1649 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4864 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΘΕΟΔ/ΟΤΩCΚ/ΡΙΒΟΝ/Ι).

Theodulfus comes civitatis Andecavorum 585

Sent by Guntram in 585 to be *comes* of Angers (Theodulfum Andegavis comitem esse decrevit), he was at first humiliated and expelled by Domegisel and the citizens (Angers was technically subject to Chlotharius), but was sent back by Guntram with Sigulfus 3 and took up his post (comitatum urbis illius rexit); Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18.

Theodulus (*ILCV* 227) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Theodulus (*Chiron* 6 (1976), pp. 305-7, no. 12) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Theodulus I ?v.sp. (in Egypt) VI

Περίβλε(πτος); *P. Oxy.* 2020, line 23 (the document records payments of barley by, among others, his heirs), 2040, line 17 (his heirs made a payment for fuel for the public baths). Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Cf. Ptolemaeus 2, also Patricia 2 and Paulus 27.

Theodulus 2 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

Θεοδούλου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 553 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (101) of ΘΕΟΔΔΔ; rev.: monogram (30) of ΑΠΟΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ).

Theognis I ?MVM per Illyricum 581-582

During the Avar siege of Sirmium in c. 581 Theognis discussed a truce with the khan Baian near the nearby islands of Casia and Carbonaria; he rejected the khan's demands and told him to prepare for battle on the following day; Men. Prot. fr. 65. Things went ill for the Romans, Sirmium began to suffer from famine and Theognis was short of men; the emperor Tiberius ordered him to surrender the city to the Avars and he negotiated the details with the khan; Men. Prot. fr. 66.

He was evidently a military commander who went to help Sirmium during the siege and was apparently the highest ranking official there (cf. Solomon 4); probably the MVM per Illyricum. Cf. also Callistratus.

Theognius 2 ?PVC VI/VII

Θεωγνίου ἐπάρχου; named on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, no. 16a = Markoff, no. 6 (+ ΘΕΩΓΝΙΟΥΕΠΑΡΧΔ). Probably city prefect of Constantinople. His monogram (cf. 96) occurs on two other glass weights; Jungfleisch, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* 14 (1932), p. 243, no. 27, Monneret de Villard, Catalogue H, no. 18, and cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), p. 128, with n. 57.

## Theognius 3

MVM M VI/M VII

Θεογνίου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1064b (seal; obv.: Θ[Ε]/[Ο]ΓΝΙ/ΟΒ; rev.: [C]ΤΡ[Α]/ΤΗΛΑ/ΤΟΒ). A similar seal, perhaps owned by the same man, is Fogg Art Museum seal 903 (obv.: +/ΘΕΟ/ΓΝΙ/ΟΒ+; rev.: +/CΤΡΑ/ΤΗΛΑ/ΤΟΒ).

## Theognosia

?c.f. (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1829 (certain goods were to be divided between the addressee of the document, Fl. Strategius 5, and τῆς λαμπρο(στάτης) κύρας Θεογνωσίας). She was perhaps a wealthy citizen of Oxyrhynchus, and may have been the sister of Cyra or Strategius (line 10 alludes to the unnamed λαμπροστάτη ἀδελφή of the addressee of this document, who may be Cyra or Strategius but could be another person; cf. Cyra).

## THEON 1

v.sp.; ?landowner in Egypt VI

Several documents from Oxyrhynchus allude to the *domus* of Theon (οἶκος Θεώνος); *P. Oxy.* 126 (dated in 572, it alludes to τῆ ἐξακτορικῆ τάξει μερίδος καὶ οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Θεώνος; he therefore died before 572), 1999 (VI/VII), 2009 (VI/VII); οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέ(πτου) μνή(μης) Θεώνος), 2016 (VI/VII), 2039 (VI; ὁ ἔνδοξος οἶκος). The documents recording him as dead were probably written not long after he died; the others may be either from his lifetime or some years later, since the estate evidently continued to be known by his name. Cf. also *P. Oxy.* xvi, p. 93, note on line 2 (either a landowner or an *exactor*), and see Gelzer, *Arch. Pap.* v, p. 357, n. 4, Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*, p. 73, n. 3, and Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 47–9. See also Timagenes.

## THEON 2

comes and dioecetes (Egypt); VI/VII

A document from Oxyrhynchus, listing arrears of *embolie*, mentions payments δ(ιὰ) [τ]οῦ κόμ(ετος) Θεώνος διοικ(ητοῦ), including one (ὑπὲρ) ναύλ(ου) τῆς διοικ(ησέως); *P. Oxy.* 1908. He combined the imperial title of *comes* with the post of *dioecetes* of, presumably, privately owned estates (perhaps belonging to the Apions). Cf. also Ioannes 222.

(Fl.) Ioannes (Menas?) Iustinianus (Demos)thenes Str(aton) (E)lias The(ionas) (Dio)scorus

## THEOPEMPTVS 1

comes (Egypt) c. 549/550

Recorded in a papyrus from Antinoe; *SB* 9616 verso 22 (τῶ κόμ(ε)τῳ Θεοπέμπτῳ), 30 (δεσπότης μου ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμ(ε)τ(ε)ς Θεοπέμπτ(ε)ς). On the date, cf. Elias 5.

## THEOPEMPTVS 2

moderator M/L VI

Θεοπέμπτου μοντερατόρου (?) moderatoros; Zacos 2830 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (137) of Θεοπέμπτου; rev.: circular inscription, [+ ]ΜΟΔΕΡΑΤΟΡΟ[Σ], around a cruciform monogram (227) of (?) ΜΟΝΤΕΡΑΤΟΡΩ). The only known *moderatores* were the governors of the provinces of Helenopontus, Arabia and Phoenice Libanensis after the reorganisation by Justinian in 535 and 536; Just. *Nov.* 28, *Nov.* 102, *Ed.* 4.

## Theopemptus 3

?PVC VI

Named on a glass weight; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue D, no. 2a (+ Θεοπέμπτου). Possibly a city prefect. See Theopemptus 7.

## Theopemptus 4

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοπέμπτου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 555 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (135) of Θεοπέμπτου; rev.: cruciform monogram (364) of χαρτουλαρίου).

## Theopemptus 5

chartularius M VI/M VII

Θεοπέμπτου χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 2829 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (136) of Θεοπέμπτου; rev.: ΧΑΡΤ/ΟΒΛ[Α]/ΠΙΟΒ).

## Theopemptus 6

PPO Italiae M VI/M VII

Theopemptus p(raefectus) p(raetorio) Ital(iae); Zacos 1068a and b (two almost identical seals; obv.: THEO/PEMΠ/ΤΥΣ (a), THE/ΟΡΕΜ/ΡΤΥΣ (b); rev.: PPO/ΙΤΑΛ (a and b)).

## Theopemptus 7

PVC 605 or 607

Ὁ ἑπαρχος; he tortured the empress Constantina for Phocas and made her incriminate Romanus 13; Theoph. AM 6099. The date was either 605 or 607 (see Constantina 1). The PPO Orientis at this time was Theodorus 150; Theopemptus was therefore city prefect of Constantinople.

Perhaps identical with Theopemptus 3; cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), pp. 125–6 with n. 36.

## Theopemptus 8

adsabani VII

Θεοπέ(μ)πτω ἀδσάβανι; Zacos 2931 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΠΕΝΠΤ/ΩΑΔC/ΑΒΑΝΙ; rev.: +ΔΟΒ/ΛΟΝΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟΒ). On the office, see Georgius 20.

## Theopemptus 9

exartistes VII

Θεοπέμπτω ἑξαριστῆ; Zacos 1654a and b (two identical seals; obv.:

cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΘΕΟ/ΠΕΜΠΤΩ/  
ΕΞΑΡΤΙ/CTH+). Possibly an official of the *vestiarius* concerned with  
equipping the fleet; cf. Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, pp. 96-7, Oikonomides,  
*Listes*, p. 316.

Theopemptus 10 exartistes VII

Θεοπέμπτου ἐξαρτιστοῦ; Zacos 1067 = Dumbarton Oaks seal  
55.1.2161 (seal; obv.: +/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΕΙ/+; rev.: +/ΘΕΟΠΕ/  
ΜΠΤΟΥΞ/ΞΑΡΤΙC/ΤΟV+). In view of the unusual office and the  
coincidence of names, perhaps identical with Theopemptus 9, in spite of  
the differences of the seals.

Theopemptus 11 ex praefectis VII

Θε(ο)πέμ(πτ)ω ἀπὸ (ἐπὶ)ρ(χων); Zacos 1066 = Dumbarton Oaks  
seal 58.106.2000 (seal; obv.: [Θ]ΕΟΤ/[Ο]ΚΕΒΟ/[Η]ΘΙ; rev.: ΘΕ[ΟΠ]/  
ΕΜ[ΠΤ]/ΑΠΟ[ΕΠΑ]/Ρ[ΧΩΝ]).

Theophanes (of Byzantium) 1 historian L VI

Native of Byzantium, historian, known only from the notice and  
fragments in Photius, *Bibliotheca* 64. His work, in ten books (ἱστορικῶν  
λόγοι δέκα), was a history of the Persian wars of Justin II, ending with  
the tenth year of the war; in a fragment from Book One he also records  
that he had written a history of events under Justinian. The fragments  
are in *FHG* IV 270-1.

Theophanes 2 scribo VI/VII

(Θ)εοφάνους σ(κ)ρίβ(ονος); Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2162 (seal;  
obv.: +/ΕΟΦ/ΑΝΔCC/ΡΙΒ; rev.: Δ8Λ8/ΤΗCΘ/ΟΤΟ/ΟΥ).

Theophanes 3 demarch of a circus faction 607

In 607 Theophanes and Pamphilus 2, οἱ δῆμαρχοι τῶν δύο μερῶν,  
inadvertently provoked Phocas by placing portraits of Domentzia 2 and  
Priscus 6 alongside those of Phocas and Leontia at the circus games;  
Theoph. AM 6099, cf. Joh. Ant. fr. 109 (τοὺς πρώτους τῶν μερῶν,  
unnamed). Cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, p. 253.

Theophanes 4 ?at Antioch with Bonosus 609

According to the Paschal Chronicle he instigated Bonosus to evil  
deeds at Antioch (in 609); described as 'of accursed memory'; *Chron.*  
*Pasch.* s.a. 610 (εἰσηγήσει Θεοφάνους τοῦ τῆς ἀνασκάφου μνήμης).  
Nothing further is known about him.

Theophanes 5 scribo VII

Θεοφάνου(ς) σκρίβωνο(ς); Zacos 1069 = Dumbarton Oaks seal

58.106.2544 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΦΑΝΟ/ΥCΚΡΙ/ΒΩΝΩ; rev.: +ΔΟ/  
ΥΛΟΥΤ/ΗCΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚ8).

THEOPHANIVS comes urbis Centumcellensis L VI

Comes at Centumcellae (Centumcellensis urbis comes), where he died,  
leaving a widow, a few years before pope Gregory in the *Homilies on the*  
*Gospels* (a. 591/2) and in the *Dialogi* (a. 593/4) cited him as an example  
of a dying man foretelling the future; according to Gregory he was a  
good man and conscientious in performing his duties (fuit namque vir  
misericordiae actibus deditus, bonis operibus intentus, hospitalitati  
praecipue studens, exercendis quidem comitatus curis occupatus; agebat  
terrena et temporalia, sed, ut post in fine claruit, magis ex debito quam  
ex intentione); *Greg. Hom. in Evang.* xxxvi 13, cf. *Dial.* IV 28 (the same  
story, in almost identical words).

His post was perhaps the same as that held also at Centumcellae by  
Zemarchus 4, who was *tribunus* and *comes* (possibly financial).

Theophano hypatissa VII

Θεοφαν[οῖ] ὑπατ[ί]σση; Zacos 2932 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ;  
rev.: ΘΕΟΦ/ΑΝ..V/ΠΑΤ../CH).

Theophile wife of Phoebammon M/L VI

Wife of Phoebammon 2, mother of Dioscorus 7; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67279  
Antioe (c.a. 570).

Theophilus 1 teacher of law at Constantinople 528-533; honorary Mag. Off.  
529-533

Teacher of law (antecessor) in Constantinople a. 528 Feb. 13-533  
Dec. 16: *Just. Const.* 'Haec' (528 Feb. 13; cited below), *Const.* 'Summa'  
(529 April 7; cited below), *Institutiones*, title (virum magnificum iuris  
peritum et antecessorem huius almae urbis), *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' (533  
Nov. 21; v.i. antecessor), *CJ* I 17.2.9 = *Const.* 'Tanta' (533 Dec. 16;  
cited below). 11 (v.i. et facundissimus antecessor), *Const.* 'Omnem' (533  
Dec. 16; v.i. antecessor; one of the teachers of law to whom this  
constitution was addressed). He was one of the two teachers of law at  
Constantinople; his colleague was Cratinus. Of the addressees of *Const.*  
'Omnem' he is named first (the others being Dorotheus 4, Theodorus 7,  
Isidorus 3, Anatolius 3, Thalelaeus, Cratinus and Salaminius).

In 528 and 529 he was a member of the commission on the first edition  
of the *Codex Iustinianus*; *Just. Const.* 'Haec' (appointment of the

commission), *Const.* 'Summa' (completion of its work). He was then selected by Tribonianus 1 (in Dec. 530) to serve on the Digest commission; *CJ* 1 17.2.9 = *Const.* Tanta' (on the completion of its work). He also joined Tribonianus and Dorotheus in 533 on a special subcommittee which compiled the Institutes; *Const.* 'Imperatoriam', *CJ* 1 17.2.11 = *Const.* 'Tanta'. Of the four books of the Institutes Theophilus probably wrote two and Dorotheus the others; cf. Jolowicz, p. 503 with n. 4, but cf. Honoré, *Tribonian*, pp. 189ff.

V.C., COMES SACRI CONSISTORII a. 528 Feb. 13: *Just. Const.* 'Haec' (vir clarissimus, comes sacri nostri consistorii et iuris in hac alma urbe doctor).

VIR ILLVSTRIS, MAGISTER (OFFICIORVM) (honorary or titular) a. 529 April 7-533 Dec. 16: while a member of the first commission on the *Codex* he was given the dignity of *magister officiorum* (not an actual office or ranking *inter agentes* - cf. Constantinus 1 - and so either titular or honorary) (and so became a *vir illustris*); *Const.* 'Summa' (vir illustris ex magistro et iuris doctor in hac alma urbe). Also attested a. 533 Dec. 16; *CJ* 1 17.2.9 = *Const.* 'Tanta' (vir illustris magister iurisque peritus in hac splendidissima civitate laudabiliter optimam legum gubernationem extendens; cf. the Greek version, *Const.* Δέδωκεν 9: ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος μάγιστρος καὶ νόμους ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως σεμνῶς τε καὶ ἀγρύπνως καὶ τῆς διδασκαλικῆς ἐπιτηδευσέως ἀξίως διδάσκων). See also Clauss, p. 194.

He subsequently compiled a Greek version of the Institutes which is still extant, the *Paraphrasis Institutionum* (ed. E. C. Ferrini, 1884-7). This was a set of lecture notes; cf. H. J. Scheltema, *L'Enseignement de Droit des Antécédents*, pp. 17-23. It was apparently composed in 534, before the second edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* was published, since it cites constitutions only from the first edition, including some omitted from the second; cf. Kübler (below), 2144-5. He also wrote an Index to the first three parts of the Digest (the *Prota*, *De Iudiciis* and *De rebus*, comprising Books 1-19), which is not extant but was cited in scholia to the *Basilica* and was known to Stephanus 18 (who styles Theophilus ὁ μακαρίτης); see *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, VI, intro., p. 12 with n. 9, and pp. 33-6, and cf. also Scheltema, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1. Since his work on the Digest ended where it did, Theophilus may have died leaving it incomplete, perhaps c. 536.

See further B. Kübler, in *P-W* V A, 2, col. 2138-48.

Theophilus 2 commissioner under Justin II and Tiberius M/L VI

Sent by Justin II to the east to suppress rebellion among the Jews and Samaritans in Palestine (cf. Photius 2), he was later sent on to Heliopolis

by Tiberius (in c. 579) to investigate the pagans there; many suffered death and torture at his hands; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 3.27 (= *Mich. Syr.* x 12). Cf. Anatolius 8.

Fl. Theophilus 3 defensor of Hermonthis VI/VII

Φλ. Θεοφίλος (sic) σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ ἕκδικος 'Ερμώνθ(εως); witness of the will of bishop Abraham of Hermonthis; *P. Lond.* I, p. 231, no. 77 = *Mitteis, Chrest.* 319 Hermonthis. Possibly late sixth century, from the handwriting.

Theophilus 4 ?topoteretes of a dux (Egypt) E VII

A native of Egypt, from the city of Meradā (unidentified), he was 'governor of five cities' ('commandant de cinq villes', Zotenberg) in the reign of Phocas and was attacked and killed with his followers (?*bucellarii*) when 'the officers of the city ('les clercs de la province') and a large body of men revolted against him'; *Joh. Nik.* 105.1 (p. 540 Zotenberg), cf. index 104 (105) (p. 356) title 'concerning Theophilus of the city of Maurad and the massacre which Phocas carried out because of his death in Antioch and Palestine'. The five 'cities' are named as 'Kertebā, Sān, Bastā, Balqā and Sanhūr in *Joh. Nik.* 105.2 ('Kharbetā, Sān, Bastā, Balqā et Sanhour', p. 540 Zotenberg). Phocas sent Bonusus 2 who with troops from Cilicia killed many in Antioch.

Theophilus was perhaps the *topoteretes* of a *dux*, commanding troops in a group of cities and forts; see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, pp. 135-6 ('Théophile fut donc un tribun ou un vicaire ducal commandant à plusieurs garnisons: peut-être un *praepositus limitis*'); of the places named, one, Sanhūr, was not a city but probably a fort).

Theophilus 5 honorary consul VII

Θεοφίλω ὑπάτω; Zacos 714 (seal; obv.: eagle, and cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (138) of Θεοφίλω ὑπάτω(?)). Possibly the same man owned another seal, Zacos 715 (obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΘΕΟΦ/ΙΛΩΝ/ΠΑΤ/Ω+).

Theophobius Lazian 551

A prominent Lazian (ἐν Λαζοῖς οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἀνὴρ), in 551 he conspired with the Persian general Mermeroes and obtained the surrender to the Persians of the fortress of Outhimereos, strengthening Persian control over Lazica; *Proc. BG* IV 16.4-13.

Theophylactus 1 scribo VI

Theophylactu scribunus; Zacos 1072a and b (two seals; obv.: ΤΗΕΥ/



h4LA/CCT4; rev.: ΓP1/b4/Π4K). Four more, identical, specimens occur in Zacos' series and are Dumbarton Oaks seals 58.106.4235, 4236, 4237, 4238.

**Theophylactus 2**

gloriosissimus ex praefectis et iudex pedaneus M VI/VII

Named in an undated inscription from Aphrodisias - ἐπὶ Θεοφυλάκ[τ]ου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτά(του) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ [θ]ίου δικαστοῦ; CIG 8644 = Grégoire, *IGC* 247 Aphrodisias (Caria). Presumably after 539 when the *iudices pedanei* (θεῖοι δικασταί) were instituted by Justinian (*Nov.* 82); cf. Victor 1.

The coincidence of the name and similarity of titles suggests that he is identical with the historian Theophylactus 10 Simocatta.

**Theophylactus 3**

honorary consul M VI/M VII

Θεοφυλάκτου ὑπάτου; Zacos 557 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (140) of Θεοφυλάκτου; rev.: cruciform monogram (342) of ὑπάτου).

**Theophylactus 4**

honorary consul M VI/M VII

Θεοφυλάκτου ὑπάτου; Zacos 558 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.187 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (140) of Θεοφυλάκτου; rev.: +/VΠA/TOV/+).

**Theophylactus 5**

MVM M VI/M VII

Θεοφυλάκτου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1074 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4781 (seal; obv.: +ΘEO/ΦVΛA/KTOV; rev.: CTPA/THAA/TOV).

## THEOPHYLACTVS 6

referendarius M VI/M VII

Θεοφυλάκτου ῥεφερενδαρίου; Zacos 559 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2839 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (139) of Θεοφυλάκτου; rev.: cruciform monogram (289) of ῥεφερενδαρίου).

**Theophylactus 7**

scholarius M VI/M VII

Θεοφυλάκτου σχολαρίου; Zacos 1071 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2165 (seal; obv.: [+ ]ΘEO/ΦVΛA/KTOV; rev.: +CX/OΛAP/IOV).

**Theophylactus 8**

scriniarius M VI/M VII

Θεοφυλάκτου σκρινιαρίου; Fogg Art Museum seal 1547 (obv.: cruciform monogram (141) of Θεοφυλάκτου; rev.: CKPI/NIAPI/OV).

**Theophylactus 9**

subadiuva of the PVC 610/641 (?612)

He served under the PVC Theodorus 158 in the reign of Heraclius,

when he was also member of a religious society; attested on official duty in the court of the PVC; *Mir. Arlem.* 18 (p. 23) (εἷς δὲ τῶν πλησίον ἐστῶτων Θεοφύλακτος τοῦνομα σουβαδιουβᾶς ὦν (for the Σουβαδίου Βασῶν of the printed text and the MSS) καὶ τῆ παννυχίδι σχολάζων, διαλαθῶν τὸν ἑπαρχον, κτλ). This is apparently the only evidence for a *subadiuva* in the *officium* of the PVC.

**Theophylactus Simocatta 10**

ex praefectis and magister scrinii; historian E VII

A native of Egypt; Theoph. Sim. vii 16.10, cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 65. He was related to the *praefectus Augustalis* Petrus 56; Theoph. Sim. viii 13.12.

EX PRAEFECTIS and MAGISTER SCRINII, E VII: his titles are recorded in manuscripts of his writings, cited below. He perhaps served as *magister scrinii* under Heraclius.

Author of several extant works. Under Heraclius he wrote a history of the reign of Maurice (largely a history of the wars); Theoph. Sim. 1 title (Θεοφυλάκτου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ ἀντιγραφῆως, restored from Const. Porph. *Exc. de leg.* (ed. de Boor, pp. 221, 477) and Phot. *Bibl.* 65 ἀνεγνώσθη Θεοφυλάκτου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων καὶ ἀντιγραφῆως ἱστοριῶν λόγοι ὀκτώ). At viii 12. 12-13 he alludes to Heraclius' victory over Persia and at viii 11.7 to the start of Heraclius' reign. He also wrote a dialogue on problems about nature, Θεοφυλάκτου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων τοῦ Σιμοκάτου διάλογος περὶ διαφόρων φυσικῶν ἀπορημάτων καὶ ἐπιλύσεων αὐτῶν, ed. Lidia Massa Positano (1965); a number of rhetorical letters, ed. R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci*, pp. 763-86; and a dialogue *On Predestined Terms of Life*, ed. C. Garton and L. G. Westerink (Θεοφυλάκτου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχου Σιμοκάτου).

The notice in Suidas describes him as a sophist; Suid. Θ 201.

See now M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and His Historian: Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan Warfare* (Oxford, 1988).

**Theophylactus 11**

chartularius ?VII

Θεοφυλάκτου χαρτ(ουλαρίου); Zacos 1660a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.589 (seal; dated M VII/M VIII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of κύριε βοήθει; rev.: +/ΘEOΦ/VΛAKT/OVXA/PΤJ).

**Theophylactus 12**

honorary consul VII

Θεοφυλάκτου ὑπάτου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1455 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, in the quarters: TΩ-CΩ/Δδ-Λω; rev.: +/ΘEOΦV/ΛAKTδ/VΠATδ/+).

Theophylactus 13 cubicularius VII

Θεοφυλάκτω cubiculario; Zacos 2933 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤΟ/  
ΚΕΒΟΗ/ΘΕΙ; rev.: ΘΕΟΦ/ΥΛΑΚΤΩ/СΥΒΙC/ΥΛ).

Theophylactus 14 MVM et spatharius ?VII

Θεοφυλάκτου στρατηλάτου (καί) σπαθάριου; Zacos 1663 = Dum-  
barton Oaks seal 58.106.2500 (seal, dated M VII/M VIII Zacos, VII  
Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.:  
ΘΕΟΦΥ/ΛΑΚΤΟΝ/СТΡΑΤΗΛΑ/ΤΥCΠΑ/ΘΑΡΙΔ).

Theophylactus 15 ex praefectis ?VII

Θεοφυλάκτου ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1105 = Dumbarton Oaks seal  
58.106.1512 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; bust  
of a saint between the letters Θ and Ε/ΟΦΥΛΛΑ/[Κ]ΤΟΥ; rev.:  
Α[Π]Ο/[Ε]ΠΑΡ/[ΧΩ]Ν).

Theopistus domesticus M VI/M VII

Theopistu domesticu; Zacos 2934 (seal; obv.: + ΤΗ/ΕΟΠΙC/ΤΥ; rev.:  
ΔΟΜ/ΕCΤΙ/СΥ).

Theoprepes E/M VI

His son (Anonymus 71) was adopted by Phocas (*PLRE* II, pp. 881–2);  
Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 75. Nothing further is known about him.

THEOPROPVS vir nobilis; monk (at Monte Cassino) M VI

Vir quidam nobilis, Theopropus nomine; became a monk under St  
Benedict's influence and lived with him at Monte Cassino; Greg. *Dial.*  
II 17, cf. II 35 (religious vir Theopropus, at Monte Cassino in apparently  
540/1; cf. Greg. *Dial.*, ed. Moricca, p. 129, n. 1). *Nobilis* perhaps  
indicates senatorial origin.

Theosebeia: poetess ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Theotenus: former *praepositus* (in Egypt) 517–547; *PLRE* II.

FL. THEOTIMVS I

v.c., proximus of the officium of the praeses Arcadiae 566

Son of Menas τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης; a native of Arsinoe; recorded  
in a document from somewhere in the Fayum dated Oct. 11, 566; *BGU*  
I 306, line 3 ΦΛ. Θεοτίμω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ πρωξίμω τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς  
τάξεως τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας. Also styled ἡ σὴ λαμπρότης.

Theotimus 2 doctor (at Constantinople) 593

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory commending the new papal  
*apocrisarius*, the deacon Sabinianus; Greg. *Ep.* III 65 (a. 593 Aug.;  
addressed 'Theotimo medico').

T(H)ERMANTIVS v.s(pectabilis) (at Ravenna) 553

V(ir) s(pectabilis) (rather than *sublimis* or *strenuus*); witnessed a  
donation by Ranilo on April 4, 553, at Ravenna; Marini, *P. Dip.* 86 =  
*P. Ital.* 13, line 76.

For names beginning Theud..., see Theod...

Theudis: king of the Visigoths 531–548; *PLRE* II.

Theutharius referendarius (of Sigibert); priest - 589

Formerly *referendarius* under Sigibert (561/75), he entered the church  
and became a priest shortly before 589; in that year he was appointed  
by Childebert to settle the property dispute between Ingiltrudis and  
Berthegundis, in vain; Greg. *Tur. HF* IX 33 (nuper ex referendario  
Sigiberti regis conversus presbyterii honorem accepit). Also in 589 he  
was sent to Poitiers in a vain attempt to restore peace between the  
quarrelling nuns of St Radegundis' convent; Greg. *Tur. HF* IX 43, x 16.

Thiuda scholarius VI

His wife's epitaph survives at Constantinople; Schneider, *Germania* 21  
(1935), p. 176 (ἐνθα κατάκτε ἡ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Οὐλιφρίδα, γυνὴ  
εἰχολαρίου (sic) Θιουδα).

Thomas (*CIL* V 1604) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Thomas: referendarius (East) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Fl. Thomas: consularis (Pamphyliae) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Thomas I ascetic E/M VI

Native of Amida, a descendant of Ishakuni bar Br'y (*PLRE* II, p. 626,  
Isaac I); brought up 'like a king's son' with great wealth and luxury;  
a *notarius* of the church at Amida, he was exiled with bishop Mare in  
c. 521; they went first to Petra and then, allegedly after the intercession  
of Theodora (Justinian's wife but not yet empress), were allowed to go  
to Alexandria; here in c. 523 Thomas went into the desert to follow the  
life of an ascetic, but after six years, when Mare died, he returned to

Amida for his funeral and to put his own affairs in order, dividing his property between himself and his sister Cosmo; after two years he returned to Egypt (c. 532), was still alive in c. 534 (when John of Ephesus visited him) but probably died in c. 537/538; Joh. Eph. V. SS. Or. 13 (PO 17, pp. 187ff.). For the date of his death, see p. 210 with n. 1.

Thomas 2 ?MVM vacans (in Lazica) ?527/535

Father of Ioannes 44 *qui et* Guzes; Proc. BP II 30.4, BG IV 8.15.38, 9.13, 10.7, 11.57.64. Therefore a native of Armenia. Possibly identical with Thomas 6.

COMMANDER of the troops stationed in Lazica, where he built many strongholds, on orders from Justinian; he was considered a man of intelligence by the emperor; Proc. BP II 30.5 (οὗτος ὁ Θωμᾶς πολλά τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λαζικὴν ὀχυρωμάτων ἔδειματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἤρξεν, ἔμφρων τε βασιλεῖ ἔδοξεν εἶναι). He presumably held the same office and rank as Irenaeus (PLRE II, Irenaeus 7) and Ioannes 20 Tzibus and was doubtless a predecessor of the latter.

Thomas 3 QSP 528–529; honorary consul

QSP (East) a. 528 Feb. 13–529 April 7, and HONORARY CONSUL: vir gloriosissimus quaestor sacri nostri palatii et ex consule; Just. Const. 'Haec' (a. 528 Feb. 13), Const. 'Summa' (a. 529 April 7). If Tribonianus 1 was Justinian's first appointment as QSP (see Proc. Anecd. 20.16), Thomas was presumably in the office when Justin I died (on Aug. 1, 527) and may have been successor to Proculus (last attested in 525/526; see PLRE II, Proculus 5). Styled ὁ κοιαιστωρ; Joh. Mal. 449, Theoph. AM 6022. Probably succeeded by Tribonianus 1 by Sept. 17, 529.

During this office he was a member of the commission which prepared the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*; Just. Const. 'Haec' (appointing the commissioners), Const. 'Summa' (the completion of their work). In the two lists of commissioners, Thomas is named in fifth place, after the former PPO Basilides and before the titular *Mag. Off.* Tribonianus; cf. Tribonianus 1.

A pagan, he was arrested in 529 during the first persecution of pagans under Justinian; Theoph. AM 6022 (in indiction 8, so not before Sept. 529), cf. Joh. Mal. 449 (said to have been killed in this persecution, but this is suspect because the text of Malalas is abbreviated, and cf. Phocas, in PLRE II, p. 882, also said to have been killed but who certainly survived).

In any event Thomas was already dead by May 23, 535; Just. Nov. 35 (concerning disputes affecting the *adiutores quaestoris* which arose 'temporibus Thomae gloriosissimae recordationis cum is quaestoriam

nuper tam sacri scrinii memoriae quam epistularum gubernabat censuram'). Whatever may have occurred in 529, he had evidently been rehabilitated by 535.

Thomas 4

envoy to Persia 531

Sent as envoy to Persia with Alexander 1, Hermogenes 1 and Rufinus (PLRE II, p. 955) soon after the accession of Chosroes (Sept. 531) to discuss peace terms; Proc. BP I 22.1. For the details of the embassy, see Alexander.

To judge by the rank of his colleagues, Thomas was a *vir illustris*. He may have been identical with Thomas 3.

Thomas 5

doctor and a secretis 532

Θωμᾶς τις ἀδοσηκητῆς, ἱατρὸς ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως, πάντῳ φιλούμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ; during the Nika riot he met Hypatius' messenger Ephraemius in the palace and told him that Justinian had fled and the palace was deserted; subsequently Justinian learned of this and had him beheaded; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

THOMAS 6

comes Armeniae Tertiae 536

Appointed governor of the newly formed province of Armenia Tertia on March 18, 536; he had already held offices in Armenia; Just. Nov. 31.2 (εὐρόντες τοίνυν Θωμᾶν τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον, ἤδη μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίων ἀνύσαντα χώρας, καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ἄνδρα χρηστὸν καὶ γνησίως ἡμῖν ὑπηρετησάμενον τε καὶ ὑπηρετούμενον, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης προβαλλόμεθα διοικήσει). The new province had Melitene as its metropolis and the governor, combining military and civil powers, bore the title of *comes Armeniae Tertiae*; cf. Nov. 31. praef. 2 and cap. 3.

Possibly identical with Thomas 2, but the epithet *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος* is against identifying him with an MVM while the recorded activities of Thomas 2 were in Lazica, not Armenia. See however Stein, *Bas-Empr.* II 471, n. 2.

THOMAS 7

v.c., arcarius of the PPO Italiae 536

On orders from Theodahad the *arcarii* Thomas and Petrus 4 loaned a sum of gold to pope Agapetus for expenses on his embassy to Constantinople, as security for which Agapetus deposited with them sacred vessels from the church of St Peter; on further orders from Theodahad the *arcarii* were then instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus (PLRE II, Cassiodorus 4) to return the vessels to the agents of the church, as an act of generosity; Cass. Var. XII 20 (a. 536; addressed 'Thomati et Petro v̄v. cc. arcariis'). Agapetus had reached Constantinople by March

13, 536, and died there on April 22; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 383. News of his death had apparently not reached Italy when Cassiodorus wrote *Var.* XII 20. Since the *arcarii* were subject to the PPO, the loan presumably came from the *arca praefectoria*; cf. Jones, *LRE* I, pp. 450 with n. 96, 461 with n. 124.

Thomas 8 follower of Belisarius 539/540

One of Belisarius' entourage in Italy (τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινά, Θωμᾶν ὄνομα); sent by him in late 539/early 540 to accept the submission of the Gothic garrisons in the Cottian Alps (cf. Sisigis); Proc. *BG* II 28.29. He and Sisigis were besieged by Vraias but relieved by the arrival of Ioannes 46 and Martinus 2 (in early 540); Proc. *BG* II 28.33-5.

Thomas 9 ex praefectis 541

One of four notables (perhaps *iudices pedanei*) sent to Cyzicus in late 541 to question Ioannes 11 the Cappadocian about the murder of the bishop of Cyzicus, Eusebius; Joh. Mal. fr. 47 (*Exc. de ins.*, p. 173) (styled Θωμᾶν τὸν ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων). His colleagues were Florus 1, Paulus 11 and Phocas (*PLRE* II, p. 882). They are described as ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρες, Proc. *BP* I 25.40; and as τινὰς τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὑπατικῶν, Joh. Mal. fr. 47. There is no evidence that Thomas had held an actual office, and his title may be honorary. For the date and the result of the enquiry, see Fl. Ioannes 11.

#### FL. MENAS IVSTINIANVS DEMOSTHENES

##### IOANNES THOMAS 10

v.c., tribunus notariorum praetorianorum sacri palatii et praeses Thebaidis (inferioris) 541-542

His full name and titles are recorded in *P. Lond.* v 1679 (from Aphrodito; an undated letter from Apollon, who died by 543), lines 2-7 κ(αί) κελευσθέντα παρὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας το(ῦ) κυρίο(υ) μο(υ) το(ῦ) λαμπρο(τάτου) τριβούνο(υ) νοταρ(ίου) πραιτωριάνο(υ) το(ῦ) θείου παλατίο(υ) κ(αί) ἄρχον(τος) τῆ[ς] Θηβαίων ἐπαρχείας Φλ. Μηνᾶ Ἰουστινιάνο(υ)ς Δεμοσθένους Ἰωάννο(υ) Θωμᾶ. He was in office in the lower Thebaid in December of a fifth indiction, probably 541; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67320 (from Antinoe; an order issued by him for corn for the garrison at Antaeopolis), line 1... Ἰωάνν[η]ς Θωμ[ᾶ]ς ὁ λαμπρο(τάτος) τριβ(ούνο)ς νοταρ(ῶν) πραιτω[ρ]ιαγ(ῶν) το(ῦ) θεί(ου) παλ(ατίου) καὶ [ἀρ]χ(ων) τῆς Θ[η]β(αίων) ἐπαρχ(είας). His full names and titles are doubtless to be restored in another papyrus, *P. Erl.* 55, from Antaeopolis, from a sixth indiction (presumably therefore 542/543), also an order concerning supplies for troops at Antaeopolis; cf. line 1... πραι-

τω(ριανῶν) τοῦ θεί(ου) παλ(ατίου) καὶ ἄρχ(ων) τῆς [Θ]ηβ(αίων) ἐπαρχ(είας).

The *tribuni praetoriani* formed a high grade among the *tribuni et notarii* and ranked as *spectabiles*; Thomas' title was perhaps honorific, conferring the status of *spectabilis*, while his actual office, civil governor of the lower Thebaid, had the status of *clarissimus* only. All the places named were in the province of Thebais Inferior.

THOMAS 11 dux (of Osrhoene?) c. 542

A Goth, commander ('δούξ') of Tella (i.e. Constantina, in Osrhoene); in c. 542 he and Bar Iohannan went to Amida to punish the monophysites there for driving out the bishop Abraham bar Kyly; Ps.-Dion., *Chron.* II, p. 33, Mich. Syr. IX 26.

Thomas 12 PVC 547

PVC a. 547 May 11: during the *Genethlia* at Constantinople in 547, fighting broke out between the factions, ὄντος ἐπάρχου πόλεως Θωμᾶ; Joh. Mal. 483 (dated to indiction 10; for the date of the *Genethlia*, see Hesychius Illustrius 42, in *Scr. Or. Const.*, p. 18).

THOMAS 13 v.c., chartularius of a domus divina 547/548

In 547/548 he received instructions from his superior Theodorus 15 about resolving complaints from Aphrodito in Egypt (cf. Fl. Dioscorus 5); *SB* 9102, lines 35-7 Θωμᾶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ χαρτουλ(αρίῳ) τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν προνοουμένης θειοτάτης οἰκίας. The document was written in Constantinople in the eleventh indiction by Theodorus.

THOMAS 14 praeses (Arcadiae) 566

A document from Oxyrhynchus, from a fourteenth indiction, records the payment of wine from the Apion estates τῷ μεγαλοπρε(πιστατῳ) ἄρχοντι Θωμᾶ λόγῳ φιλοτιμ(ίας) ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ αὐτ(οῦ) Φαρμουῦθι ε'; *P. Oxy.* 2480, line 62. The date corresponds to March 31. Oxyrhynchus was the metropolis of Arcadia and Thomas was therefore *praeses Arcadiae*. The date was March 31, 566, see *P. Oxy.* xxvii, pp. 181-2, and the occasion of the payment was the entry into office of Thomas on that date, *ibid.*, p. 182.

Thomas 15 PPO Africae 563/565, 574?-578

*Inscr.* 1) *CIL* VIII 1434 = D 833 = *ILT* 1330 = *ILCV* 27 = Durliat, no. 25 = Pringle, no. 29 Thubursicu Bure; 2) *CIL* VIII 10498 = D 834 = *ILT* 78 = *ILCV* 230 = Durliat, no. 26 = Pringle, no. 30 Sidi Gherib (south-east Byzacena); 3) Durliat, no. 27 = Pringle, no. 32 Anastasiana

(Henchir Sguidan) (southern Proconsularis); 4) *CIL* VIII 2245 = 17671 = *AE* 1895, 115 = D 9350 = *ILCV* 795 = Durliat, no. 28 = Pringle, no. 33 Masculina; 5) *CRAI* 1946, pp. 494-6 = *AE* 1948, 108 Thibari (Proconsularis).

?PPO AFRICAE a. 563/565: praised for restoring peace to Africa, by skillful diplomacy, by Corippus writing probably in 566; Coripp. *Iust.* I 18-21 (et Thomas, Libyae nutantis destina terrae, qui lapsam statuit, vitae spem reddidit Afris, pacem composuit, bellum sine milite pressit, vicit consiliis quos nullus vicerat armis). The allusion is probably to the Moorish revolt in 563 (cf. Cutzinas); Justinian sent Marcianus 7 as military commander to deal with the situation and Thomas was perhaps sent with Marcianus as PPO Africae; to judge by the accounts in Joh. Mal. 495-6 and Theoph. AM 6055 the revolt ended quickly and peacefully after the arrival of Marcianus, and it is Thomas' role in this that Corippus presumably had in mind.

Thomas was one of the high court dignitaries who encouraged Corippus to compose his poem in praise of Justin II in c. 566; Coripp. *Iust.* I 15, 18. The others named included Anastasius 14 (QSP), Magnus 2 (CSL), Theodorus 34 (Mag. Off.) and Demetrius 5 (? a secretis), all holding office at court; this suggests that Thomas was also present at court at the beginning of Justin's reign, and the fact that Corippus' language about him (cited above) contains no allusion to any actual office (unlike the others) further suggests that he had not only left Africa but also office.

PPO AFRICAE a. 574?-578: in office a. 565/574, *Inscr.* 1 (Tomas excellentissimus praefectus, under Justin and Sophia); a. 574/578, *Inscr.* 2 (praefectus, under Justin, Sophia and Tiberius; his name is lost); a. 578/582, *Inscr.* 3 (Thomas praefectus, under Tiberius and Anastasia), *Inscr.* 4 and 5 (two fragmentary inscriptions which, though from different locations, clearly bore the same text and supplement one another; haec quoque praefectus construxit moenia Thomas, dated under Tiberius). Thomas was probably in office at least from 574 to 578; however it cannot be excluded that he was still in office at the beginning of Justin's reign (cf. above) and if so the inscription at Thubursicu Bure (*Inscr.* 1) could date as early as 565/566; in this case it is not certain that his is the name to be restored in *Inscr.* 2 and the only certainty would be that he held office (for the second time) under Tiberius (578/582). He could not have held office throughout Justin's reign; the post was occupied by Theodorus 30 in 570. However, the probability is that he held office first in 563/565, had retired by 566, and, in view of his record as a peacemaker in Africa, was reappointed in the early 570s after the Moorish revolts and Roman defeats in 569/571 (cf. Amabilis,

Theoctistus 2 and Theodorus 30, and see Joh. Bicl. s.a. 569, 570, 571), remaining in office into the reign of Tiberius. All the inscriptions record construction works carried out by him, and *Inscr.* 3, 4 and 5 also record the renaming of places, two (4 and 5) after Tiberius, one (3) after Anastasia.

## Thomas 16

vir gloriosissimus; dux (East) M VI

Named in an inscription found in north Mesopotamia, apparently recording the completion of a building and dated in the reign of Justinian and under τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) Θωμᾶ δουκός; communication from Professor C. Mango. Cf. Cyrus 7.

## Thomas 17

Armenian noble and religious M VI

His story is told in Joh. Eph. *V. SS. Or.* 21 (*PO* 17, pp. 283-98).

Son of Ὕνq; he had a brother (who died before their father); he married a lady of the Arsacid family, Maria 2, by whom he had three sons and one daughter; pp. 284-6, 290, 297. He was expensively educated 'in the wisdom of the Greeks' at Berytus (presumably in law), Antioch and elsewhere; pp. 284-5.

His father was an hereditary satrap in Armenia and very wealthy and on his death Thomas inherited his office and his wealth; pp. 284-5, and cf. *PO* 19, p. 283. Being assailed however by moral doubts about his accession he visited Constantinople and obtained the permission of the emperor to give up the office; pp. 285-7 (and see Brooke's note on p. 284 proposing Balabitene as the satrapy in question). He began to give away his wealth in alms and charity and to sell off his property and adopted an ascetic way of life; pp. 287-9. He founded a monastery (in c. 524), divided into two parts, for himself, his family and his household; p. 290. In 536/37, after twelve years as a monk (p. 293), he led resistance to the persecution of monophysites in Armenia and went into exile to a place called Claudias (a mountainous district close to the Euphrates), where he bought a site and set up two monasteries, one for men, one for women; pp. 294-6, and cf. p. 294, n. 2.

He eventually died at Constantinople (before 566/67, when the *V. SS. Or.* were written) and was buried at the convent of Mar Marna (at Sycae); p. 298.

## THOMAS 18

comes (in Egypt) M VI

Father of Phoebammon 7, grandfather of Fl. Victor 6, he was dead by Feb. 569; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67169 bis, line 6 τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρέπους μνήμης Θωμᾶ κ[όμ]ητος. The document, dated Feb. 11, 569, is from Antinoe.

Thomas 19 teacher of Greek (at Edessa) M VI

A Jacobite, he was a teacher of Greek at Edessa; among his pupils was the Nestorian *catholicus* in Persia from 538 to 552, Abas; Bar Hebr., *Chron. Eccl.* II 22 (p. 90).

Thomas 20 curator (?divinae domus Placidiae) M VI

According to a poem of Agathias, Thomas was the blameless *curator* of an emperor (line 1 Θωμᾶν, παμβασιλῆος ἀμεμφέα κηδεμονῆα), who enriched himself without injustice (line 6 πλοῦτον ἀεξήσας, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐσεβίης) and furnished a new hall (line 5 αὐτὸς γὰρ ζαθέιοιο θρόνους ὑψωσε μελάθρου), apparently a new office building (cf. lemma, cited below), for which he was honoured by the people who were transferred there (line 2 οἱ τὸ νέον τάγμα μετερχόμενοι) with an image that was carefully placed close to images of an imperial couple (line 3 θεσπεσίης ἄγχιστα συνωρίδος); *Anth. Gr.* XVI 41. The lemma reads: εἰς εἰκόνα ἀναθεθεῖσαν ἐν τοῖς Πλακιδίας ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ νέου σκρινίου. Since the image was erected in the palace of Placidia at Constantinople, it is possible that Thomas was *curator domus Placidiae* and further possible that the central bureau of this department was located in the palace and in new quarters there for which Thomas was honoured. This may however be pressing the Placidia connection too far. The imperial couple is either Justinian and Theodora or, possibly, Justin II and Sophia; see Alan and Averil Cameron, *JHS* 86 (1966), p. 9.

Thomas 21 illustrius (East) L VI

Nicknamed τοῦ Βερεδαρωνᾶ (? = son of Veredaronas), he was a native of Antioch and an ἰλλούστριος; he and Asterius 4 were acquaintances of the *scholasticus* Anastasius 26; *V. Sym. Iun.* 224.

Thomas 22 vicarius (at Naissus) ?VI

Buried at Naissus close to his sisters and his sons Antoninus, Gentio and Petrus; *Spomenik* 77 (1934), p. 47, n. 38 Naissus (tombstone of 'Petrus filius Thomae vicario (sic)' close to those of his father and the others; dated in September of a ninth indiction). The brothers, and possibly all the dead, died within a short period (in uno mense simul vita(m) finirunt); there was a ninth indiction in 545-546, soon after the plague reached Constantinople, and possibly they all died of the plague (although the inscription does not say so) in autumn 545.

There is no evidence to show what sort of *vicarius* Thomas was.

Thomas 23 scholasticus and poet ?VI

Author of a poem in the Greek Anthology; *Anth. Gr.* XVI 315 (Θωμᾶ σχολαστικοῦ). The poem does not occur in a context suggesting that it

was included in the *Cycle* of Agathias and its date is therefore uncertain; it follows a poem of Arabius and precedes one on Agathias by Michael I *grammaticus*.

THOMAS 24 v.c., ?pagarch and topoteretes of Antaeopolis VI

Mentioned in a document from Aphrodito in the Antaeopolite nome; *P. Flor.* III 295, line 11 τ[ο]ν Θ[ω]μᾶν [τ]ὸν λα[μπρ]ότατον καὶ [παγ]άρχ(ην) τοποτη[ρο]ῦντα τῆς [Α]νταίου. A *vir clarissimus*, he perhaps combined the office of pagarch at Antaeopolis with that of *topoteretes* there (appointed presumably by either the *dux Thebaidis* or the *praeses Thebaidis Inferioris*); cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67003 and see Maspero, *Org. Mil.*, p. 99, n. 1. An alternative interpretation is perhaps possible; Thomas may have been deputising for the pagarch of Antaeopolis. Cf. Menas 5 and Anonymus 110.

Thomas 25 a secretis -VI

Θωμᾶ ἀσηκητηῖς; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2736 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΘΩ/ΜΑΑC/ΗΚΡΗ/ΤΙC +). Cf. also Laurent, *Corpus* II, 26 for a similar specimen.

Thomas 26 spatharius M/L VI

Θωμᾶ σπαθαρίου; Zacos 564 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (144) of Θωμᾶ; rev.: cruciform monogram (310) of σπαθαρίου).

Thomas 27 commerciarius (of Tyre) M VI/E VII

One of three *commercarii* of Tyre recorded on a seal (see Theodorus 107); Zacos 130 bis, note, no. 2.

Thomas 28 ?arcarius M VI/M VII

Θωμᾶ ἀρκαρίου(?); Zacos 1077 (seal; obv.: ΘΩ/ΜΑ; rev.: ΑΡΚ/ΑΡΙΔ). The reading on the reverse is uncertain because of the physical condition of the seal, and it could be ΒΙΚ/ΑΡΙΔ).

Thomas 29 honorary consul and patricius M VI/M VII

Θωμᾶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων πατρικ(ίου); Zacos 1076a and b, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4398 (three similar seals, dated VII Zacos, M VI/M VII Oikonomides; obv.: ΘΩΜΑ/ΑΠΟΝΠΑ/ΤΩΝΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ; rev.: ΤΟΜΑ/ΑΡΟΥΡΑΤΟΝΡΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ). Three more similar seals occur in Zacos' series. Cf. Thomas 34.

Thomas 30 metaxarius M VI/M VII

Θωμᾶ μεταξαρίου; Zacos 561 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (145) of Θωμᾶ; rev.: +ΜΕ/ΤΑΞΑ/ΡΙΟΥ).

Thomas 31 praetor M VI/M VII

Θωμᾶ πραιτωρος; Zacos 562 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.189 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (144) of Θωμᾶ; rev.: ΠΡΑ/ΙΤΩ/ΡΟC). Perhaps praetor *Siciliae*?

Thomas 32 scribo M VI/M VII

Θωμᾶ σκριβωνος; Zacos 563 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1017 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (143) of Θωμᾶ; rev.: cruciform monogram (299) of σκριβωνος).

Thomas 33 chartularius (in Italy) 643/644

In 643/644 he and Maurinus 2 escorted Mauricius 8 from Rome to Ravenna, near which they beheaded him and took his head to Isaac 8; they were sent from Rome by Donus 2; *Lib. Pont.* 75. Cf. Maurinus and, for the date, Isaac.

Thomas 34 honorary consul VII

Θωμᾶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. Toma apo upaton; Zacos 1075a and b (two seals; obv.: ΘΩΜΑ/ΑΠΟΝ/ΠΑΤ/ΩΝ; rev.: ΤΟΜ/ΑΑΡΟ/ΥΡΑΤ/ΟΝ). Possibly identical with Thomas 29.

Thomas 35 ergasteriarch and archon VII

Ἰωάννης (καὶ) Θωμᾶς ἐργαστηρίαρχαι καὶ ἄρχοντες; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, pp. 240-1 (seal; obv.: emperor, standing, holding globe with cross; a first indiction date; and the legend [ΙΩ]ANNHC (ΚΕ?) ΘΩ[MAC]; rev.: ΕΡΓΑ[С]/ΤΗΡΙΑΡ[Χ]/ΑΙΚΑΙΑΡ[Χ]/ΟΝΤΕC).

Thomas 36 scribo VII

Θωμᾶ σκριβωνι; Zacos 1079 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2167 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ; rev.: +ΘΩ/MACKPI/[Β]ΩΝΙ). A similar specimen is in Laurent, *Médaillier*, no. 22.

Thurimuth

officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 544; commander at Rhegium 548-550

Officer (δορυφόρος) of Belisarius' bodyguard in 544; Proc. *BG* III 11.10, 11.19. With some of Belisarius' followers he accompanied Vitalius 1 into Aemilia, returning after an inactive period at Bononia to rejoin Belisarius at Ravenna; Proc. *BG* III 11.10-18, and cf. Vitalius. He was then sent with Ricilas and Sabinianus and a thousand men to help Magnus 1 besieged in Auximum; evading Totila, they entered the city,

but following the death of Ricilas agreed to withdraw to avoid overstraining the resources of the besieged city; the Goths attacked them as they withdrew under cover of darkness and killed a number but the remainder fled to Ariminum; Proc. *BG* III 11.19-31. He and Sabinianus were next sent to occupy Pisaurum, which they did and then successfully resisted an attack by Totila; Proc. *BG* III 11.34-6.

Subsequently Thurimuth and Himerius 2 were put in command of the garrison of Rhegium by Belisarius (in 548), where in 550 they fought off a Gothic attack but were then besieged and eventually forced to surrender; Proc. *BG* III 37.19-23 (cited under Himerius), 39.1-2.5.

Thyanes Misimian leader 556

Envoy of the Misimiani with Chadus to Soterichus 1 in 556; Agath. III 16.1-3 (τῶν παρὰ σφίσι λογίμων). See further Soterichus.

TIBERIANVS ?proconsul Africae ?M/L VI

Tibe/riani/proc; *CIL* VIII 22655, 1 = xv 7121. See further Menas 11.

Tiberius: illustrius (*Anth. Gr.* IX 2, 370, 371)? V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Tiberius Constantinus 1 (the emperor Tiberius)

Augustus 578-582

He was given the name Constantinus when made Caesar in 574 by Justin II; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.5 ('nomen tuum vocabitur Constantinus, pro eo quod in te regnum Constantini magni renovatum est'), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 574, *Chron.* 1234, lxxi. Full name; coins (cf. Hahn, *Moneta imperii Byzantini*), Agath. IV 29.8, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.37, 3.10.13.23, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 578, Theoph. AM 6073, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 12. Tiberius; elsewhere.

A native of Thrace; Evagr. *HE* V 11, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 39, Theoph. AM 6071, *Chron.* 1234, lxx, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 79, *Enarr. Brev. Chron.* 44a (= *Patr. Const.* II 28), *Patr. Const.* III 46. He was still relatively young when he became emperor; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.7.22. Betrothed to the daughter of an *optio* Ioannes and Ino, he eventually married Ino following the deaths of both Ioannes and the girl; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.8. His wife was given the name Anastasia in 578 (see Aelia Anastasia 2); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.9. Husband of Anastasia; *P. Lond.* V 1724, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.45-9, Mich. Syr. X 21, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 81, 89, Theoph. AM 6071, 6085, Cedr. I 688-9, 698, Zon. XIV 11, *Patr. Const.* III 46, 125. They had three children, one of whom apparently died before Tiberius became Caesar; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.7 (= Mich. Syr. X 17), 3.8. Two

daughters survived, one, Constantina, whom Tiberius betrothed in 582 to the future emperor Maurice, the other, Charito, whom he betrothed to Germanus 5. His wife and both daughters outlived him; Theoph. Sim. I 1.8.

A *notarius*, he was introduced by the patriarch Eutychius (not before 552) to Iustinus 5 (the future emperor) and entered his service; Eustrat., *V. Eutych.* 67 (PG 86.2.2349) (νοτάριον ὄντα), cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.5 ('qui ipsius regis Iustini iam diu et antequam regnaret notarius erat'), Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 79.

His career so prospered under Justin's patronage that he was already *comes excubitorum* (see below) by the death of Justinian; Coripp. *Iust.* I 212-18 (omnia disponens munivit providus arcem Tiberius, domini semper cui maxima cura utilitatis erat; namque illum maximus orbis communis benefactor (i.e. Justin) alens et ab ubere matris suscipiens primis puerum praelegit ab annis, utque pater genitum nutrit, fovit, amavit, paulatimque virum summa in fastigia duxit).

COMES EXCVBITORVM a. 565-574: in office when Justinian died and Justin II became emperor; Coripp. *Iust.* I 202-6 with 212-4 (cited above). He could not have been appointed before 562; see Marinus 2. Attested in office in 570, Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570, s.a. 574; in 571, Theoph. AM 6066; and in 574 (up to his accession to Caesar), Joh. Epiph. fr. 5 (ὅς τῶν βασιλέως ἦρχε σωματοφυλάκων - κόμητα δὲ τοῦτον ἐξκουβιτόρων Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), Theoph. Sim. III 11.4 (ἡγεμῶν δ' οὗτος ἐτύγγανεν ὦν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως σωματοφυλάκων καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν, ὃν κόμητα ἐξκουβιτόρων τῇ συνήθει φωνῇ ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖν), Theoph. AM 6067, Cedr. I 685, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 40, Zon. XIV 10.

He was present at the accession of Justin II, on Nov. 14, 565, and also attended the emperor's inauguration as consul on Jan. 1, 566; Coripp. *Iust.* I 202-25 (accession), IV 374-5 (consulship).

?MVM VACANS a. 569/570-571: during the Avar war (see below) he was αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγός, Men. Prot., fr. 29; and στρατηγός, Men. Prot., fr. 34. He was therefore supreme commander in the war and probably combined the titles of *magister utriusque militiae* and *comes excubitorum* while it lasted.

The detailed chronology of the Avar war is not certain. Possibly in late 569, after several diplomatic missions had failed to reach agreement, the emperor dismissed the Avar envoy Targitis with the remark that he would send Tiberius as supreme commander (cf. above) to resolve all outstanding problems; Men. Prot., fr. 29. Subsequently Tiberius reached an agreement to settle the Avars on Roman soil in return for hostages in the persons of the sons of the Avar rulers, but it was rejected by Justin who insisted on taking as hostages the sons of the khan himself; Tiberius

ordered Bonus 4 to guard the river crossings as war threatened; Men. Prot., fr. 33. In 570 he engaged the Avars in war in Thrace, defeated them and returned to Constantinople in triumph; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 570. Subsequently (perhaps in 571) he led an army against the Avars and narrowly escaped death when it was defeated and fled; Men. Prot., fr. 34, Evagr. *HE* V 11, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 39, Theoph. AM 6066. After the battle a truce was agreed and then the Avars sent an embassy to Justin; to accompany it Tiberius sent Damianus 3 to explain the situation; an agreement was then reached ending the war; Men. Prot., fr. 34. As the Avars then returned home they were robbed of horses and other valuables by the so-called Scamareis; they protested to Tiberius, who tracked down the culprits and restored some of the stolen goods; Men. Prot., fr. 35. His presence at Sirmium at some stage of the war is recorded, when he received from the patriarch Eutychius (then in exile at Amaseia) a letter predicting his accession to the throne; Eustrat. *V. Eutych.* 67 (PG 86.2.2349).

After the loss of Dara to the Persians (Nov. 573) the mental condition of Justin deteriorated and made him incapable of ruling; Tiberius was the most influential man in the government and he assumed control of affairs with the empress Sophia; Men. Prot., fr. 37, Evagr. *HE* V 11 (τὰ πρωτεῖα δὲ παρὰ Ἰουστίνου φέρων), Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 39, *Chron.* 1234, lxx.

CAESAR a. 574 Dec. 7-578 Sept. 26: made Caesar by Justin II, with the support of Sophia, on Dec. 7, 574; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.5 (= Mich. Syr. X 15), 5.13, Theoph. Sim. III 11.13, *Chron. Iac. Edess.*, p. 329 = p. 257 (= Elias, *Op. Chron.* ad a. 886, p. 123 = p. 59) all giving the date December 7), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 574 (Sept. 7, wrongly), Joh. Bicl. s.a. 574, Evagr. *HE* V 13, Theoph. Sim. III 11.4, Joh. Epiph. fr. 5, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 40, Theoph. AM 6067, Cedr. I 685, Zon. XIV 10, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 11, *Chron.* 1234, lxx, lxxi, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 79, Agapius, p. 177 = p. 437.

On this occasion he was also adopted by Justin as his son; Joh. Epiph. fr. 5, Theoph. Sim. III 11.4, *Chron.* 1234, lxxi, Theoph. AM 6067, Cedr. I 685, Zon. XIV 10.

AVGVSTVS a. 578 Sept. 26-582 Aug. 14: made Augustus by Justin on Sept. 26, 578; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 578, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 3.6 (= Mich. Syr. X 16) (both Sept. 26), Theoph. AM 6071 (in October, wrongly). Justin died in early October and Tiberius succeeded him; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 574, Evagr. *HE* V 19, Theoph. Sim. III 16.4, Theoph. AM 6070, Cedr. I 685-6, Zon. XIV 10-11, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 12, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, pp. 80-1, *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii, Elias, *Op. Chron.* ad a. 890 (p. 123 = p. 59), Eutychius, *Annales* 1077, *Hist. Nest.* II 33. He died on Aug. 14, 582, after



a short illness reportedly due to accidentally eating bad food; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582, *Theoph. AM* 6074 (both Aug. 14), cf. *Joh. Eph. HE* III 3.47, 5.13, *Theoph. Sim.* I 1.1, 2.3, *Cedr.* I 690-1, *Zon.* XIV 11, *Chron.* 1234, lxxv.

From his deathbed he named Mauricius 4 as his successor, making him Caesar on Aug. 5 and Augustus on Aug. 13 and betrothing to him his daughter Constantina; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 582 (giving the dates), *Joh. Eph. HE* III 3.47, *Evagr. HE* V 22, *Theoph. Sim.* I 1.1, *Theoph. AM* 6074, *Cedr.* I 690-1, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 5, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* III 15, *Eutychius, Annales* 1077, *Hist. Nest.* II 41, 55, *Bar Hebr., Chron.*, p. 83.

Physically he was tall and handsome, of regal appearance; *Evagr. HE* V 13, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 1. He was allegedly gentle and humane, refraining from the persecution of monophysites, and had a reputation for generosity; *Evagr. HE* V 13, *Theoph. Sim.* III 16.4, *Nic. Call. HE* XVIII 1, *Greg. Tur. HF* V 19, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* III 11, *Chron.* 1234, lxxv. Cf. however Averil Cameron, *JTS* 26 (1975), 422ff.

## Tiberius 2

?PVC ?VI

+ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου ἐπάρχου; Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, no. 18a. The prefects named on these glass weights seem normally to have been city prefects of Constantinople.

## Tiberius 3

son of Maurice L VI/E VII

Son of the emperor Maurice and the empress Constantina; with his father he fled from Phocas on Nov. 22, 602, and was killed at Chalcedon on Nov. 27; *Theoph. Sim.* VIII 11.3, 11.9, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, *Theoph. AM* 6095, *Greg. Ep.* XIII 1, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 26, and cf. Mauricius 4.

## Fl. Mauricius Tiberius

TIMAGENES (*PLRE* II, p. 1119): the *domus* of Timagenes (οἶκος Τιμαγένους) is mentioned in several documents from the sixth century, in two of which, *P. Oxy.* 1887 (a. 538) and 2780 (a. 553, and cf. Fl. Gabrielia), he is styled τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Τιμαγένους; cf. also *P. Oxy.* 2016 (sixth century). See also Theon 1.

## Timarcus

excubitor (in Italy) 598

Excubitor; in 598 he delivered to pope Gregory a message from Amandinus (in Sicily) and continued to Ravenna with a letter from Gregory to the exarch; *Greg. Ep.* IX 5 (a. 598 Sept./Oct.). He probably served in Sicily under Leontius 11.

Timostrate daughter of Fidelius M VI

She died at Smyrna on 9 June 541; *IK* 23, n. 562 = IGC 70 = *CIG* 9277 Smyrna (ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλη Τιμοστράτη).

Timostratus ? = Timostratus, *PLRE* II, pp. 1119-20.

Father of Ioannes 87; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 6.5, *Evagr. HE* V 10. Father also of Rufinus 7; *Theoph. Sim.* V 8.4.

The father of Ioannes and Rufinus appears to be identical with the Timostratus who died in 527 when in office as *dux Mesopotamiae* and after already over twenty years in high military posts. There are chronological difficulties with this identification, since Rufinus was still active militarily in 591. If the identification is correct, Timostratus' sons must have been born late in their father's life.

Timotheus (*CIL* VI 9562) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Timotheus 1 advocate of the PPO Orientis (530-) 533

Advocate (patronus causarum) at the court of the PPO Orientis and member of the commission which worked on the Digest (from Dec. 530 to Dec. 533); *CJ* I 17.2.9 = *Just. Const.* 'Tanta' (a. 533 Dec. 16; completion of the project). See Leontius 1. Timotheus is named fifth of the advocates.

Timotheus 2 envoy to Persia 567

In spring 567 he accompanied Ioannes 81 on an embassy to Persia; later in the same year he himself was sent as envoy with a letter written by Ioannes clarifying the emperor's wishes on Suania for the benefit of Chosroes and of the Persian envoy Isdigousnas (ὁ Ζίχ); *Men. Prot. fr.* 17.

Timotheus 3 doctor and magician c. 570/580

A Jew, he was a doctor and a magician (γοητείας ἡσχολημένος); his medical help was sought by the empress Sophia for Justin II; *V. Sym. Iun.* 208-11.

## TIMOTHEVS 4

v.sp., pagarch (of Arsinoe) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus from Arsinoe; *Stud. Pal.* III 111, line 2 παρά σου Τιμοθέου τοῦ περιβλέπτου παγάρ[χου].

Possibly identical with Fl. Timotheus who was v.sp., *pater civitatis* at Arsinoe; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 46, line 2 παρά σου Τιμοθέου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου πατρός ταύτης[ς τῆς πόλεως], 47, line 2 [παρά σου Φ]λ(αοῦ) Τιμοθέου τοῦ περιβλέπτου πατρός τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, *Stud.*

*Pal.* III 176, line 2 π(αρά) σοῦ Τιμοθέου τοῦ λαμπ[ρ]οτάτου πατρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως (sixth century).

## Timotheus 5

illustrius VI/VII

[Τι]μοθ[έ]ου [ί]λ[λ]ουστ[τ]ρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4787 (seal; obv.: +[ΤΙ]/ΜΟΘ[Ε]/ΟΒ; rev.: [+Ι]Λ/[Λ]ΟΒC/[ΤΙ]ΡΙΔ).

## Timotheus 6

?v.c. (Egypt) 630

Addressee of a papyrus from the Fayum, dated a. 630 Oct./Nov.; *BGU* II 370 (addressed [τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ]/Τιμοθέῳ ἐπιστάτῃ [ἐργασίας...]); later alluded to as [τῆς ὑμετέρας]/λαμπρότητος).

Tiranes (*AE* 1954, 232) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

## Tocilocton

ruler of the Nobades L VI

Ruler of the Nobades when a fortress was constructed at Ikhmind in Nubia in the late sixth century; an inscription recording the work is dated under him and Iosephius 5; *SB* 10074 = *SEG* xviii 724 = *La Parola del Passato* xiv (1959), pp. 458–65 (ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου) κ(αὶ) εὐσεβηστάτου ἀγαθοῦ δεσπότης κ(αὶ) φιλοχρ(ίστου) βασιλέως Ἰωκίλτωετον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Νοβάδων). For the date, see Iosephius. See further *La Parola del Passato*, *loc. cit.*

## Totila qui et Baduila

king of the Ostrogoths 541–552

Totila qui et Baduila; *Jord. Rom.* 380. Baduila qui et Totila; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* xvi 22. Badua qui Totila nuncupabatur; *Lib. Pont.* 61. Vadua; *Exc. Sang.* 701, 704. Baduila (or Baduela); *Coins* (in Kraus, 185–99), *Jord. Rom.* 379, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 547, *s.a.* 553. Totila (Tutula, Τουτίλας, Τωτίλας); *Marcell. com. Addit.*, *Vict. Tonn.*, *Just. Nov. App.* 7, *Agnellus, Proc.*, *Agath.*, *Joh. Mal.*, *Theoph.*, *Cedr.* On the names, cf. also *Assunta Nagl*, in *P-W* vi A, 1828.

Nephew of Ildibadus; *Jord. Rom.* 379 (nepos... Heldebad), *Proc. BG* III 2.7 (ἰλδιβάδου ἀνεψιός, cf. 2.11 his kinsman). Therefore he was a great-nephew of Theudis, king of the Visigoths (*PLRE* II). Nothing further is known of his family. The statement in *Proc. BG* IV 34.19 that he had a brother is an error (see *Aligernus*). A relative of his was present during the siege of Rome in 546; *Proc. BG* III 20.13. He was still young when he became king in 541; *Jord. Rom.* 379 (iuvenis), cf. *Proc. BG* III 9.15 (an allusion to his youthful ambition in 543/544).

He is described as an intelligent and energetic personality held in high regard by the Goths in 541; *Proc. BG* III 2.7.

In 541, during the reigns of Ildibad and Erarich, Totila was in

Tarvisium (Treviso) in command of the Goths stationed there; *Proc. BG* III 2.7 (Γότθων μὲν τηρικαῦτα τῶν ἐν Ταρβησίῳ ἄρχων ἐτύγγανεν). He perhaps held office as *comes Gothorum*; cf. *Cass. Var.* VII 3. At the news of the murder of Ildibad, Totila offered to surrender Tarvisium to Constantianus 2 in return for guarantees of his safety; a day was fixed for Constantianus' men to take over the city, but meanwhile the Goths invited Totila to become their king in place of Erarich with whom they were dissatisfied; Totila agreed on condition that Erarich was killed before the day appointed for the surrender of Tarvisium; *Proc. BG* III 2.8–13.

KING of the Ostrogoths a. 541–552: he became king in late 541 after the murder of Erarichus; *Proc. BG* III 2.18, 3.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542, *Jord. Rom.* 379, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* xvi 22, cf. *Exc. Sang.* 701 (*MGH, AA* IX 334) levatus est Vadua rex. King of the Goths; *Vict. Tonn. s.a.* 554, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 547, *s.a.* 553, *Agath.* I 1.1, 4.1, 8.4, *Lib. Pont.* 61. His reign ended with his death after the battle of Busta Gallorum in 552; see below and cf. *Narses* 1. On his coins (see above) he is styled simply 'd.n. Baduila rex'. His reign lasted eleven years; *Proc. BG* IV 32.28.

Early in 542, after the Roman failure to capture Verona, Totila assembled all the available forces and with an army some five thousand strong advanced against the Romans; *Proc. BG* III 4.1. Crossing the Po, he defeated them in battles near Faventia and Florence and scattered their forces over a wide area; *Proc. BG* III 4.10–32, 5.13–19 (midsummer 542), *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542, *Jord. Rom.* 379. The strongholds of Caesena, Vrbinum, Mons Feretris and Petra Pertusa fell to him; he then entered Etruria where he apparently had no success and quickly moved south across the Tiber into Campania and Samnium; there he soon took Beneventum and laid siege to Naples; *Proc. BG* III 6.1–2, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542. From here he sent part of his army to capture Cumae and other strongholds in Campania with the treasures stored in them; he also sent small bands of troops throughout Lucania and Bruttium and through Apulia and Calabria, which all came under his rule; by the end of 542 he had established his control throughout Italy and was able to collect the taxes and revenues for himself; *Proc. BG* III 6.3–5, *Jord. Rom.* 379.

In spring 543 Naples surrendered to him and he earned a good reputation by his conspicuous consideration for the famished population and his generous treatment of the garrison under Conon 1; *Proc. BG* III 7.8–20, 8.1–9. He had previously won a good name by his treatment of prisoners and especially of the wives of senators whom he had captured in Campania and then allowed to go free; *Proc. BG* III 5.19, 6.4. He

destroyed much of the walls of Naples, apparently wishing to settle the issue with the Romans by a battle in the open; Proc. *BG* III 8.10-11, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 544.*

During 543 Totila wrote letters to the senate in Rome in an effort to engage their support, but this was foiled by the Roman commander Ioannes 46 and only led to the expulsion from the city of the Arian clergy, suspected of helping him; Proc. *BG* III 9.6-21. He therefore resumed military operations, sending an army to besiege Hydruntum and himself plundering Campania and moving to the vicinity of Rome, where he laid siege to Tibur; Proc. *BG* III 9.22, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 543.*

In 544 Belisarius returned to Italy, and Totila sent spies to discover the size of his forces; Proc. *BG* III 10.13-18. At this time he captured Tibur and put all the inhabitants to death in a deliberately cruel manner; Proc. *BG* III 10.19-22, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 544.* He next went to Auximum where he made camp and laid siege to the city; Proc. *BG* III 11.19-20, 25.27-31. An attempt to recapture Pisaurum, unexpectedly occupied by Belisarius' troops, was unsuccessful and Totila returned to Auximum; Proc. *BG* III 11.35-6. The Roman forces were not able to trouble him and he extended operations in Picenum, laying siege to Firmum and Asculum (perhaps late 544); Proc. *BG* III 11.38-9, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 544.*

During summer 545 Firmum and Asculum surrendered, Totila captured Auximum, plundered Picenum and then attacked Etruria where Spoletium, Asisium and Clusium fell to him; Perugia held out although he had the Roman commander Cyprianus murdered; Proc. *BG* III 12.12.15-20, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 545.* He then advanced against Rome and laid siege to it (late 545); the siege lasted for a year and ended with the capture of Rome on 17 Dec. 546; Proc. *BG* III 13.1, 15.7.14-15, 16.4, 16.7-17.1 (in late 546 he rejected an embassy of the deacon Pelagius), 18.8, 20.4-21 (the capture of Rome), *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 546, ad a. 547* (for the date), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* XVI 22, *Lib. Pont.* 61. Meanwhile he sent an army into Aemilia to attack Placentia, the only city there still held by the Romans; Proc. *BG* III 13.8-9 (late 545) (it surrendered in summer 546, *BG* III 16.2-3).

After the capture of Rome he allowed his troops to plunder it, and then began to destroy the walls and to set fire to the buildings of the city; he checked the destruction, according to Procopius, only after receiving a letter of protest from Belisarius; Proc. *BG* III 22.6-17, IV 33.14, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 547, Mar. Avent. s.a. 547.* He sent Pelagius and Theodorus 14 as envoys to Justinian to offer peace, an offer that was rejected; Proc. *BG* III 21.18-20.

Leaving his main army to watch Belisarius near Rome, he went to Lucania against Ioannes 46; Rome was left deserted, Totila taking the senators with him and sending all others with the women and children to Campania; in Lucania he suffered a set-back, losing many men in a counter-attack by Ioannes, and withdrew to camp on Mons Garganus; Proc. *BG* III 22.13-24. From there he began to march back to Ravenna, installing a strong garrison in the fortress of Acherontia and sending troops to guard the senators in Campania, but learning en route that Belisarius had reoccupied Rome, he marched against him (spring 547); Proc. *BG* III 23.18, 24.8. He failed to recapture Rome and was the object of bitter reproach by the Goths for losing it; Proc. *BG* III 24.10-30, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 547.* When he subsequently (? in 549) sought marriage with a daughter of a king of the Franks, his loss of Rome was cited by the king in his refusal; Proc. *BG* III 37.1-2. Turning from Rome, he withdrew to Tibur where he rebuilt the fortress and destroyed most of the Tiber bridges to hinder an attack from Rome; Proc. *BG* III 24.31-4 (midsummer 547). During the remainder of 547 he first joined his troops besieging Perugia and then returned to Lucania, winning victories over Ioannes 46 and Verus; Proc. *BG* III 25.24, 26.15-23, 27.6-10, *Marcell. com. Addit. ad a. 548.*

In 548 he besieged and captured Rusciacae; Proc. *BG* III 29.21, 30.20 (spring/summer). In the following year he sent an army and fleet under Indulf against Dalmatia; Proc. *BG* III 25.24. He also laid siege to Rome again in summer 549, soon captured Portus, and finally took the city as a result of treachery, on Jan. 16, 550; Proc. *BG* III 36.1-15, cf. *Exc. Sang.* 704 (for the date). On this occasion he planned to settle the city with Goths and Romans together, and began importing supplies and rebuilding what he had previously destroyed; he recalled from Campania some of the senators and others under guard there (cf. Proc. *BG* IV 22.2-3), and also celebrated games in Rome; he had recently captured many large supply ships sent from the east and now began preparations to attack Sicily; Proc. *BG* III 36.29-37.5. Firstly, though, he sent an envoy (see Stephanus 11) to Justinian to end the war and make a treaty of alliance, a proposal which the emperor rejected; Proc. *BG* III 37.6-7.

Totila then resumed the war, laying siege to Centumcellae (the only place nearby still in Roman hands), and then lifting the siege in order to move against Sicily; before crossing he laid siege to Rhegium, meanwhile dispatching an army which took Tarentum, and then left troops at Rhegium and crossed to Sicily where he attacked Messina; Proc. *BG* III 37.8-23, 39.2. During the rest of 550 his army overran Sicily, Rhegium was captured, and late in the year he returned to Italy laden

with plunder; Proc. *BG* III 39.4-5, 40.19, cf. 40.27 and 30 (for the date). He was suspected at this time of bribing the Sclaveni to attack Roman territory, which they did in winter 551/552; Proc. *BG* III 40.32.

In 551 he sent a fleet of three hundred ships to harass the coasts of Greece; Proc. *BG* IV 22.17.30-2. He had also sent an army and fleet to Picenum to besiege Ancona, but in summer 551 suffered a serious blow when this fleet was defeated off Ancona by Ioannes 46 and Valerianus 1; Proc. *BG* IV 23.1-2.42. Meanwhile he sent further embassies for peace to Justinian, all of which were rejected; Proc. *BG* IV 24.4. In late 551 he succeeded in capturing Sardinia and Corsica; Proc. *BG* IV 24.31-3.

In 552 the Roman expedition under Narses 1 advanced on Italy. Totila sent the best of his troops under Theia to Verona to check their progress; Proc. *BG* IV 26.21-4. When this failed, he waited at Rome for Theia to rejoin him and then moved out to encounter Narses, making camp near a village called Taginae in the Apennines, at a place called Busta Gallorum; Proc. *BG* IV 29.1-5. He was defeated heavily by Narses in the battle of Busta Gallorum; Proc. *BG* IV 32.7-21. For the date, probably late June 552, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 601, n. 2.

During the flight, with five companions, closely pursued by the Romans, Totila received a wound which proved fatal and he died soon afterwards; Proc. *BG* IV 32.22-8, Agath. I, prooem. 31, II 12.2, Joh. Mal. 480, Theoph. AM 6044, Cedr. I 659, Vict. Tonn. s.a. 554, Mar. Avent. s.a. 553, s.a. 568, Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Rom.* XVI 23. Procopius records an alternative version of his death, that he was mortally wounded during the battle by an arrow, withdrew from the fighting and died shortly afterwards; Proc. *BG* IV 32.33-5.

He was buried near Caprae (Caprara) some ten miles from the site of the battle; unconvinced that he was dead, the Romans dug up his corpse to make sure, before reintering it; Proc. *BG* IV 32.27-8.32-35.

He was succeeded by Theia; Proc. *BG* IV 33.6, Agath. I 1.1, Mar. Avent. s.a. 553.

His acts were formally abolished by Justinian in the Pragmatic Sanction; Just. *Nov. App.* 7 (a. 554 Aug. 13) (he is styled 'tyrannus'). See also *P-W*, Suppl. Band XIV, 799-809 (Roisl).

Touldich (Τουλδίχ) Turkish khan L VI

One of three great khans (τρεις μεγάλους Χαγάνους) who helped the Great Khan defeat the rebellion of Touroum in the reign of Maurice; Theoph. Sim. VII 8.9-11. The other two khans were Counaxolan and Sparzeugoun.

Touroum (Τουρούμ) Turkish rebel L VI  
A relative of the Great Khan of the Turks, against whom he rebelled;

the khan defeated and killed him with the aid of Sparzeugoun, Counaxolan and Touldich; Theoph. Sim. VII 8.8-11. The date was during the reign of Maurice.

Tourxanthus

Turkish khan 576

Son of Sizabulus and brother of Tardou; one of the eight rulers of the Turks (εις των παρα Τουρκοις ηγεμόνων); visited by the embassy of Valentinus 3 in 576, while still occupied with the burial rites for his father; he sent Valentinus on to see Tardou and then despatched an army against the Roman city of Bosporus and captured it; Men. Prot. fr. 43.

PRAETEXTATVS SALVENTIVS VERECVNDVS

TRAIANVS 1

v.c. et sp. (at Rome) 533

V.c. et sp(ectabilis); born in early Feb. 498, of senatorial descent (maiorum longa veniens de stirpe senator auxisti mentis nobilitate genus), he held office (presumably of *spectabilis* rank) (iudicis imperium servans bonitate magistra cum tibi subiectis tu quoque miles eras - perhaps provincial governor in Italy or *praefectus annonae* at Rome) and was due to become city prefect of Rome (urbanos fasces gaudens tibi Roma parabat) when he died aged thirty-five years, two months, thirteen days on April 22, 533; he was survived by his father (Anonymus 51), his wife and child (or children) and by his brother (evidently Salventius) who became PVR in his stead; *CIL* VI 32038 with p. 3814 = Rossi I 1031 = *ILCV* 135.

Traianus 2

officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537-541

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; Proc. *BG* I 27.4 (in 537), *BP* II 19.15 (in 541).

Sent by Belisarius during the siege of Rome (probably in April 537) with two hundred ὑποσπιστοί on the first of several successful sallies by mounted archers against the Gothic besiegers; Proc. *BG* I 27.4-11. Cf. Belisarius, p. 200. Later in the siege he was sent with Martinus 2 to Terracina (c. Sept./Oct.) from where they were then recalled to Rome (c. Nov./Dec.); Proc. *BG* II 4.6.14, 5.4, and see further Martinus. Shortly afterwards he and Diogenes 2, in a surprise move planned by Belisarius to distract Gothic attention from approaching reinforcements (see Belisarius, p. 201), sallied forth from the Pincian Gate with a thousand mounted archers and drew the Goths after them into a trap; Proc. *BG* II 5.9-11.21-3. In this action he was wounded by an arrow whose head buried itself in his forehead; in the fifth year afterwards

(541/542) it began to emerge and was still slowly coming out when Procopius wrote his account over two years later (c. 544); the wound is said to have inconvenienced Traianus in no way at all; Proc. *BG* II 5.24-7, and see Procopius 2.

In 541 he was with Belisarius on the Persian front and was sent with Ioannes 64 (the Glutton) and twelve hundred men to accompany Arethas on a raid into Persia; Proc. *BP* II 19.15.28. See further Arethas and Ioannes.

Described by Procopius, in stock phrases, as energetic and daring (θυμοειδῆ τε καὶ δραστήριον) and a good soldier; Proc. *BG* I 27.4, *BP* II 19.15. Cf. Cameron, *Procopius*, pp. 44-5, 240.

**Traianus 3** patricius, QSP, and envoy to Persia 575  
PATRICIUS and QSP a. 575: ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πατράσι τελῶν καὶ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ κοιαιστόρος διέπων ἀρχὴν, Men. Prot. fr. 39 (= Suid. K 2533). Described as a distinguished member of the senate (ἄνδρα λόγιον τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς πολιᾶ τε καὶ συνέσει τοῖς πᾶσι τίμιον); Evagr. *HE* V 12 (= Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 39).

Envoy to Persia in 575 (possibly sent in late 574), with Zacharias 2; he was the senior envoy promised by Zacharias in early 574 (cf. Men. Prot. fr. 38 μέγιστον πρεσβευτὴν τὸν τελεώτερά πως περὶ ἀπάντων διαλεχθησόμενον ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσονται); they were sent by Tiberius to seek a three-year truce from the end of the one-year truce (spring 574-spring 575) arranged by Zacharias (and so may have set out already in late 574); the Persians wanted a five-year truce and an annual payment; after consultations with Tiberius and an outbreak of warfare in the east (cf. Iustinianus 3, Mebodes and Tamchosroes), he and Zacharias negotiated a three-year truce, with an annual payment, which applied only to the east and not to Armenia; Men. Prot. fr. 39, 40, 50. The embassy and the truce are also recorded in Evagr. *HE* V 12, Nic. Call. *HE* XVII 39. Shortly afterwards Tiberius sent Theodorus 33 to the Persian court, partly to thank Chosroes for the good reception given to Traianus; Men. Prot. fr. 41 (= Suid. X 123).

**Traianus 4** tribunus (in Africa) VI/VII  
Fidelis, tribunus, peregrinus (presumably not native of Sufetula); died aged forty; recorded in the basilica of SS Silvanus and Fortunatus; *MEFR* 83 (1971), p. 431 = *AE* 1971, 495 = Pringle, no. 52 Sufetula (Sbeitla), in Byzacena. Presumably commander of a *numerus*.

**Traianus 5** honorary consul VI/VII  
Τραϊανῶ ὑπάτῳ; Zacos 1668 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2226 (seal; dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε (or ?κυρίε) βοήθει; rev.: ΤΡΑΙΑ/ΝΩΝΠ/ΑΤΩ).

**Trasaricus 1** wealthy Christian (in Gaul) M VI  
He built an oratory and honoured Sts Peter, Paul, Martin and Remedius (Remigius); Ven. Fort. *Carm.* II 13 title (De oratorio Trasarici), cf. lines 11-12 cultor opime Dei templum, Trasarice, locasti: has cui persolvit reddet amator opes.

**Trasaric 2** MVM (?at Rome) M/L VI  
Mag. ml.; he was grandfather or uncle of Wiliaric; *CIL* VI 32050 = Rossi I 1126 = *ILCV* 232 in the church of Santa Prassede. For the date, July 589, see Wiliaric. It is not clear whether Trasaric still lived when Wiliaric died, but he is not alluded to as 'quondam' or similar, and may therefore have been *magister militum* in Rome in 589.

**Tremo** Gothic commander (at Aternum) 538  
Defeated by Ioannes 46 at Aternum in early 538; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538 (Tremone Gothorum ducem). Probably commander of the Gothic garrison at Aternum. See further Ioannes.

Fl. Triadius Marianus Michaelius Gabrielius Constantinus Theodorus Martyrius Iulianus Athanasius

**Tribonianus 1** lawyer; QSP (II) 535-?542; honorary consul  
Native of Pamphylia; Proc. *BP* I 24.11. Son of Macedonianus; Suid. T 956. At his death he was survived by a son and many grandchildren; Proc. *Anecd.* 20.17.

He established a great reputation for his learning; Proc. *BP* I 24.16, Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 20 (πολυμαθέστατος), Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' 9 (prudētissimus), and cf. below. As a legal expert he had probably studied at either Constantinople or Berytus, perhaps the latter, to judge by the language of the *Constitutio* 'Omnem' 7 (in Berytiensium pulcherrima civitate, quam et legum nutricem bene quis appellet).

ADVOCATVS at the bar of the PPO (Orientis) before 528: ἀπὸ δικηγόρων τῶν ὑπάρχων; Suid. T 956, and cf. Just. *Const.* 'Tanta' 9 and Δέδωκεν 9 (cited below).

He was a member of the commission which compiled the first edition of the *Codex Iustinianus* in 528 and 529. The ten commissioners were appointed on Feb. 13, 528, Just. *Const.* 'Haec'; and their work was

completed on April 7, 529, Just. *Const.* 'Summa'. Tribonianus was sixth in order of precedence (cf. below) (his colleagues were **Ioannes** (*PLRE* II, **Ioannes** 68), **Leontius** (*PLRE* II, **Leontius** 27), **Phocas** 1, **Basilides**, **Thomas** 3, **Constantinus** 1, **Theophilus** 1, **Dioscorus** 1 and **Praesentinus** 1).

MAG. OFF. (VACANS) a. 528-529: he is styled 'vir magnificus magisteria dignitate inter agentes decoratus'; Just. *Const.* 'Haec', *Const.* 'Summa'. His dignity was therefore titular (vacans), not actual or honorary, but he was allowed to rank as if his office was actual (cf. **Constantinus** 1); he ranked below the QSP (**Thomas**) but ahead of the titular CSL and actual *magister scrinii* (**Constantinus**).

QSP a. 529 Nov. 17 (?Sept. 17)-532 Jan. 14: he probably succeeded **Thomas** 3 when the latter was dismissed in 529. First attested on Nov. 17, 529; *CJ* VII 63.5 (addressed 'Triboniano quaestori sacri palatii'). Possibly in office already on Sept. 17, 529; cf. **Honoré**, *Tribonian*, p. 47 (the style found in laws drafted by Tribonianus first appears at that date). Also attested a. 530 Dec. 15, *CJ* I 17.1 = Just. *Const.* 'Deo auctore' (addressed 'Triboniano viro eminentissimo quaestori sacri palatii', on the Digest, see below); a. 531 Sept. 1, *CJ* VI 28.4 (cited concerning a legal point found in Ulpian during work on the Digest - a Triboniano viro gloriosissimo nostro quaestore ceterisque viris facundissimis compositoribus iuris nucleati). Stated by Procopius to have been Justinian's first appointment as QSP (cf. **Thomas** 3); Proc. *Anecd.* 20.16. He remained in this office until Jan. 14, 532, when Justinian dismissed him during the Nika revolt in an effort to pacify the rioting crowds; his successor was **Basilides**; Proc. *BP* I 24.11 (βασιλεῖ πάρεδρος κοιαίστωρα τοῦτου κολοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι). 17-18, 25.1, Joh. Mal. 475 (ὁ κοιαίστωρ), *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532 (where the QSP is mistakenly called **Rufinus**) (for the exact date, cf. Joh. Mal. 474-475). Mentioned during this office (in 530/531) as accompanying Justinian to the Magnaura palace; *Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae* 73 (μετὰ Τριβουνιανοῦ τοῦ κνέστορος). Alluded to as former QSP; Just. *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' (a. 533 Nov. 21), *Inst.* title, *Const.* 'Omnem', 'Tanta' and Δέδωκεν (all a. 533 Dec. 16), *Const.* 'Cordi' (a. 534 Nov. 16).

From 530 to 533 Tribonian was involved in work on the Digest and then on the Institutes. As a result of his work on the *Codex Iustinianus* he was entrusted with the task of organising the compilation of the Digest and of selecting his own commissioners from law professors and advocates; Just. *Const.* 'Deo auctore' = *CJ* I 17.1 (a. 530 Dec. 15; addressed to Tribonianus; cf. 3 et ad tuae sinceritatis optimum respeximus ministerium tibi quoque primo et hoc opus commisimus, ingenii tui documentis ex nostri codicis ordinatione acceptis, et iussimus quos

probaveris tam ex facundissimis antecessoribus quam ex viris discretissimis togatis fori amplissimae sedis ad sociandum laborem eligere. His itaque collectis et in nostrum palatium introductis nobisque tuo testimonio placitis totam rem faciendam permisimus, ita tamen, ut tui vigilantissimi animi gubernatione res omnis celebretur), cf. *Const.* 'Tanta' = *CJ* I 17.2, praef. (et omne studium Triboniano viro excelso magistro officiorum et ex quaestore sacri nostri palatii et ex consule credidimus eique omne ministerium huiusce ordinationis imposuimus), *Const.* Δέδωκεν, praef. He himself supplied very many obscure legal books for the Digest Commission to read; *Const.* 'Tanta' 17 (antiquae autem sapientiae librorum copiam maxime Tribonianus vir excellentissimus praebuit, in quibus multi fuerant et ipsis eruditissimis hominibus incogniti), *Const.* Δέδωκεν 17. In a reply to Justinian, he had observed that something like two thousand books containing some three million lines would have to be read and considered; *Const.* 'Tanta' 1. The work was completed by late 533 and published on Dec. 16; Just. *Const.* 'Omnem', 'Tanta' and Δέδωκεν (all a. 533 Dec. 16), *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' (a. 533 Nov. 21).

After the Digest was completed Justinian ordered Tribonianus with his two colleagues **Dorotheus** 4 and **Theophilus** 1 to compile the Institutes, an introduction to the elements of Roman law for students; this was published, before the Digest, on Nov. 21, 533; Just. *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' (a. 533 Nov. 21), cf. *Const.* 'Omnem' 2, 'Tanta' 11, Δέδωκεν 11.

MAGISTER OFFICIORVM a. 533 Nov. 21-535 Jan. 3: first attested on Nov. 21, 533; Just. *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' (vir magnificus magister et ex quaestore sacri palatii nostri), and cf. Just. *Inst.* title (per Tribonianum virum excelsum magistrum et ex quaestore sacri palatii). Also attested in office in the three *Constitutions* on the Digest, on Dec. 16, 533; *Const.* 'Omnem' 2 (vir magnificus magister et ex quaestore sacri palatii nostri et ex consule), *Const.* 'Tanta', praef. = *CJ* I 17.2 (cited above; cf. also 9), *Const.* Δέδωκεν, praef. (ὁ ἐνδοξότατος μάγιστρος καὶ ἀπὸ κναιστώρων τοῦ θεῖου ἡμῶν παλατίου καὶ ὑπάτων, cf. also 9). In office a. 534 Nov. 16; Just. *Const.* 'Cordi' 2 (vir excelsus magister ex quaestore et ex consule). Last attested on Jan. 3, 535, when he combined briefly the offices of *magister officiorum* and QSP, before **Hermogenes** 1 became *mag. off.* (by March 535); Just. *Nov.* 23 (cited below; for the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 805-10, Excursus K, and **Honoré**, *Tribonian*, p. 57 with n. 149).

After completing the Digest and Institutes, Tribonianus headed a fresh commission which produced a revised edition of the *Codex Iustinianus*; this work was completed by Nov. 16, 534; Just. *Const.*

'Cordi'. His fellow-commissioners were Dorotheus 4, Menas 2, Constantinus 2 and Ioannes 9; *Const.* 'Cordi' 2.

HONORARY CONSVL: first attested on Dec. 16, 533; *Just. Const.* 'Omnem', 'Tanta' and Δέδωκεν (all cited above). The absence of the title from *Const.* 'Imperatoriam' of Nov. 21, 533, is probably not accidental and indicates that he received the honour shortly afterwards, presumably in recognition of his work on the Digest and Institutes. This title is also recorded on Nov. 16, 534, *Const.* 'Cordi'; April 15, 535, *Just. Nov.* (Lat.) 17; and March 18, 536, *Just. Nov.* 22 epil.

QSP (II) a. 535 Jan. 3-537 Nov./Dec. (-?542 May 1): after his dismissal in Jan. 532 (see above) he was later (χρόνον ὕστερον) restored to his former office; *Proc. BP* 1 25.1. First attested on Jan. 3, 535; *Just. Nov.* 23 (styled 'illustris magister officiorum et quaestor sacri palatii'; on the date, see above). In office a. 535 April 15, *Just. Nov.* (Lat.) 17 (addressed 'Triboniano quaestori sacri nostri palatii et ex consuli'); May 23, *Just. Nov.* 35 (Triboniano quaestori); a. 536, March 18, *Just. Nov.* 22 epil. (ἔγγραφή τὸ ἰσότυπον Τριβουνιανώ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κοιαιστῶρι τὸ δεῦτερον καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων); a. 537 Nov./Dec., *Just. Nov.* 75 = 104 (Triboniano quaestori sacri palatii). He and Proculus (= *PLRE* II, Proculus 5) οἱ κυαιστορες were named by John Lydus together with the PPO Sergius (*PLRE* II, Sergius 7) as administrators who had praised the efficiency of the judicial archivists of the praetorian prefecture; *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* III 20. Identified in *Suidas* as κοιαιστῶρ Ἰουστινιανού; *Suid.* T 951, 956.

He remained in office for many years until his death from disease; *Proc. BP* 1 25.2 (ἔτη πολλὰ ἐπιβίους τῇ τιμῇ ἔτελεύτησε νόσῳ). This was probably in the early 540s. The last constitution which he drafted may have been *Just. Nov.* 114, dated Nov. 1, 541 (see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 407 with n. 1), or possibly *Nov.* 157, dated May 1, 542 (see Honoré, *Tribonian*, p. 60 and ch. IV, pp. 124-38). His successor was Iunillus whose own tenure lasted for seven years and had ended by summer 550; *Proc. Anecd.* 20.17. Tribonianus presumably died therefore no later than summer 543 and probably earlier. It is not impossible that he died of the plague, which visited Constantinople in spring and summer 542; cf. Honoré, *Tribonian*, pp. 61-4.

After his death a part of his estates was confiscated by the emperor; *Proc. Anecd.* 20.17. He was blamed by Procopius for his avarice (ἐς φιλοχρημασίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακῶς) and accused of selling justice by regularly repealing old laws and proposing new ones to suit the interests of those who would pay him; *Proc. BP* 1 24.16. Procopius also claims that he was able to conceal his avaricious purposes by his great learning and was adept at making himself agreeable and pleasant; *Proc. BP* 1 25.2. To

illustrate his skill at flattering Justinian, Procopius cites an incident when Tribonianus professed alarm lest the emperor be suddenly carried up to heaven because of his great piety; *Proc. Anecd.* 13.12, cf. *Suid.* T 956 (perhaps from Hesychius Illustrius) (said to have persuaded Justinian that the emperor would never die but would be snatched bodily up to heaven; presumably another version of the same tale).

Praised for his eloquence, his knowledge of legal science and his contribution to Justinian's legal reforms; *Just. Const.* 'Tanta' 9 (qui similiter eloquentiae et legitimae scientiae artibus decoratus et in ipsis rerum experimentis emicuit nihilque maius nec carius nostris unquam iussionibus duxit), Δέδωκεν 9 (ἄνδρὸς ἐν τε τῷ πράττειν ἐν τε τῷ ῥητορεύειν ἐν τε τῷ τοὺς νόμους γράφειν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, τῶν τε ἡμετέρων ἔμπροσθεν οὐδὲν τιθεμένου προστάξεων), *Const.* 'Cordi' 2 (legitimi operis nostri minister), *Nov.* 75 = 104 (tua sublimitas... quam nos proveximus, quam legitimo operi praeposuimus, cuius opere atque industria omnis legum ambiguitas, omnis latitudo in praesentem concordiam et pulchram breviter pervenit). Some of the legal documents in which he is highly spoken of were certainly drafted by Tribonianus himself as QSP (e.g. *Just. Nov.* 75) and possibly he drafted others too at other times; cf. Honoré, *Tribonian*, p. 40. Some of the references to him in the *Const.* 'Tanta' do not appear in the Greek version, *Const.* Δέδωκεν; cf. *Const.* 'Tanta' 1 and 9 with Δέδωκεν 1 and 9.

According to one source Tribonianus was a pagan and an atheist (Ἕλληνα ὑπήρχε καὶ ἄθεος) and strongly opposed to Christianity; *Suid.* T 956 (possibly from Hesychius Illustrius). Contemporary evidence of his religious views is lacking but it is unlikely that an outspoken pagan would have been chosen in 529 to succeed Thomas whom Justinian dismissed for paganism. There is no other evidence that Tribonianus held any strong religious views, and it is possible that the *Suidas* notice has confused him with his homonym, Tribonianus 2.

For the apparent allusion to Tribonianus as PVC in *Just. Ed.* 9, see Tribonianus 3. For the alleged seal of Tribonianus (cf. Honoré, *Tribonian*, p. 58), cf. Tribonianus 2.

Possibly author of the ὑπατικός and the βασιλικός (sc. λόγοι) mentioned in *Suid.* T 957. See Tribonianus 2.

His work on the Digest is commemorated in later Byzantine verses preserved at the beginning of the Digest; *Just. Dig.* (ed. Mommsen), p. xii, Cougny III, III 191.

See also Clausen, p. 195.

Tribonianus 2

advocate and author M VI

Native of Side (in Pamphylia), he practised as advocate at the court

of the PPO (Orientis) (ἀπό δικηγόρων τῶν ὑπάρχων καὶ αὐτός, i.e. like Tribonianus 1); a man of great learning, he wrote a variety of works in verse and prose, ranging from a commentary on Ptolemy's Canon through works on astrological themes and on metre and rhythm to a metaphrasis of Homer's Catalogue of Ships, a dialogue on happiness (called Μακεδόνιος, ἢ περὶ εὐδαιμονίας; cf. Macedonius 3), a Life of Theodotus the philosopher in three books and a work on the changes of the months; he is also credited with two prose works dedicated to Justinian, a ὑπατικός and a βασιλικός; Suid. T 957. He is said to have flourished under Justinian and to have been contemporary with Agathias, Paulus 21 (Silentarius) and Macedonius 3; Suid. A 112.

Perhaps identical with Tribonianus 3, but the absence of allusions to the city prefecture in Suid. T 957 make this unlikely.

This man has been identified, if with hesitation, with Tribonianus 1 (cf. e.g. Kübler in *P-W* VI A 2421-2) but the evidence of chronology is against this and suggests that the author lived a generation later than the lawyer (see Alan and Averil Cameron in *JHS* 1966, p. 8, n. 17). Nevertheless their common origin in Pamphylia suggests that they were related; the author could even have been the son of the lawyer. There is the possibility of contamination between the notices referring to the two men in Suidas; of the two works dedicated to Justinian, the ὑπατικός ought to be a panegyric on an imperial consulship and the βασιλικός a panegyric containing advice on the qualities of a good ruler; if so, the ὑπατικός could not be later than 534 and so perhaps more likely to be a work by Tribonianus 1, while the βασιλικός similarly would be more likely to come from the pen of one known to have associations with the emperor. Possibly also the description of Tribonianus 1 in Suid. T 956 as a pagan, an atheist and very hostile to Christianity may have been misplaced from Tribonianus 2.

Tribonianus 3

?PVC 527/565

Addressee of Just. *Ed.* 9 (undated; Τριβουνιανῶ ἐπάρχῳ πόλεως).

He cannot be identified with Tribonianus 1, if the title is correct. A marginal note however on one MS (cited by Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Ἀνεκδότα*, p. 224) suggests that the addressee was indeed the famous QSP - κῆστρω Τριβουνιανὸς ἀπενεμήθη τοῖς ἀργυροπράταις; if so, the title should presumably be emended, as proposed by Zachariae, *loc. cit.*, to read: Τριβουνιανῶ κοιαιστρωι. τὸ ἰσότυπον ἐπάρχῳ πόλεως. See also Just. *Nov.* (ed. Schoell-Kroll), p. 772 note. It is possible though that the title is correct and the addressee was an otherwise unrecorded PVC called Tribonianus, possibly a relative (?son) of Tribonianus 1, who

could have held office late in Justinian's reign. He may be identical therefore with Tribonianus 2.

Tribunas 1

illustris M VI/M VII

Τριβουνᾶ ἰλλουστρίου; Zacos 2936 (seal; obv.: +T[P]/IBOV/NA; rev.: [I]ΛΛ/ΟVCT/PIOV).

Tribunas 2

honorary consul VII

Τριβουνᾶ ὑπάτου; Zacos 1082a = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.2169, Zacos 1082b (two seals; obv.: +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ[Ο]/ΗΘΕΙ (1082a), +ΘΕΟ/ΤΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΗ (1082b); rev.: ΤΡΙΒ/ΟVNAV/ΠΑΤΟV (1082a), ΤΡΙΒ/ΟVNAV/[Π]ΑΤΟV (1082b)). Another specimen of 1082a occurs in Zacos' series, and similar seals are recorded in Schlumberger, *Sigill.*, p. 479, no. 16 and Laurent, *Orghidan*, no. 278.

Cf. Tribonianus 1.

Tribunas 3

MVM VII

Τριβουνᾶ στρατηλάτου; Zacos 1083 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.895 (seal; obv.: +ΘΕ/ΟΤΟΚ|Ε|/ΒΟΗΘΗ; rev.: ΤΡΙΒ/[Ο]VNACT/[Π]ΑΘΗΛΑ/ΤΟV). Possibly the same man owned another seal, Zacos 1084 (obv.: ΤΡΙΒ/ΔNACT/PATHΛ/ΑΤΟV; rev.: ΔΟV/ΛΔΤΗC/ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΟV).

Tribunas 4

ex praefectis VII

Τριβουνᾶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 1081 (seal; obv.: ΘΕΟΤ/ΟΚΕΒ/ΟΗΘΙ; rev.: ΤΡΙΒ/ΝΑΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑΡ/Χ). Perhaps the same man owned Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4412 (obv.: [+Θ]ΕΟ/[ΤΟΚ]Ε/ΒΟΗΘΙ; rev.: ΤΡΙΒΟ/VNAΑΠ/ΟΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩN). Two further seals identical with 1081 occur in Zacos' series.

Tribunas 5

ex praefectis VII

Τριβουνᾶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2547 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of κύριε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (335) of Τριβουνᾶ, with ΑΠ/ΟΕ/[Π]ΑΡ/ΧΩ in the corners).

TRIBVNVS 1

comes (East) E/M VI

His *Life* is written by John of Ephesus, *V. SS. Or.* 44 (*PO* 18, pp. 661-8) 'Of Tribunas who in habit (σχῆμα) was a layman and a count ('qwm's'), but in the performance of practices of excellence complete and perfect.'

A native of Beth Rwmnt' in Sophanene, an only child, he grew up in a religious environment and learned Greek and Syriac; after refusing to



marry the bride provided for him by his parents, he went to Constantinople as an interpreter for Z'ura (p. 663) (= Zoaras, stylite and monophysite leader, cf. *V. SS. Or.* 2 (PO 17) and cf. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, pp. 270, 272), living with him and his disciples but remaining a layman, the more easily to serve as their agent; he acquired the dignity of *comes* ('qwmys') (p. 664); after the death of Z'ura he remained in Constantinople, earning a living by carpentry and devoting himself to charitable works; he was buried in the so-called monastery of the Syrians at Sycae (p. 668).

Tribunus 2

doctor M VI

A native of Palestine; Proc. *BG* IV 10.11.

A doctor; Proc. *BP* II 28.8, *BG* IV 10.11, Zach. *HE* XII 7, *Hist. Nest.* II 27. A man of learning, one of the best doctors of his day, and of good character, wise and devout; Proc. *BG* IV 10.12.

Allegedly sent by Justinian to cure the Persian king Cavades; Zach. *HE* XII 7 (called 'Tribunianus').

He cured the Persian king Chosroes of a severe illness, some time before 545, and in consequence became a great favourite of his; he returned from Persia laden with gifts; Proc. *BP* II 28.9, *BG* IV 10.13. When in 545 Chosroes began negotiating a truce he insisted that Justinian send Tribunus to stay with him for a year; Proc. *BP* II 28.8-10, *BG* IV 10.14. At the end of his visit, when asked by Chosroes to name a favour, Tribunus asked for, and obtained, the release of many Romans held captive in Persia, winning himself much credit thereby; Proc. *BG* IV 10.15-16, Suid. T 952. This story occurs in a garbled form in *Hist. Nest.* II 27 (where his name is given as 'Trikhoma'); he allegedly chose wealth as his reward instead of demanding freedom for the captives from Antioch and perished at the hands of the queen (presumably of a wife of Chosroes).

Fl. Trigetius (*CIL* VIII 4354 + 18540 = *ILCV* 28 = Pringle, no. 31): see Durliat, no. 29, with pp. 72 and 74 (demonstrating that the name, restored by Rossi, is an error).

Triphiodorus: epic poet (Suid. T 1112) ?III/VI; *PLRE* II.

Troilus (*Anth. Gr.* XVI 55) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Troilus I

cubicularius M VI

Κουβικουλάριος; allegedly assisted Justinian with the construction of Hagia Sophia; *Narr. de aed. S. Soph.* 9, 14. The source is late and unreliable. Cf. however Theodorus I.

Troilus 2

protovestiarius(?) M/L VI

Troilus and Narses 3 were allegedly ordered by Justin II to build a harbour; *Patr. Const.* III 37 (Τρώϊλον τὸν πρωτοβεστιαρίον αὐτοῦ). The source is late and unreliable. The post of *protovestiarius*, the successor of the *comes sacrae vestis*, is not attested before the ninth century; see Oikonomides, *Listes*, p. 305. Possibly Troilus was *comes sacrae vestis* under Justin II, but is more probably an invention. Cf. also Zoticus.

Troilus 3

honorary consul VII

Τρώϊλος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων; Zacos 3061 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ΤΡΩ/ΙΛΩΑΠΟ/ΥΠΑΤΩΝ).

Troilus 4

patricius VII

Τρώϊλος πατρικίω; Zacos 1670 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.596 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ΤΡΩ/ΙΛΩΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙΩ). A similar specimen is in Laurent, *Bulletin* I, p. 588, no. 21. A note in Zacos suggests that the owner may have been Troilus, envoy of Constans II to pope Martin at Bizye in 656.

Trophonius: sophist ?V/VI; *PLRE* II.

Theodos(ius) Trpatuni

Trudulfus

comes palatii (under Childebert) 587

Comes palatii regalis; in 587 he accompanied the army sent under Godegiselus 2 by Childebert to the Woëvre against Vrsio and Bertefredus and was killed by Vrsio; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 12. On the *comes palatii*, see Dalton II, pp. 542-3.

Tryphon I

PVC 532

Brother of Theodorus ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πόλεως (= *PLRE* II, Theodorus 57); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

PVC a. 532 Jan.: appointed ἐπαρχος πόλεως in place of Eudaemon I during the Nika riot (for the date, Jan. 14, cf. Joh. Mal. 474-5); presumably identical with the unnamed PVC whom Justinian ordered to punish the Blues after the riot was over; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 532.

Tryphon 2

?censitor (in Africa) 534

He and Eustratius I were sent to Africa in 534, probably as *censitores*; Proc. *BV* II 8.25. See further Eustratius.

Tryphon 3

chartularius (East) VII

Τρύφωνος χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 565 = Dumbarton Oaks seal

58.106.1204 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (336) of Τρύφωνος; rev.: cruciform monogram (365) of χαρτουλαρίου).

**Tryphon 4** MVM et proconsul (East) VII

Τρύφωνος στρατηλάτου καὶ ἀνθυπάτου; Zacos 1085 (seal; obv.: +TRV/ΦΩΝΟC/CTPA/THΛ'; rev.: ΙΑΝ/ΘΥΠΑ/ΤΟΥ). Probably a proconsul with the honorific title of *magister militum*.

Tuccianus (*Anth. Lat.* 1 277–8) ?V/VI: PLRE II.

**Tulga** Visigothic king 640–642

Son and successor of Chintila while still a child, he was king for two years, four months before Chindasuinth deposed and tonsured him; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 37 (*MGH, AA* XIII, p. 467), Fredegar. iv 82 (sub tenera aetate), and cf. *MGH, AA* XI, pp. 340, 373–4, 387 (various *chronica*). For the dates, see Zeumer, *Neues Archiv* XXVII (1902), p. 430.

**TULLIANVS 1** ?v.c. (in south Italy) 546–547

Son of Venantius 1; Proc. *BG* III 18.20. Brother of Deopheron; Proc. *BG* III 30.6. He was a Roman and had great power in Lucania and Bruttium; Proc. *BG* III 18.20 (ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, δύναμιν πολλὴν ἐν τε Βριττίοις καὶ Λευκανοῖς ἔχων). He was perhaps a great landowner in that area and possibly of senatorial family.

In 546 he complained to Ioannes 46 at Canusium that the Romans had lost support in Italy by their misconduct, but undertook to restore Lucania and Bruttium to their allegiance in return for a promise of fairer treatment; Ioannes agreed and Tullianus accompanied him there (cf. further Ioannes); Proc. *BG* III 18.20–3. In late 546/early 547 he gathered an army of peasants and with three hundred Antae left for him by Ioannes successfully defended the route into Lucania against a force sent by Totila; Proc. *BG* III 22.1–5. However when Totila himself drew near in early 547 and induced many peasants to return to their farms, Tullianus fled and most of the south again reverted to the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 22.20–2.

**Tullianus 2** MVM (?in Italy) M/L VI

He was dead by Nov. 597, when pope Gregory ordered his daughter to be restored to the nunnery from which she had run away; *Greg. Ep.* VIII 8 and 9 (to bishop Vitalian of Sipontum and the *defensor* Sergius respectively; both letters allude to the (unnamed) 'filia gloriosae

memoriae Tulliani magistri militiae' (magistri militum, *Ep.* VIII 9)). He was presumably (though not necessarily) a *magister militum* in Italy.

Tuluin: patricius praesentalis (in Italy) 526; PLRE II.

**Turisindus** king of the Gepids 548/549–552/567

Θορισίν; Proc. Turisindus; Paul. Diac.

Father of Turismodus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 23, 24, *Hist. Rom.* XVI 20. He had a second son; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 24.

KING of the Gepids a. 548/549–552 (– before 566/567): rex Gepidarum; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 24, 27, *Hist. Rom.* XVI 20, cf. Proc. *BG* III 34.4 (ἦρχε δὲ τότε Γηπαίδων μὲν Θορισίν ὄνομα, in 548/549, cf. below), IV 18.8 (τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Γηπαίδων), 18.9 (supposedly addressed by Lombard envoys as ὦ βασιλεῦ), 18.19 (see Elemundus), 18.22 (τὸν Γηπαίδων ἄρχοντα). He became king after the death of Elemundus, expelling the former king's young son Ustrigothus; Proc. *BG* IV 27.19, and cf. Vstrigothus (for the date).

In late 548/early 549 the Gepids and the Lombards both approached Justinian for military support against the other; Proc. *BG* III 34.4, cf. 5–39 (their supposed speeches). The Lombards prevailed and military preparations began in spring 549; Proc. *BG* III 34.40–4, and cf. Aratius (for the date). The Gepids, faced with a Roman army, made peace with the Lombards; Proc. *BG* III 34.45, IV 18.1.

In 550 Turisind led the Gepids (ἠγείτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Γηπαίδων Θορισίν) against the Lombards under Audoin; the campaign ended without a battle (the troops on both sides panicked and fled) and a two-year truce was agreed; Proc. *BG* IV 18.2–11.

In 551 the Gepids invited the Cotrigur Huns to help them against the Lombards; an army arrived unexpectedly under Chinialon and, as the truce was still in force, the Gepids transported them over the Danube and sent them to raid Roman territory; Proc. *BG* IV 18.12–17, and see further Chinialon, Sinnion and Sandilchus.

In 552 the Gepids ferried Sclaveni across the Danube, to raid Roman territory, charging one *solidus* per head; Proc. *BG* IV 25.5. During this year they made a treaty of offence and defence with the Romans, but shortly afterwards the Romans sent an army to assist the Lombards against them (the truce having presumably ended), accusing the Gepids of continuing to transport Sclaveni even after the treaty; Proc. *BG* IV 25.7–10, and cf. Amalafriidas. There followed a great battle ending in defeat for the Gepids with heavy losses; Proc. *BG* IV 25.14–15, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 23–4, *Hist. Rom.* XVI 20 (death of Turismodus), *Jord. Rom.* 386 (one of the bloodiest battles of recent years).

It seems that peace was now made between Romans, Lombards and Gepids, which endured for the remainder of Turisind's reign; Proc. *BG* iv 27.21, and cf. Cunimundus (trouble only broke out again under Cunimund, after Turisind's death). A visit to the Gepid court by Alboin, to receive arms from Turisind, was perhaps, if historical, linked with the peace; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 24. A potential source of conflict over the Lombard Ildigisal, who had sought refuge with the Gepids in summer 552, and Vstrigothus was averted by the secret murders of both men by Turisind and Audoin respectively; Proc. *BG* iv 27.22-8.

At his death Turisind was succeeded by Cunimundus; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 27. The date is unknown but Cunimund himself was killed in 566/567.

Turismodus Gepid; son of Turisindus M VI

Son of the Gepid king Turisindus; killed in battle by Alboin in 552; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 23, 24, *Hist. Rom.* xvi 20. According to Paul, Turismodus was responsible for the renewal of the war between Lombards and Gepids in 552.

Turranius MVM (in Africa) 548/549

He was one of the laymen given copies of the *Indicatum* of Vigilius by the deacon Rusticus for delivery to Africa (donec exemplaria per plurimos sacerdotes ac laicos, sed et per gloriosum virum Turranium magistrum militum aliosque laicos in Africana provincia destinares); *ACOec.* iv i, p. 189 (letter of Vigilius to the deacons Rusticus and Sebastianus). For the date, 548/9, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 643-6.

Possibly he was sent to Africa to serve under Ioannes 36 Troglita after the defeat of the Moors in 548.

TYRANNVS comes (East) ?VI

His son Longinus was buried near Isparta (Baris) in Pisidia; Bott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmaler* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 352, no. 16 Findos, near Isparta (ἐνθάδε κατὰ κίτε Λογγίνου υἱὸς τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμ(ητος) Τυράννου+).

Tyrax (Τύραξ) Hun king 528

King of a section of the Huns, an ally of Cavades, defeated and captured by Boa in 528 while marching with Glom to aid the Persians against the Romans; sent in fetters to Justinian and executed near St Conon's, across the Golden Horn; Joh. Mal. 431, Theoph. AM 6020, Cedr. i 644, Joh. Nik. 90.65.

TZALICON (IVS?) comes (in Italy) M VI

His sons are mentioned in a document of 557 from Ravenna, apparently referring back to a time when Belisarius was in Italy; Marini, *P. Dip.* 140 = *P. Ital.* 49, line 22 perbenerunt fili Tzaliconi com(itis) et ipsi similiter occupaverunt ili..., cf. lines 25-6 ... t fili com(itis) Tzaliconi... / ... et Gudila et occupaverunt. Possibly Gudila was one of his sons. The absence of 'quondam' suggests that in 557 Tzaliconius was still alive.

TZANCE v.c., comes (Egypt) VI

Author of a letter to Petechon about a troublesome monk; *P. Fouad* 86, line 8 γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου) κυρίο[υ] κομιτάτου (sic) Τζάνκη. The provenance of the papyrus is unknown. Κομιτάτου is probably a copyist's error for κομίτου. Tzance apparently was in a position of authority somewhere in Egypt. The circumstances are unclear; perhaps Tzance was a military officer and Petechon a subordinate (?tribunus).

Tzathius I ruler of the Suani 551

Ruler of the Suani when Deitatus was in command of the Romans there and the Suani submitted to Persia; Men. Prot. fr. 11. For the date, see Gubazes and Martinus 2.

Tzathes 2 king of the Lazi 556-?

Younger brother of Gubazes, he was in Constantinople in 555 when his brother was murdered; the Lazi chose him, as a member of the royal family, as their next king; Agath. iii 14.3. He was appointed king and received the royal insignia from Justinian, according to custom, and arrived in Lazica in spring 556, accompanied by Soterichus, to a great ceremonial welcome to take up his duties; Agath. iii 15.2-5.

Tzazon Vandal prince; brother of Gelimer E/M VI

Brother of the Vandal king Gelimer; Proc. *BV* i 11.23, 24.1, 25.10, ii 2.23, 3.8, 3.14.

Sent by Gelimer in late summer 533 to recapture Sardinia from Godas; he was appointed commander (στρατηγός) of a fleet of 120 ships carrying five thousand Vandals; Proc. *BV* i 11.23-4. He landed at Cagliari and quickly captured the city, defeating Godas' troops and killing him; during his absence the Romans under Belisarius landed in Africa and took Carthage; Tzazon's letter to Gelimer reporting his victory in Sardinia reached Carthage only to fall straight into Roman

hands; Proc. *BV* I 24.1-6. Summoned back in haste by Gelimer, he landed on the borders of Mauretania and Numidia and rejoined his brother with the Vandal forces in the plain near Bulla Regia (around mid October); Proc. *BV* I 25.10-26. He and his troops from the Sardinian campaign were in the Vandal army at Tricamarum, where he commanded the centre of the Vandal army, opposite Ioannes 14; Proc. *BV* II 2.23-3.1, 3.8. In the battle (mid December 533) he was repeatedly attacked by Ioannes and finally killed; Proc. *BV* II 3.14, cf. 3.28 (for the date).

Tzieitas ?v.c., diocetes (in Egypt) VI

Ordered by Theodosius 18 to make payments connected with the *embole* of barley to Cyrus 10 and Zacharias 8 (Τζιείτα τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ διοικ(η)τ(ῆ) χρυσοποδέκ(ο)υ (sic)); *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1111 Fayum. His name is perhaps the same as Tzittas, Sittas. He was apparently v.c., *diocetes* and a collector of taxes (rather than *diocetes* of the tax-collector).

Tzimein vir gloriosissimus (in Egypt) 621

Present in Heracleopolis (in Arcadia) in 621; *P. Oxy.* 1921 (a letter was sent πρὸς Τζιμεῖν τὸν ἐνδ[ο]ξ(ότατον)). His unusual name combined with the date suggest that he was a Persian. Cf. also Bottas.

Tzitas v.d., miles numeri (at Ravenna) 591

V.d., miles numeri felicium Persoarmin(iorum); husband of Rusticiana 1; he acted as surety (fideiussor) for his wife when she sold some property, on March 10, 591; Marini, *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37, lines 3-6, cf. 71-2, 75, 80, 86, 92, 98 (styled v.d.).

His name is doubtless the same as Sittas and Tzittanus and is Gothic; cf. Schönfeld, p. 244. In *P. Dip.* 122 = *P. Ital.* 37 it is variously spelt: line 71 Tzitani (genitive); line 6 Tzitane, line 75 Tzittane, line 80 Kεττane, line 92 Tazittane, line 98 Zitane (all ablative).

TZITTANVS (v.sp.,) comes et tribunus (in Italy) 568

Husband of Honorata, who was 'clarissima et p(ia?) f(emina), coniunx Tzittani com(itis) et trib(uni)'; *CIL* V 7793 = D 8258 = *ILCV* 3864 Albingaunum (Alpes Cottiae) (his wife's tombstone, dated Feb. 1, 568). He was presumably *vir spectabilis*, *comes* of the *civitas* of Albingaunum and *tribunus* of the *numerus* stationed there; cf. however Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 56-7 with n. 34. His name is doubtless the same as Sittas, Tzittas and Zittas, which are Gothic; Schönfeld, p. 244, but cf. also Detschew, p. 497.

Tzittas 1 M VI/M VII

Owner of lead seals; Zacos 1226a and b (obv. of both seals: Virgin and child; rev., of a) T-shaped monogram (333) of TZITTA; of b) cruciform monogram (334) of TZITTA).

Tzittas 2 spatharius et candidatus 605 or 607

On June 7, 605 or 607, he and Ioannes 233 were among those executed for plotting against Phocas; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605 (σπαθάριοι καὶ κανδιδάτοι), Theoph. AM 6099. See further Theodorus 150.

FL. TZITTAS 3 comes; meizoterus (of Strategius 10) (in Egypt) 615

Addressee of an acknowledgement from a potter (cf. Petrus 58), written at Arsinoe and dated a. 615 June 25; *BGU* II 368 (found somewhere in the Fayum) (addressed to Φλ(αούιω) Τζ[.]ττα τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ κόμητι καὶ μειζοτέρῳ Στρατηγίου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου; cf. Strategius 10). He had the imperial dignity of *comes* but was in private employment. Perhaps *maior domus* of Strategius.

Vaanes 1 MVM M VI/M VII

Βαάνου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 2831 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (38) of BAANδ; rev.: cruciform monogram (323) of CTPATHΛATδ).

Vaanes 2 cubicularius VII

Βαάνου κουβικουλαρίου; Zacos 566, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.4471 (two seals, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, VII Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (38) of BAANδ; rev.: +KOV/BIKOV/ΛAPI/OV +). Another similar seal occurs in Zacos' series.

Vaanes 3 cubicularius et imperialis chartularius VII

Βαάνη κουβικουλαρίῳ καὶ βασιλικῷ χαρτουλαρίῳ; Zacos 1086a and b (two seals; obv.: (a) ΘΕΟΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗΘ/ΗΒΑΑΝ/Η, (b) ΘΕ[Ο]ΤΟ/ΚΕΒΟΗΘ[Η]/ΒΑΑΝΗ; rev.: (a) ΚΟΝΒΙΚΟΝ/ΛΑΡΙΩΚΑΙ/Β'ΧΑΡΤΩ/[ΛΑ]ΡΙΩ, (b) [Κ]ΔΒΙΚΔ/[Λ]ΑΡΙΩ/ΒΑΣ/[Χ]ΑΡΤΟΝ/[ΛΑ]ΡΙΩ).

Vaccarus Varnian leader (in Italy) 553

A Varnian, father of Theudibaldus 2; after his death (in Italy, in 553)

his son took their followers and joined the Roman forces under Narses 1; Vaccarus was ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δεινός τε καὶ φιλοπόλεμος; Agath. 1 21.2. He and his Varni had perhaps come to Italy with the Franks and Alamanni in summer 553 to fight the Romans; cf. Butilinus, and see Hermegisclus.

Vaces ruler of the Lombards E/M VI

Οὐάκης; Proc. Wacho, Waccho; *Origo Gent. Lang.*, Paul. Diac. On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 248.

A member of the Lombard ruling family, the Lithingi, he was son of Zuchilo and nephew of Tato (*PLRE* II); *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 21. Cousin (or possibly uncle) of Risiulfus; Proc. *BG* III 35.13. He had three wives, Ranicunda the daughter of the king of the Thuringians, then Austrigusa the daughter of the Gepid king, by whom he had two daughters Wisegarda and Walderada, and thirdly Salinga the daughter of the Herul king who bore him his son and successor Waltari; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 21, Proc. *BG* III 35.17.

He killed Tato and drove out Hildechis (Ildichis) to become ruler of the Lombards; he subdued the Suevi; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 21. Ruler (ἄρχων) of the Lombards in 539 when he was a friend and ally of the Romans and rejected a request for help from the Ostrogoths; Proc. *BG* II 22.11-12.

His rightful heir was Risiulf, but Vaces secured the succession for his son by banishing Risiulf on a trumped up charge and then bribing the Varni to murder him; soon afterwards he fell ill and died and was succeeded by Waltari; Proc. *BG* III 35.13-17, cf. 13 ἡνίκα Λαγγοβαρδῶν Οὐάκης ἦρχεν, ἦν τις οἱ ἀνεψιός 'Ρισιοῦλφος ὄνομα ὃν δὴ ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὴν Οὐάκης τελευτήσειεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκάλει.

Vacimus (Οὐάκιμος) Gothic commander 538

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 249.

Gothic commander (ἄρχοντα), sent by Vitigis in summer 538 to join the Goths in Auximum and then attack Ancona; Proc. *BG* II 13.5.8. See further Conon 1.

Vacis (Οὐάκις) Gothic leader 537

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 248.

One of the Gothic leaders (τῶν τινα ἀρχόντων) present with Vitigis at the beginning of the siege of Rome in Feb. 537; sent to appeal to the Roman populace not to desert the Goths; Proc. *BG* I 18.39-41.

Possibly identical with Wacces.

Vaefarius dux (?under Guntram) 573

For the name, see Förstemann 1495, Schönfeld, p. 250.

Dux Francorum; he died in 573 and was succeeded by Theudefredus; Mar. Avent. s.a. 573 (eo anno Vaefarius dux Francorum obiit et ordinatus est Theodofridus in loco eius dux).

Presumably like Theudefred he was a *dux* of Guntram. He was perhaps *dux* in the area east of the Jura; see Theudefred. If so, the entry in the Chronicle of Marius would have had local relevance.

Vagrila Visigothic rebel ?587

A wealthy Visigothic noble, possibly *comes civitatis* in Lusitania, he conspired with the Arian bishop Sunna and other leading Visigoths (see further Segga) against bishop Massona and Reccared; captured, deprived of his property and exiled, he sought asylum in the church of St Eulalia at Merida; condemned with his wife, children and property to the service of the church, he was pardoned by Massona and allowed to go free with his family and estates; *V. Patr. Emer.* xvii-xviii (named at xviii 43; cf. xvii 38 quosdam Gotorum, nobiles genere, opibusque perquam ditissimos, e quibus etiam nonnulli in quibusdam civitatibus comites a rege fuerant constituti), cf. Joh. Bicl. s.a. 588 and Garcia Moreno, p. 41, no. 35, n. 3 for the date.

Vahan Khorkhoruni Armenian; conspirator against Heraclius M VII

One of the conspirators who planned to kill Heraclius and put Athalarichus (Ioannes 260) on the throne; they were betrayed and Vahan was among those arrested and mutilated; Sebeos xxix, p. 93. On the date, either 635 or 637, see Varaztiroch.

Samuel Vahewuni

Vstam Vahewuni

Valens supporter of Phocas (in Egypt) 609

One of the men of rank ('men of distinguished names') killed when Nicetas 7 defeated Bonosus 2 near Alexandria (in late 609); Joh. Nik. 108.12 (p. 548 Zotenberg). Cf. Butler, *Conquest of Egypt*, p. 24.

Valentinianus (*CIL* v 1678 + p. 1026) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Valentinus (*CIL* x 3300) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Valentinus (*CIL* vi 37072) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

## VALENTINVS 1

?comes; commander (in Italy) 535-537, 544-545

In 535 Valentinus was one of three commanders of regular cavalry units sent to the west under Belisarius to reconquer Italy (his two colleagues were Innocentius 1 and Magnus 1); Proc. *BG* I 5.3 (καταλόγων δὲ ἵππικῶν μὲν Βαλεντίνος τε καὶ Μάγνος καὶ Ἰννοκέντιος sc. ἄρχοντες), cf. *BG* I 28.16 (καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ ἄρχων, in 537).

His rank and office are uncertain but his colleague Magnus was a *comes*.

In 537 Valentinus was in Rome during the Gothic siege; when Belisarius decided to risk a set-battle with the Goths and led his main army against them, Valentinus was placed in command of a small detachment of Moorish soldiers and sent to the *campus Neronis* where one of the Gothic camps was situated, with orders to avoid battle but to distract the Goths there and prevent them reinforcing the main army when Belisarius attacked; Proc. *BG* I 28.15-19, cf. 29.22 (the Moors). Aided by the presence of a band of armed citizen volunteers, Valentinus kept the Goths preoccupied; however around midday the Romans suddenly charged the Goths and put them to flight but then failed to follow up their advantage, gave the Goths time to reorganise, and were themselves routed while plundering the enemy camp; Proc. *BG* I 29.22-34.

In 544 Valentinus was with Belisarius at Salona; Proc. *BG* III 10.3.6.12. He was sent to Hydruntum, which the Goths were besieging, with supplies for one year and with fresh troops for the garrison; he was ordered to leave them there and to return with the existing garrison who were sick and starving; with a favouring wind he soon reached Hydruntum, occupied the harbour which was unguarded and easily entered the citadel; Proc. *BG* III 10.6-7. At the sight of his fleet the Goths had withdrawn but some of his men who went out to plunder fell in with them and a hundred and seventy men were lost; Proc. *BG* III 10.9-11. Valentinus replaced the garrison with fresh men, left the supplies and sailed back to Salona; Proc. *BG* III 10.12.

Probably in late 545 he and Phocas 2 were sent by Belisarius with an army to join Innocentius in Portus; they were ordered to help guard Portus and to harass where possible the Gothic army then besieging Rome; Proc. *BG* III 15.1. They took a force of five hundred men and made a surprise attack on the Gothic camp, having first informed Bessas (*PLRE* II) secretly of their plans so that he could launch an attack at the same time; when no help came from Rome, they quickly retreated to Portus; Proc. *BG* III 15.2-4. They reproached Bessas for his slowness and

proposed to make another attack; their plans this time were betrayed by a deserter and Totila caught them in an ambush in which both Valentinus and Phocas and many of their men were killed; Proc. *BG* III 15.5-8.

## Valentinus 2

groom of Photius 537

Groom (ἵπποκόμος) of Photius 2 (the son of Antonina); in Feb. 537 he fought under Belisarius in an engagement which immediately preceded the siege of Rome by the Goths; Proc. *BG* I 18.18. Cf. Belisarius, p. 197.

## Valentinus 3

envoy to the Turks 576

A member of the emperor's bodyguard, from 558 to 576; in 558, Men. Prot. fr. 5 (εἷς δὲ οὗτος τῶν βασιλικῶν μαχαιροφόρων); and in 576, Men. Prot. fr. 43 (εἷς δὲ οὗτος τῶν βασιλείων ξιφηφόρων). Possibly one of the *spatharo-cubicularii* (from the allusion to sword-bearers) or one of the *scribiones* (officers employed on missions such as embassies); cf. Stein, *Bas-Empr.* II 542.

Probably in 558 (see Iustinus 4) he was Rome's first envoy to the Avars, delivering gifts and turning the Avars against hostile tribes (in the north Caucasus area); Men. Prot. fr. 5.

He possibly accompanied Zemarchus 3 on the embassy to the Turks in 569-571, or, if not, went to them on another, unrecorded, embassy between 571 and 576; see below.

In 576 (the second year of Tiberius Caesar) he was sent on his second embassy to the Turks, accompanied by a number of Turks, some of whom had returned with him to Constantinople after his first embassy (δὶς γὰρ Οὐαλεντίνος ἐπρεσβεύσατο ὡς Τούρκους); he sailed from Sinope to Cherson, then travelled overland to the camp of Tourxanthus where he delivered Tiberius' request that the Turks attack Persia in accordance with the treaty with Sizabulus; Sizabulus however had just died and Valentinus found the attitude of the Turkish chiefs Tourxanthus and Tardou, both sons of Sizabulus, very hostile; by the time he was dismissed, the Turks were attacking the Romans in the Bosphorus region; Men. Prot. fr. 43.

## Valentinus 4

patricius; comes excubitorum VI/VII

Οὐαλεντίνου πατρικίου καὶ κόμητος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἔξκου(βίτου); Zacos 1087 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2994 (seal, dated VII Zacos, VI/VII Oikonomides; obv.: OVA/ΛENTI/NOV; rev.: ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΣ ΚΟΜ/ΤΟVBACΣ/ΕΞΚΘ). He was *patricius et comes imperialis excubiti*. Cf. Valentinus 5.

**Valentinus 5** patricius c. 644/645

A member of the Arsacid family; Sebeos xxxii, p. 103. If this is correct, he was a member of the Armenian nobility.

He was a bodyguard (ὑπασπιστής) of Philagrius 3; Nic. *Brev.* 28, 29.

In 641 he was sent by the emperor Constantine with sums of money to secure the support of the army (of the east) for the emperor's children against any threat from Martina in the event of his death; Nic. *Brev.* 28-9 (this move by Constantine was instigated by Philagrius).

COMMANDER of troops (in the east) a. 641-644/645: appointed commander of the army by Constantine; Sebeos xxxii, p. 103 ('he appointed Valentinus, surnamed the Arsacid, general of his troops. He ordered his men to go to the east.') What post Valentinus held is not recorded. From his subsequent movements (see below) he was evidently in Asia Minor.

COMES EXCUBITORVM a. 641: after the death of Constantine and the accession of Heraclonas and Martina, Valentinus led his troops to Chalcedon and demanded that Constantine's son Heraclius be crowned as emperor; eventually this was done (Heraclius was renamed Constantinus and became known as Constans) and Valentinus was reconciled to Martina and her son and received from them the title of *comes excubitorum*; Nic. *Brev.* 29-31 (ἀξία αὐτὸν ἐτίμησαν ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι κόμητα ἐξσκουβιτόρων; in Sept./Oct. 641), and cf. Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, Vardan, p. 95. He seems then to have returned to the east, perhaps to Cilicia and Syria to conduct operations against the Arabs; Sebeos xxxii, p. 103, and cf. Mich. Syr. xi 10 and *Chron.* 1234, cxxii (alluding to his military activities in the east).

The sources connecting him with the overthrow of Martina and Heraclonas are contradictory. The Greek sources (Theoph. AM 6133, Cedr. I 753-4) say that he was expelled by the senate together with Heraclonas and Martina, but Sebeos (xxxii, p. 103) and John of Nikiu (120.40ff. = pp. 579-80 Zotenberg) claim that he supported the rebellion which overthrew them. John also says that he had earlier tried to stop military aid going to Egypt (p. 573 Zotenberg) (presumably in summer/autumn 641) and that after the overthrow of Martina he secured for himself the title of Caesar and married his own daughter to the new emperor Constantine (i.e. Constans) (p. 582 Zotenberg).

PATRICIVS: he was *patricius* at his death; Theoph. AM 6136.

Perhaps in 644 or 645 he led a further rebellion against Constans but was defeated and killed; Theoph. AM 6136 (here named Valentinianus), Cedr. I 753-4, Sebeos xxxii, pp. 105-6 ('and in the second year of Constantine (viz. Constans)', suggesting 642/643), *Chron.* 1234, cxxvi (in

year 955 Sel., suggesting 643/644). On these events, see further Stratos II, pp. 189-205, 217-21, III, pp. 11-13, 266.

He is perhaps identical with Valentinus 4.

**VALERIA** nobilissima (in Italy) 610/641

*Nobilissima*, at Perugia in the reign of Heraclius when she made a gift to the church of Ravenna; *Codex traditionum ecclesiae Ravennatis* (= *Codex Bavarus*), ed. Bernhardt, (1810), p. 82, also ed. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati* (1801), p. 78.

Valeriana

VI

Owner of a seal, Zacos 567 (obv.: square monogram (241) of Οὐαλεριανῆς; rev.: ΟΥΑΛΗΡΙΑΝΗΣ). Presumably a lady of rank and wealth.

Valerianus (Cass. *Var.* xii 5) E/M VI: PLRE II.

Valerianus (CIL v 1710) IV/VI: PLRE II.

Curtius Valerianus: writer on orthography ?IV/VI; PLRE II.

**Valerianus 1** magister militum 536-556 (?559); patricius 559

Uncle of Damianus 2; Proc. *BG* II 7.26, IV 33.2. A native of Thrace; Proc. *BV* I 11.10. The allusion in Pelagius I, *Ep.* 52 to the *patricius* Ioannes 71 as his brother is not to be taken literally; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 615, n. 1.

In 533 he was one of the nine commanders of the *foederati* (ἄρχοντες... φοιδεράτων) who went on the expedition led by Belisarius against the Vandals; Proc. *BV* I 11.5-6, II 3.4 (for the others, see Althias). Before the main force set sail from Constantinople (in mid June, cf. Belisarius), Martinus 2 and Valerianus were sent on in advance to await the others in the Peloponnese; Proc. *BV* I 11.24. For an incident of ill-omen at their departure, applied by Procopius not to Martinus or Valerianus but to Stotzas, see Martinus. They went to Methone where they were soon joined by Belisarius and the rest of the expedition; Proc. *BV* I 13.9. In Africa Valerianus was presumably one of the commanders of the *foederati* routed by Gelimer at Ad Decimum (Sept. 13, cf. Belisarius); Proc. *BV* I 19.13-24, 19.30, and see Althias. In Dec. 533 he was one of the ἄρχοντες φοιδεράτων who held the left wing of the Roman army at the battle of Tricamarum; Proc. *BV* II 3.4.

?DVX NUMIDIAE a. 534-536: he apparently remained in Africa under

Solomon 1 after Belisarius returned to Constantinople in 534. In spring 536 when the army mutiny took place he was in command with others in Numidia; Martinus was sent by Solomon to him and his colleagues there (παρὰ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων τοὺς ἄλλους) to urge them by any means possible to regain the loyalty of their troops; Proc. *BV* II 14.40. Later that year he and Martinus were apparently recalled to Constantinople; see below and cf. Proc. *BV* II 19.2. The fact that of the commanders in Numidia only Valerianus is named by Procopius at *BV* II 14.40 suggests that he was then the senior officer; however he is not named among the commanders in Numidia whose army deserted to Stotzas in summer 536; at that time Marcellus 2 was the senior commander in Numidia (Proc. *BV* II 15.50-1), probably as *dux Numidiae*. Valerianus may therefore have preceded Marcellus as *dux Numidiae*, perhaps since 534, and been replaced by him in early summer 536 on the occasion of his recall, with Martinus, to Constantinople.

MAGISTER MILITVM ?a. 536-556: he and Martinus were 'uterque magister militiae' in 537 when sent to help Belisarius; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537. They were originally sent in late 536, cf. below, and presumably they were both already then *magistri militum*. Valerianus probably held the title continuously at least until 556 when he is last attested as engaged in active warfare, and perhaps even to 559 when he held a position of authority in north Italy (see below); he was presumably MVM *vacans* for most of the period but was for a time MVM *per Armeniam* and, possibly, MVM *per Orientem* (cf. below).

In December 536 (ἄμφι τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς) he and Martinus were sent by Justinian with an army to Italy; they sailed as far as Greece but were unable to proceed further (presumably owing to weather conditions; there is no hint of enemy activity) and wintered in Aetolia and Acarnania; probably in March 537, following an urgent plea for aid from Belisarius, now under siege in Rome, they were ordered by Justinian to go to Italy with all speed; Proc. *BG* I 24.18-20, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537 (cui, sc. Belisario, directi sunt Martinus et Valerianus uterque magister militiae). Twenty days after the capture of Portus by the Goths they arrived in Rome (possibly on April 2, cf. Belisarius) with reinforcements consisting of sixteen hundred cavalry, mainly Huns, Slavs and Antae; Proc. *BG* I 27.1-2, cf. Proc. *BG* II 13.14 (one of his δορυφόροι was the Hun Gubulgudou), *BG* II 26.18 (Valerianus had Slavs under him in 539). Shortly afterwards Valerianus and Martinus were sent by Belisarius with fifteen hundred cavalry against a Gothic cavalry force of five hundred, most of whom they destroyed; Proc. *BG* I 27.22-3. In mid June (ἄμφι θερινὰς τροπὰς; Proc. *BG* II 2.1), when Euthalius 1 approached the city bringing the army's

pay, Valerianus and Martinus were sent by Belisarius to the *campus Neronis* to divert the attention of the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 2.8. In the fighting which ensued they were in danger of defeat until reinforcements arrived under Bochas; Proc. *BG* II 2.19-21. They in turn rescued Bochas when he was surrounded and wounded; Proc. *BG* II 2.24. Later in the year (perhaps in September or October; cf. Bury, *LRE*<sup>2</sup> II, 188, n. 1), on the orders of Belisarius, Valerianus took all the Huns in the army to build a fortified camp next to the Tiber close to the church of S. Paolo fuori le mura on the Via Ostiensis; the purpose was to protect the Roman horses when they were grazing and to hamper the movements of the Goths; once the camp was built Valerianus, styled ὁ στρατηγός, returned to Rome; Proc. *BG* II 4.9-12. During the truce with the Goths (winter 537-538) he was present when Constantinus 3 tried to murder Belisarius; he and Ildiger foiled the attempt by seizing his arms and restraining him; Proc. *BG* II 8.16.

There is no reference to Valerianus during the campaigns of 538 and 539 until the anecdote at Auximum retailed by Procopius; this suggests that he remained close to Belisarius throughout the period and was not sent off on missions elsewhere.

In 539 he was present with Belisarius during the siege of Auximum (probably spring to autumn, cf. Belisarius); he sent one of the Slavs under his command to capture someone from Auximum in order to learn why the besieged Goths still refused to surrender, and as a result discovered the treachery of Burcentius; Proc. *BG* II 26.17-25.

He evidently remained in Italy with Belisarius until after the fall of Ravenna. Then, when Belisarius returned to Constantinople in summer 540, Valerianus was one of the four commanders who went with him; Proc. *BP* II 14.8, *BG* III 1.1 (the other three were Herodianus 1, Ildiger and Martinus 2).

MVM PER ARMENIAM a. 541-547: in spring 541 he was made MVM *per Armeniam* and sent to the eastern front with Belisarius for the war with Persia; Proc. *BP* II 14.8 (Βαλεριανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ καταλόγων ἐκέλευε sc. βασιλεὺς). 'Ὁ ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ στρατηγός (in 543); Proc. *BP* II 24.6. 'Ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενίων στρατηγός (in 547); Proc. *BG* III 27.3. Also described as τότε στρατηγῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίῳ (date unknown); Proc. *BG* IV 8.22.

During 541 he met and destroyed most of an army of Huns which Chosroes had sent into Roman Armenia to divert attention from his main attack on Lazica; Proc. *Anecd.* 2. 29-30. Valerianus is not mentioned in connection with events in 542, which took place further south, in Euphratensis (cf. Belisarius). In 543 he received envoys from the Persian general Nabedes complaining that the expected Roman



envoys Constantianus 1 and Sergius 3 had not yet arrived to make peace; one envoy to Valerianus was the Christian bishop of Dubius (Dvin) who reported that there were no obstacles to peace on the Persian side; the other envoy, brother of the bishop, reported privately that Chosroes needed peace because he was in great difficulties with a revolt by his eldest son and an outbreak of plague in his army; Valerianus accordingly dismissed the envoys with the message to Chosroes that the Roman envoys would soon arrive, but reported to Justinian the news from Persia; Proc. *BP* II 24.7-9. Justinian promptly instructed Valerianus, Martinus and the other commanders to join forces and invade Persarmenia as soon as possible; Proc. *BP* II 24.10-11. Valerianus was encamped near Theodosiopolis with his own regular troops (σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καταλόγοις) and with him was Narses 2; Proc. *BP* II 24.12. He and the other commanders failed to join forces and co-ordinate plans for the invasion, which began in disorderly fashion; after other commanders had crossed the frontier, Valerianus and Martinus followed and they all joined forces inside Persian territory; Proc. *BP* II 24.17-20. For the subsequent campaign, see Martinus. At the battle of Anglon which ended the campaign with defeat and rout for the Romans, Valerianus led the left wing of the Roman army; Proc. *BP* II 25.17.

Once while holding this office Valerianus entrusted fifty men to Artabanes 1, a Persarmenian deserter who demonstrated his loyalty to Rome by using them to capture and plunder a Persian fortress and returning with enormous spoils to Valerianus; Proc. *BG* IV 8.21-4. On another occasion he captured in battle in Armenia and sent to Constantinople a distinguished Persian and a close friend of Chosroes called Bersabous; Proc. *BG* IV 15.8-9.

He was apparently still in Armenia in 547 since he was summoned from there (ἐνθὲνδε) to go to Italy (see below). In 548 he was probably succeeded as *MVM per Armeniam* by Dagisthaeus 2.

The statement in Jordanes, *Rom.* 380, that in 545/546 he was with Ioannes 46 and Belisarius in Epirus seems to be an error; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 580, n. 1 and see below.

Late in 547, following pleas for reinforcements from Belisarius in Italy, Valerianus was summoned from Armenia by Justinian and sent to Italy with over one thousand bodyguards (δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταί); Proc. *BG* III 27.3, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 548 (sent to help in Italy). He arrived at the Ionian Gulf in mid December (ἀμφὶ τροπᾶς χειμερινῆς) and decided to remain there for the winter, sending three hundred of his followers to Ioannes 46 and undertaking to come himself in spring; Proc. *BG* III 27.13-15. It was probably this stay in Epirus that was wrongly dated by Jord. *Rom.* 380 to 545/546; cf. above. In spring 548 he received

orders from Justinian to join Belisarius as soon as possible and crossed to Hydruntum where he found Belisarius and Antonina; Proc. *BG* III 30.1-2. About midsummer he sailed from Hydruntum with Belisarius and Ioannes and others on the expedition to relieve Rusciane; Proc. *BG* III 30.9 (for the date, cf. *BG* III 30.5 and 10). For the fate of the expedition and its return to Croton, cf. Belisarius. It was now decided that, while Belisarius returned to Rome, Valerianus and Ioannes should disembark their horses and men, march overland to Picenum and harass the Goths who were besieging fortresses there, in the hope that Totila would be induced to abandon the siege of Rusciane; Ioannes obeyed but Valerianus, who according to Procopius considered this too dangerous, chose to sail round the coast in safety to Ancona in Picenum and there join forces with Ioannes; in the event Totila did not abandon the siege but sent two thousand men to reinforce the Goths in Picenum against Valerianus and Ioannes; Proc. *BG* III 30.15-18.

Procopius rarely refers to events in this area during 549 and 550 and never mentions Valerianus, who appears to have remained there but to have been inactive. In 551 he was present in Ravenna; Proc. *BG* IV 23.4. When Ancona, besieged by the Goths, ran dangerously short of provisions, Valerianus, unable to help on his own, wrote to Ioannes 46 that help was urgently needed; Proc. *BG* IV 25.4-6. Shortly afterwards he rendezvoused with Ioannes at Scardona with twelve ships; Proc. *BG* IV 23.8. There they consulted together and after reaching a decision sailed across the Adriatic and anchored off Sena Gallica not far from Ancona; Proc. *BG* IV 23.9. The Gothic fleet came out against them and a sea battle was fought at Sena Gallica which ended in a decisive defeat for the Goths; Proc. *BG* IV 23.29-38. After this the Goths abandoned the siege of Ancona and fled and the Romans occupied their camp and reprovisioned the garrison of Ancona before departing; Valerianus then returned to Ravenna; Proc. *BG* IV 23.39-42. For the date, summer 551 after June, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 598, n. 1.

It was in the following year, probably between February and June, when Totila held Venetia and Histria and the whole region was subject to Frankish raids, that Valerianus refused to allow the consecration of a new bishop of Milan until he had reported the matter to the emperor and secured his approval; then, although the area was swarming with enemies, he brought the new bishop and the one who was to ordain him to Ravenna; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 52. For the date, cf. Stein, *Rev. d'hist. eccl. suisse* 39, p. 127 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, p. 403). Since the former bishop Datius died in 552 Feb. at the earliest and Totila was still alive (died June 552) the affair presumably arose between February and June, although the consecration of the new bishop, Vitalis, may have taken

place later on, possibly in July/October 552 between the battles of Busta Gallorum and Mons Lactarius (cf. below).

The expedition of Narses 1 came to Ravenna (possibly on June 6; cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 62 and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 601 with n. 1) and was joined there by Valerianus and Iustinus 2 οἱ στρατηγοί; Proc. *BG* IV 28.1. Valerianus evidently accompanied the army as it marched from Ravenna past Ariminum, bypassing Petra Pertusa, and camping near to Busta Gallorum (cf. Narses). At the battle of Busta Gallorum Valerianus was commander with Ioannes 64 and Dagisthaeus 2 on the right wing of the Roman army; Proc. *BG* IV 31.4. After the Roman victory in the battle (fought in late June 552; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 601, n. 2) he was sent with his nephew Damianus 2 and their troops (σύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις; perhaps his *bucellarii*) to escort the Lombard allies to the Roman frontier and to see that they harmed no one on the journey; once the Lombards had safely left Roman territory, Valerianus laid siege to Verona and was already negotiating the surrender of the city with the garrison when the Franks in Venetia intervened and forced him to withdraw with his whole army without achieving anything; Proc. *BG* IV 33.2-5. Then, when Theia became king and began to reorganise the Goths at Ticinum, Valerianus was ordered to keep watch near the river Po and to hinder their movements while Narses marched against Rome; Proc. *BG* IV 33.7-8. Later he captured Petra Pertusa on the Via Flaminia and was still there when summoned to accompany Narses into Campania against Theia, who had marched by roundabout routes to the relief of Cumae; Proc. *BG* IV 34.24. Although not named by Procopius he presumably took part in the battle of Mons Lactarius (in October, perhaps on Oct. 30; cf. Agnellus, *Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* 79 and Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 605, n. 1 from 604), which is described by Procopius, *BG* IV 35.15-38. He was evidently also present during the siege of Cumae which followed, when Narses for a time employed his whole army on the siege; Agath. I 11.1. This lasted until summer 553 (perhaps July, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 605-6 with 606, n. 1) when Italy was invaded by the Franks and Alamanni under Leutharis and Butilinus and Narses took his main army from Cumae and sent most of it under Valerianus, Ioannes 46, Artabanes, Fulcaris and other commanders into Aemilia to prevent the invaders from crossing the Apennines or at least to harass their advance; Agath. I 11.3-4. For the course of the campaign, cf. Ioannes 46, Artabanes and Narses. Valerianus is not named but probably accompanied the army with Ioannes in 553 and then in spring 554 assembled with the rest of the army of Narses at Rome. In late summer Narses marched with his whole army from Rome to Capua to confront Butilinus; Agath. II 6.1. In the battle of Capua Valerianus was stationed

on the left wing with Artabanes, with orders to stay in concealment until the enemy attacked; Agath. II 8.3. The ploy worked and the battle ended in the destruction of Butilinus and most of his force; Agath. II 9.2-11. Valerianus presumably returned with the rest of the army to Rome and may have taken part in the siege of Compsa (cf. Narses) which ended in spring 555; Agath. II 10.7, 13.4, 14.1-6. Possibly he then returned to Constantinople (perhaps escorting the captives from Compsa, Agath. II 14.7); cf. below.

2MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 556: in early spring 556 he was in Lazica, where he, Martinus and other commanders were present in Phasis to guard the city against Persian attack; he was in charge of the eastern part of the walls; the language of Agathias, who calls him στρατηγός and alludes to his troops as the eastern regiments, suggests that he held the post of MVM *per Orientem* (τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἅπαν τοῦ τείχους καὶ πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον ἀπολλήγον τοῖς ἐξοῖς τάγμασιν ἐπεφρόντιστο, ὑπὸ Βαλεριανῶ στρατηγῶ ταττομένοις); Agath. III 20.10, 21.5. For the course of the siege, see Martinus.

PATRICIVS a. 559: Pelag. I, *Ep.* 52, 59 (both written in March/April 559, addressed 'Valeriano patricio'). Patricius; Greg. *Dial.* IV 54.

In 559 he was in north Italy when Pope Pelagius I addressed two letters to him; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 52 and 59. He was urged to take action with Ioannes 71 against the schismatics in Venetia and Histria by arresting them and sending them to the emperor; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 52 (March 559). Shortly afterwards he was reproached by Pelagius for inviting the schismatic bishop of Aquileia, Paulus (or Paulinus), to receive Ioannes back into communion and was urged to send Paulus and the bishop of Milan (Auxanus) to the emperor for trial and not to give way to schismatics; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 59 (March/April 559) (for the dates, cf. Stein, in *Rev. d'hist. eccl. suisse* 39, pp. 127-31, = *Opera Minora Selecta*, pp. 403-7). Possibly he and Ioannes were the commanders responsible for recovering north Italy for the empire; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 609-11, 672.

He lived to an advanced age and died at Brixia where he was buried in the church of Faustinus in which he had purchased his tomb from the bishop; according to pope Gregory his behaviour was characterised by loose living to the end; Greg. *Dial.* IV 54. Cf. also Ioannes 106.

Valerianus 2

advocatus (at Rome) M VI

An advocate at Rome; he had an illegitimate daughter whose husband Ammonius, subsequently a monk in Gregory's monastery, told how during an outbreak of plague in Narses' time one of Valerianus' servants received the gift of tongues before dying; among those staying

in Valerianus' house was Anonymus 75 (a Bulgar *spatharius* of Narses); Greg. *Dial.* iv 27 (huius urbis advocatus).

**Valerianus 3** ex praefectis VI

Valerianu ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 1088 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1943 (seal; obv.: +VA/LERI/ΑΠΥ; rev.: [Α]ΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ). A similar seal is in Gray Birch, *BM Seals*, p. 35, no. 17629.

Fl. Antiochus Ammianus Valerius: ?governor of Cyprus V/VI; *PLRE* II (p. xxxix).

Vlpus Valerius (*CIL* VI 33713) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

**VALERIVS 1** comes (in Egypt) VI

His heirs contributed money for fuel for the public baths – δ(ιδ) κλ(ηρονόμων) Οὐαλερίου κόμ(ε)τος; *P. Oxy.* 2040, line 15. Presumably a landowner in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

Valerius (?) 2 protector M VI/M VII

Βαλερίου (?) προτίκτορος; Zacos 568 = Fogg Art Museum seal 1325 (seal, dated M VI/M VII Zacos, M/L VI Oikonomides; obv.: cruciform monogram (39), probably of Βαλερίου; rev.: ΠΡΟΤ/ΙΚΤΟ/ΡΟC).

**VANTILONVS** (?v.c.) (in Gaul) 599

A native of Gaul, in 599 he and Arigius jointly received from Gregory a letter commending Hilarius 3; they are styled 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* IX 211 (a. 599 July).

Vaphrizes (Agath. III 28.10): see Phabrizus.

**VARAZES 1** ?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 551

On the name, see Justi, p. 349, s.n. Warāza, no. 8.

A Persarmenian; Proc. *BG* III 27.3, IV 13.10.

COMMANDER in Italy a. 547 (?550): sent to Italy in 547 with eight hundred Armenians to help Belisarius in the war with the Goths; Proc. *BG* III 27.3, cf. 27.10 for the Armenians. He arrived off Brundisium with his ships just in time to rescue Verus; Proc. *BG* III 27.4. He then sailed back to Tarentum with Verus; Proc. *BG* III 27.11. He probably remained in Italy until 550 (see below).

COMMANDER in Lazica a. 551: in spring 551 he was in Lazica in command of eight hundred Tzani, having only recently returned from

Italy; he was encamped near the Phasis with Benilus and Uligagus; Proc. *BG* IV 13.10. They all withdrew across the Phasis at the approach of Mermeroes; Proc. *BG* IV 13.28 (οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες).

He was apparently a middle-ranking commander of the field army and therefore not identical with Varazes 2; possibly he was a *comes rei militaris*, cf. Theodorus 21.

Varazes 2 tribunus (in Lazica) 556

Probably not identical with Varazes 1.

An Armenian, in 556 he was a *tribunus* (ἐν λοχαγοῖς ἐτέλει) in Lazica; he and Pharsantes were given temporary command of the expedition against the Misimiani, until Martinus 2 could join them, although in neither ability nor rank were they the senior members of the expedition (ἀρχεῖν τῶν ὄλων ἐλαχέτην, ἕως ἔτι διὰ τῆς ὑπηκόου πορεύειντο, Βαράζης ἀνὴρ Ἀρμένιος καὶ Κόλχος Φαρσάντης, οὔτε πόνων ἀρετῆ οὔτε τῆ ἄλλη ἀξιώσει ἀπάντων τῶν συστρατευομένων προήκοντες, μάλλον μὲν οὖν ἐνίων καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι); Agath. IV 13.3-4. See further Martinus, p. 847.

Varaz Narses Armenian noble I. VI

An Armenian noble, member of the clan of the Vahewuni who rebelled against the Romans, probably in 595; they were defeated and Varaz Narses was captured and executed; Sebeos VII, pp. 33-4. See further Samuel Vahewuni and Heraclius 3.

Varaztiroch Armenian noble; curopalates c. 645/646

On the name, see Justi, p. 350 (Waraz-tirots).

Son of Smbat Bagratuni (Symbatius 1); Sebeos XVII, p. 46, XVIII, p. 51, XXVIII, p. 87, XXIX, pp. 92, 93, XXXII, p. 106, Vardan, p. 86. Brother of Garikhpēt; Sebeos XXIX, p. 92. His eldest son was Smbat (Symbatius 2); Sebeos XXIX, p. 93, XXXII, p. 108, Vardan, p. 86. His wife and family are mentioned also in Sebeos XXIX, p. 93, XXX, p. 99, XXXII, pp. 106, 108.

He grew up at the Persian royal court under Chosroes; Sebeos XVII, p. 46, XVIII, p. 51, XXXII, p. 107 (with Theodorus 167 Rshtuni). In 596, after the defeat of the rebel Vstam (Bistam) by his father, he was made a royal cupbearer by Chosroes; Sebeos XVII, p. 46. Chosroes gave him the nickname Džavitean Khosrov ('Eternal Chosroes'); Sebeos XVIII, p. 51, XXIX, p. 92 (possibly following his father's triumph over the Khushans in 608).

In 628 he was appointed governor (marzban) of Persian Armenia by Cavades, apparently with the dignity of *aspēt*; Sebeos XXVIII, p. 87 ('then

king Cavades summons Varaztiroch, son of Smbat the Bagratid called Khosrov Shnum, and gives him the seignorial power; he makes him marzban and sends him to Armenia with all his paternal wealth, in order to maintain the country in prosperity'. Sebeos thereafter regularly refers to him as 'the aspet'; Sebeos xxviii, p. 87, xxix, p. 92, xxx, p. 99, xxxii, pp. 106, 107. One of his first acts was to appoint a new *catholicus*, Christopher; Sebeos xxviii, p. 87.

He subsequently quarrelled with the Persian governors of Azerbaijan and to escape arrest fled to the west with his family, first to Taron and then, having obtained assurances from Heraclius, to the imperial court, at that time still in Assyria (Asorestan); he was treated with honour by Heraclius, who 'exalted him above all the patricians of his kingdom' and gave him 'a royal residence, silver seats and much treasure'; Sebeos xxix, pp. 92-3. However he was later exiled by Heraclius to Africa with his family when found to have conspired with Vahan Khorkhoruni, Theodorus 171 and others to overthrow Heraclius and put Athalaricus (= Ioannes 260) on the throne; his life was spared, allegedly, because he had opposed the plan to murder Heraclius; Sebeos xxix, p. 93, cf. xxxii, p. 106 (Africa). The date of the conspiracy is uncertain, possibly 635 (cf. Vardan, p. 86) or perhaps 637 (cf. Stratos II, p. 216).

On his death-bed Heraclius is said to have made his son and successor Constantine swear to fulfil his intention to recall Varaztiroch and his family and restore him to his former functions; Sebeos xxx, pp. 99-100. In the event he was recalled by Constans, in the fifth year of his reign (a. 645/646), to Constantinople, at the request of the general Theodorus Rshtuni, himself an Armenian noble; and was reappointed to his former dignity; he then secretly returned to Armenia but after promising to serve the emperor loyally was appointed governor of Armenia (*ishkhan*) by Constans, with the dignity of *curopalates* ('then the emperor Constantine (sic) gave orders to name him *curopalates*, to give him the crown of honour (perhaps the *balleus* or ζώνη, the mark of office) and to confer on him the *ishkhanate* of the country'), and he was sent not only his family but also the silver seats and other rich presents formerly given him; however, before he could receive them and take up office he suddenly fell ill and died; he was buried beside his father in Darionkh; Sebeos xxxii, pp. 106-8, cf. Vardan, p. 86 (named 'curopalates of Armenia').

Vardan Areruni (Artsruni) Armenian noble L VI

An Armenian noble, he was one of the pro-Persian Armenians summoned to the Persian court and honoured by Chosroes in 595 (see Gagik Mamikonian); Sebeos xi, pp. 39-40.

Vardan Mamikonian Armenian noble M/L VI

Vardan; Sebeos. Wardon; Joh. Eph. Βαρταν; *Narr. de reb. Arm.* Οὐαρδάνης; Theoph. Byz., Evagr., cf. Nic. Call. (Οὐαρδααμάνης, a confusion with the Persian general Adarmanes).

An Armenian noble, of the clan of the Mamikonians; son of Vasak; Sebeos II, p. 9 ('lord of the Mamikonians'). Brother of Manuel I; Theoph. Byz. fr. 3 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64. Of noble family, of high rank and militarily experienced; Evagr. *HE* v 7 (Οὐαρδάνου προύχοντος παρ' αὐτοῖς γένει τε καὶ ἀξιῶσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐμπειρίᾳ) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 37). One of the *principes* of the Persarmenians; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.11. See also *Narr. de reb. Arm.*, p. 184.

After the murder of his brother by the Persian *marzban* at Dvin, he led a revolt of the Armenians against Persia, with Vardes; they killed the *marzban* and appealed for Roman help; Theoph. Byz. fr. 3 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64, Sebeos I, pp. 4-5, Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.11, *Narr. de reb. Arm.* 77-8, Evagr. *HE* v 7, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 37. The date was early in 572; see Iustinianus 3. Later in 572, with Roman aid, the Armenian rebels captured Dvin; Sebeos I, p. 5, and see Iustinianus. Said by Sebeos to have defeated a large Persian army under Mihran Mihrewandak at the battle of Khalamakh; Sebeos I, pp. 5-6 (in 573/574; but cf. Sebeos II, p. 9 and see Stein, *Stud.*, p. 39 with pp. 49-50, nn. 2 and 3). When in 575 the rebel Persarmenians reverted to their alliance with Persia, Vardan remained in alliance with the Romans; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.11. In autumn 575 he fought with Iustinianus 3 in the defeat of Chosroes at Melitene; Sebeos I, pp. 6-7, II, p. 9.

Vardes Armenian noble M/L VI

An Armenian noble; with Vardan he led the Armenian revolt against Persia in 572; Theoph. Byz. fr. 3 = Phot. *Bibl.* 64. See further Vardan and, for the date, Iustinianus 3.

Varinnus Moorish leader 548

In 548 he and his men were attacked near Iunce and put to flight by Liberatus and he himself was among those captured and taken to Ioannes 36 Troglita for questioning; after disclosing the plans and strategy of Carcasan, he and his fellow captives were executed; Coripp. *Ioh.* VII 417-542, esp. 419-20 (not identical with the Varinnus named at v 320-5; hic pinnatus erat, non quem placaverat ante ensipotens Solumuth). Called a Nasamonian; VII 465 (infelix Nasamon), 510 (tunc Nasamon pinnatus ait).

Vart(i)us Moorish chief 548

Leader of the Moors, killed in the battle of the Plains of Cato in 548 by Dorotis; Coripp. *Ioh.* viii 620 (caput ductoris nomine Varti).

VASACIVS 1 v.c. (at Rome) E VII

A witness of the donation of property to the church of Ravenna by Stephanus 58; the document was drawn up at Rome in the early seventh century; Marini, *P. Dip.* 92 = *P. Ital.* 18-19B, lines 35 (+ Vasacius v.c.) and 65 (Bassacius v.c.).

Vasacius 2 patricius VII

Βασακίου πατρικίου; Zacos 1089 (seal; obv.: +BA/CAKI/OV+; rev.: +ΠΑ/ΤΡΙΚΙ/OV+). Possibly identical with Vasacius 3 and 4.

Vasacius 3 patricius VII

Βασακίω πατρικίω; Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.1273 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, with ΤΩ/ΔΔ/ΛΩ/ΣΔ in the quarters; rev.: +BAC/AAKIΩ/ΠΑΤΡΙ/ΚΙΩ+).

Vasacius 4 ex praefectis VII

Βασακίω ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν; Zacos 1672 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +BAC/AKIΩA/ΠΟΕΠAP/ΧΩN). A similar seal in Zacos' series is Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.1212. The monogram should perhaps be read as: Κύριε βοήθει.

Vasak Arcruni (Artsruni) Armenian noble E VII

An Armenian noble, son of Sahak, of the clan of the Arcruni; he apparently grew up in Persia (no doubt at the Persian court) but later fought against the Persians and did their army much harm; he was captured by them and executed outside the gates of Caesarea, then occupied by the Persians under Shāhīn, in 611; Sebeos xxiii, p. 64. The event is narrated under year twenty of Chosroes. For the date, see Kaegi, *BZ* 66 (1973), pp. 322-3 with n. 40.

VECTAS comes Miseni before Nov. 598

The name may be Persian; cf. Justi, 360.

Of noble birth, but in poverty, he was given twenty urns of wine per annum by Theodorus 48; dead by Nov. 598; succeeded as comes by Comitaticius; Greg. *Ep.* ix 53 (a. 598 Nov.; to Maurentius 3; Theodorus claimed that 'Vectani quondam, qui comes fuit in Misinati castello,

propter quod eum nobilem fuisse noverat et paupertate nimia laborabat, viginti urnas vini per duos annos...: misericordiae se intuitu fuisse largitum'). His successor is described (in *Ep.* ix 121) as 'comes praedictae civitatis'.

Vedastes qui et Avo wealthy Frank (at Poitiers) M/L VI

Vedastes cognomento Avo; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 3.

He murdered the husband and brother-in-law (Ambrosius and Lupus) of his mistress, and then married her, although she was his cousin; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 13 (unnamed), vii 3.

Some years later, in 584, he met and quarrelled with Childeric 2 and was mortally wounded by one of Childeric's followers; compensation was paid to his sons; said by Gregory to have committed many crimes and misdeeds around Poitiers; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 3.

Velox MVM (in Italy) 591

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory, dated 27 Sept. 591; he had informed Gregory that the Lombards under Ariulfus had assembled and left for Rome and Gregory replies that he is sending him troops and urges him to attack the enemy in the rear and to be advised by Martius and Vitalianus 3; he is further urged to release certain Lombard mercenaries (see Adobin) who were with Mauricius 2; styled 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* ii 7 (addressed 'Veloci magistro militum').

VENANTIVS 1 ?v.c.; father of Tullianus E/M VI

Father of Tullianus 1; Proc. *BG* iii 18.20. He was therefore father also of Deopheron. To judge by his name and the power of the family in Lucania and Bruttium, he was probably a Roman aristocrat.

Venantius 2 patricius (in Sicily) 587/588-601

Addressee of four letters from Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* i 33 (a. 591 March), vi 40 (a. 596 July), ix 232 (a. 599 Aug.), xi 18 (a. 601 Jan.). Mentioned in Greg. *Ep.* vi 41 (a. 596 July), xi 23 and 25 (both a. 601 Feb.). Also addressee of a letter from Childebert II in 587/588; *Ep. Austras.* 39 (*MGH, Epp.* iii, p. 145).

Husband of Italica; Greg. *Ep.* i 33 (addressed 'Venantio coniugi patriciae Italicae'), ix 232 (addressed 'Italicae patriciae et domno Venantio'). Father of Antonina 3 and Barbara; Greg. *Ep.* ix 232, xi 18, 23, 25.

He lived in Syracuse; Greg. *Ep.* xi 18 (addressed 'Venantio

Syracusano'), and cf. *Ep.* vi 40-1, xi 25 (involved with Ioannes the bishop of Syracuse). In 587/588 he and Italica received letters from Childebert II seeking their support for an alliance of friendship between Byzantium and the Franks; *Ep. Austras.* 39 (addressed 'viro glorioso ubique celsis laudibus praeferendo Venantio patricio').

He became a monk but abandoned the monastic life in 591; *Greg. Ep.* i 33 (reproached by Gregory for yielding to the advice of friends whom Gregory describes as interested only in his wealth), vi 40 (addressed 'Venantio exmonacho patricio').

PATRICIVS: *Greg. Ep.* vi 40 (cited above), *Ep. Austras.* 39 (cited above), and cf. Italica. He is styled 'domnus Venantius'; *Ep.* vi 41, ix 232, xi 25.

In 596 he quarrelled with bishop Ioannes of Syracuse and his armed followers invaded the episcopal palace; the bishop forbade mass to be celebrated in Venantius' *domus* and refused to accept his oblations; *Greg. Ep.* vi 40-1.

In 599 he was in poor health and in early 601 was gravely ill; *Greg. Ep.* ix 232 (599), xi 18, 23, 25 (early 601). Expecting to die, he had made Gregory promise to look after his daughters but then confused matters by asking him to intercede for them with the emperor, and Gregory wrote to bishop Ioannes urging him to persuade Venantius to arrange matters properly before he died; *Ep.* xi 25. He probably died shortly afterwards; cf. Antonina and Barbara.

The *domus Venantii* is mentioned in connection with church revenues in 599; *Greg. Ep.* ix 236, and cf. Stein, *La disparition du sénat de Rome à la fin du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 319 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, p. 397).

VENANTIUS 3 (v.c.) (in Italy) 592

Grandson of Opilio *patricius* (= PLRE II, Venantius Opilio 5); in 592, holding no office or dignity, he sent thirty pounds of gold to Constantinople in order to purchase the honorary consulship (*honores etenim non habet, et cartas exconsulatus petit, pro quibus triginta auri libras transmisit, ut ei debeant comparari*); he visited pope Gregory and persuaded him to recommend his case to Honoratus, the *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople, and Gregory wrote asking Honoratus to make the necessary payments (*oblatis in sacella consuetudinibus*) so that the title could be conferred; *Greg. Ep.* ii 36 (a. 592 July; to Honoratus). Venantius himself was evidently in Rome, not Constantinople. He is styled by Gregory 'filius meus domnus Venantius'.

His case may have been refused; cf. Stein, *La disparition du Sénat de Rome à la fin du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 319-20 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, pp. 397-8).

Venantius 4 vir gloriosus, patricius (in Sicily) 598-602

Addressee of two letters from pope Gregory; *Ep.* ix 13 (a. 598 Oct.; addressed 'Venantio patricio de Panormo'), xiii 14 (a. 602 Nov.; addressed 'Venantio patricio Panormo'). Mentioned in *Greg. Ep.* ix 38 (a. 598 Oct.), 119 (a. 599 Feb./April).

He lived in Palermo; *Greg. Ep.* ix 13, xiii 14 (both cited above), and cf. below. The references to Palermo serve to distinguish him from Venantius 2.

VIR GLORIOSVS, PATRICIVS a. 598-602: *Greg. Ep.* ix 13 (cited above), 38 (glorioso Venantio patricio), 119 (gloriosissimum filium nostrum domnum Venantium patricium), xiii 14 (cited above). Styled 'excellencia vestra'; *Ep.* ix 13, xiii 14.

He asked Gregory for a copy of an allegorical interpretation of the acts of Samson; *Greg. Ep.* ix 13. He and the abbot Vrbicus were commissioned in 598 to assess a fair price for compensation for illegally seized synagogues in Palermo, which Gregory ordered the bishop Victor to pay; *Ep.* ix 38. In 599 he and the *defensor ecclesiae* at Palermo, Fantinus, were commissioned to resolve a dispute over property between Victor and Maurentius 3; *Ep.* ix 119. In 602 when the see of Palermo was vacant, he was involved in the episcopal election and was asked to examine one of the candidates, the deacon Crescens, and to secure his election if he was suitable; *Ep.* xiii 14.

Either he or Venantius 2 built an oratory and sent his agent Ioannes (*servus et actor Venantii*) to ask bishop Paschasius of Naples for relics of St Severinus; Gregory instructed Paschasius to surrender them; *Greg. Ep.* xi 19 (a. 601 Jan.).

Venantius 5 scholasticus (?in Dalmatia) L VI

Scholasticus; a native of Dalmatia and the father of pope John IV (a. 640-642); *Lib. Pont.* 74.

Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus

Veneranda mistress of Guntram M VI

Formerly servant of one of the subjects of Guntram, she became the king's mistress and bore him a son, Gundobad, before he married Marcatrudis; *Greg. Tur. HF* iv 25.

VENERANDVS 1 comes (? Arvernorum) 590/593

A *comes* at Clermont, where his servant had recently been cured miraculously; *Greg. Tur. V. Patr.* 2. 2. Probably *comes Arvernorum*, in office not before 590 (see Eulalius 2) and by 593 (when Gregory

recorded the *Vitae Patrum* among his completed works, *HF* x 31.19). Cf. also Kurth, *Ét. franq.* I 196.

Venerandus 2 military commander under Dagobert 631

In early 631 he and Abundantius 2 led an army levied by Dagobert at Toulouse to Saragossa to overthrow Suintila and make Sisenandus king of the Visigoths; after the coronation of Sisenand (26 March 631), they returned home laden with gifts (muneribus honorati); subsequently Venerandus and Amalgarius were sent to Sisenand by Dagobert on an embassy to collect the reward promised to Dagobert for his support, a giant gold dish, which however was forcibly taken from the envoys by a group among the Visigoths who refused to part with it; Fredegar. iv 73 (narrated under year nine of Dagobert, a. 630).

Praetextatus Saluentius Verecundus Traianus

VERILIANVS comes at Horta L VI

Comes, at Horta; invited by Alahis to occupy Amiternum, but repulsed; *ASS*, Iun. II, 691A (Vita Cethei) (Verilianum comitem Hortanensium civitatis). The date was during the papacy of Gregory, possibly between 592 and 598; cf. Richards, *Consul of God*, pp. 105-6.

Verus: see also Virus.

Verus MVM (in Italy) 547 (-550?)

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 261.

In 543 he was on the eastern front in command of Heruli with Philemuth; Proc. *BP* II 24.14.18 (he and Philemuth were οἱ τῶν Ἑρούλων ἡγούμενοι). When the invasion forces began to gather, they went to the district of Chorzianene, close to the camp of Martinus 2 at Citharizon; Proc. *BP* II 24.14. On hearing that Petrus (*PLRE* II, p. 870) had invaded Persia, Verus and Philemuth followed him; Proc. *BP* II 24.18. Presumably present at the battle of Anglon which ended in the rout of the Romans; Proc. *BP* II 25.20-31. For the course of this invasion, see Martinus.

MVM (in Italy) a. 547 (-550?): magister militum; *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 548 (cited below). In 547 he was sent to Italy with three hundred Heruli to aid Belisarius in the war with the Goths; after landing at Hydruntum, he refused to camp there but advanced impetuously with his men; he was, according to Procopius, frequently drunk and given to reckless acts in consequence; he made camp near Brundisium, where he

was attacked by Totila with superior forces and was only saved, after the loss of many men, by the chance arrival of Varazes I and his fleet; he was then taken by Varazes to Tarentum; Proc. *BG* III 27.3-11, cf. Suid. B 264. This incident is that referred to in *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 548 (Verus quoque magister militum et ipse in parte alia Calabriae infestum sustinuit Totilan). For the date, late 547, compare Proc. *BG* III 27.4 with 27.13-14. In 550 with picked troops he joined battle with the Goths in Picenum not far from Ravenna, but was killed along with many of his men; in this fight he showed himself a brave man; Proc. *BG* III 37.28, 39.24. For the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 594-5 with n. 1.

Vetranissa (*CIL* v 1678 + p. 1026) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Vgistuanus (*AE* 1889, 1); cf. *CIL* VIII 12035 and see Stephanus 25.

Viator I vir illustris (in Italy) 559

Joint addressee with Pancratius I of a letter from Pelagius I; Pelag. I, *Ep.* 35 (a. 559 Feb./March). See further Pancratius.

VIA TOR 2 tribunus Ydruntinae civitatis before 599

In 599 pope Gregory asked Occila to correct certain abuses at Callipolis perpetrated by his predecessor Viator (Viatore ex tribuno Ydruntinae civitatis); Greg. *Ep.* IX 205 (a. 599 July). On *tribuni*, see Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 56-7, with nn. 34 and 35.

Victor (Vector) (*CIL* XIII 5252-3) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Victor I PVC 528; patricius; iudex pedaneus 539

His chief offices and titles are recorded in Just. *Nov.* 82.1, dated a. 539 April 8, when he was appointed *iudex pedaneus*:<sup>(a)</sup> ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων πατρικίων... Βίκτωρὰ τε τὸν ἐνδοξότατον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τε τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος,<sup>(b)</sup> ἐπὶ τε τῆς σεμνῆς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἄρξαντα πόλεως,<sup>(c)</sup> καὶ πρὸς γε τῆς πολιαρχίας ἡγησάμενον,<sup>(d)</sup> καὶ οὐδὲ νόμων ἀνήκοον.<sup>(e)</sup>

(a) Possibly he had studied law.

(b)-(c) *PROCONSUL ACHAEAE*, then *PRAEFECTVS AVGVSTALIS*; both posts must date before 528 (see below).

(d) PVC a. 528: in 528 he conducted the trial of two bishops accused of homosexuality; Joh. Mal. 436 (ὑπὸ Βίκτωρος ἐπάρχου πόλεως).

(e) *PATRICIVS* and *IUDEX PEDANEVS* a. 539 April 8: he was one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* (δικασταὶ or δικοιτηταὶ) appointed by Justinian at Constantinople; eight were advocates or former advocates, of *spectabilis*

rank or lower (cf. Anatolius 4), and four were very high-ranking ministers of state with great experience (μείζους δικαστός); the latter were Plato 3, Victor, Phocas (= PLRE II, Phocas 5) and Marcellus 3. Of these Phocas, Plato and Victor were *patricii*.

Victor 2

iudex pedaneus 539

An advocate at the court of the PPO Orientis on April 8, 539, when he was appointed one of the twelve new *iudices pedanei* (δικασταί or διατηταί) at Constantinople by Justinian; Just. Nov. 82.1 (cited under Theodorus 11). Cf. also Menas 2, and see Anatolius 4.

Fl. Victor 3

?CSL et patricius 545

A protocol, cut off one document and attached to another dated in 570, was read by Maspero, *P. Cairo Masp.* 67151, as: Φλ. Βικ ἐνδοξοῦ κομετ' καὶ πατρικ' διασημοῦ. The date (κ. . . . . ν/ιη ιθ λ) may represent indiction 8, year 19, which could be 545 (Justinian's 19th year; ind. 8 = Sept. 544–Aug. 545). Protocols had to contain the name of the current CSL and the date; cf. Just. Nov. 44, cap. 2 (a. 537). Fl. Victor was apparently therefore CSL and *patricius* in 545, holding office between Petrus 9 Barsymes and Ioannes 39. The word διασημοῦ presumably refers to something or someone else.

For the date of *P. Cairo Masp.* 67151, see Fl. Phoebammon 5.

VICTOR 4 domesticus and (dux et) augustalis (Thebaidis) M VI

Addressee of an encomium from Fl. Dioscorus 5; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67131, verso Λ = Heitsch 10 = REG 24 (1911), pp. 434–7, no. 5 (= *Pap.* 1) probably from Antinoe. In a petition to his successor (Ioannes 59) Dioscorus later complained of his oppressions; Heitsch 3 (= *P. Cairo Masp.* 67317 + *P. Berl. Zill.* 10580) (= *Pap.* 2) (cf. below).

He belonged to a leading family, perhaps from the Thebaid; *Pap.* 1, lines 6 and 9 (cited below). Brother of Cyrus; *Pap.* 2, line 74.

DOMESTICVS ET (DVX ET) AVGVSTALIS (THEBAIDIS) M VI: *Pap.* 1, lines 5–6 ([τ]οῦ ἡγεμόνος Βίκτορος τοῦ πανσοφοῦ), [ἀ]εὶ βραβευτοῦ ἐκ τε τύχης καὶ γέν[ου]ς, (i.e., of a leading family), 9–10 (ἔχεις, ἀριστο[ς] γόνος τῶν) ὀλ[β]ιστ[ή]ρων, τοῦ ἡγεμόνος καὶ [δ]ομ[ε]στ[ί]κου [τ]ύχην), *Pap.* 2, line 74 (Βίκτωρ ἀγουσθά[λ]ις). Victor apparently combined the title of *domesticus* with the post of *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* (the double dignity is alluded to by Dioscorus, *Pap.* 1, line 11, as δίδυμα τῆς ἀρχῆς παναξιώματα). For the Thebais, cf. also *Pap.* 1, line 1 [Θήβ]η πᾶσα, χόρ[ε]ν[σ]ο[ν]. The title *domesticus* was probably a court title, probably an honorific dignity. The date of his office in the Thebaid was probably before 566, since in 566 Dioscorus was already living in Antinoe (cf.

Maspero, REG 24, p. 466) and he only moved there after the date of *Pap.* 1 in which he asked Victor to appoint him νομικός (lines 30–4, esp. line 31 στ]ῆσον τὸ[ν οἰ]κέτην νομικὸν τῇ πόλει). Victor was in office in the Thebaid for two years; *Pap.* 2, line 80.

His successor in office was petitioned to end the oppression and the violence and the excessive taxation which had allegedly marked Victor's term; *Pap.* 2, lines 72–5.

Victor 5 bishop (of ecclesia Tonnennensis); chronicler M VI

Tonnennensis ecclesiae episcopus; author of a world chronicle ending at the start of the reign of Justin II (extant only from 444 onwards); his see was in Africa, but its exact location is not certain; he suffered exile and imprisonment in the 550s for his support for the Three Chapters, eventually in Egypt, before his recall to Constantinople and imprisonment in a monastery there where he wrote the Chronicle and died; Vict. Tonn. s.a. 555, 556, 565, and cf. Isid. *DVI* 49–50. His Chronicle was continued by John of Biclaram; Joh. Bicl., praef. (*MGH, AA* ix, p. 211). Cf. also Mommsen, *MGH, AA* ix, pp. 178–83.

Fl. Victor 6

?v.c.; landowner (at Antinoe) 569

Son of Phoebammon 7, grandson of Thomas 18; a landowner at Antinoe, he was involved in a sale of land in 569; styled ὁ λαμπρότατος καὶ λογιώτατος; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67169 bis, lines 4, 36, 60, 67 Antinoe.

Probably identical with Victor, son of Phoebammon, dead by 589 when his heirs are recorded in a document from the Hermopolite nome; *P. Ross.-Georg.* III 40, line 4 ([κλ]ηρονόμοις τοῦ τῆς λογί[ας] μῆμης Βί]κτορος Φ[ο]ι[β]άμ[μ]ωνος), dated April 589.

Victor 7

tribunus (in Africa) 578/582

Vi(ct)or trbns; associated with Gennadius 1 in strengthening the defences of Mascula under Thomas 15 in the reign of Tiberius; Durliat, no. 28 = Pringle, no. 33 = *CIL* VIII 2245 + 17671 = *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. Fr.* 1895, pp. 170–1 = *AE* 1895, 115 = D 9350 = *ILCV* 795 Mascula (Numidia). The text appears to read: BIGOR, but see Durliat, pp. 68–70.

Victor 8

tabellio (at Oxyrhynchus) 583

Son of Ioannes; νομικός; in 583 he was surety for a deacon Serenus who contracted to manage certain Apion estates for one year; *P. Oxy.* 136 (a. 583 May 24).

Victor 9

notarius (in Egypt) VI

He issued an order to a wine merchant to make a payment to a



*cancellarius* called Plato; *Stud. Pal.* viii 1030, line 1 π(αρά) Βίκτορος νοταρ(ίου). The papyrus may be from Hermopolis.

Victor 10 scholasticus (at Oxyrhynchus) VI

He wrote to a fellow *scholasticus* criticising his actions; *P. Oxy.* 1165 (sixth century; the verso runs: δεσπό(τη) ἐμῶ τ(ῶ) πά(ντων) λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) σοφ(ωτάτῳ) π(άσης) προσκ(υνήσεως) ἀξι(ῶ) π(άντων) φιλ(τάτῳ) ἀδελφ(ῶ) λαμπροτάτῳ σχολ(αστικῶ) + Βίκτωρ σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ σχολ(αστικός)). Cf. Paulus 30.

Victor 11 magister (?official of the sacrae largitiones) (Egypt) ?VI

Ὁ μαγίστερ Βίκτωρ, promised the unknown author of a letter found somewhere in Egypt that certain items, viz. sheepskins, cloaks and items of cookery (τὰ μαγειρικά) were on their way to him from Lycopolis; *PSI* 481 provenance unknown. The date may be sixth-century rather than fifth; cf. Andreas 17. The mention of an official of the *sacrae largitiones* (Andreas) and the nature of the goods involved suggest that Victor was either *magister lineae vestis* or *magister privatae*, both offices under the *sacrae largitiones* in the provinces; cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* xiii 14-15.

Victor 12 doctor (in Egypt) ?VI

Ἰατρός; husband of Aelia; his daughter Victorina was the bride of Aphous who was son of a *diaconus* called Ioannes; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67006 verso, *passim*, possibly from Antinoe (a marriage contract).

Perhaps identical with the ἰατρός Victor, who received a payment of four *artabae*; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67141, fol. 1 verso, line 22 (provenance unknown, date late sixth-century).

VICTOR 13 tribunus (at Aphrodito) VI

Τριβούνος, named in a list of taxpayers of Aphrodito; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67288 iii 14 Aphrodito.

Victor 14 ?v.c. (in Egypt) VI/VII

Named in a papyrus from Heracleopolis, *Stud. Pal.* iii 356, line 1, where the editors restore: [+τῶ ἐνδοξ]οτάτῳ Βίκτωρι υἱῶ το[ῦ] μακαρίου Ἰαπα Ἰουλίου. The papyrus contains no evidence that he was ἐνδοξότατος rather than λαμπρότατος.

Victor 15 vir gloriosissimus; land agent (Egypt) 618

In 618 some horses were bought by Menas 37 for him - Βίκτωρι τῶ ἐνδ(οξοτάτῳ) ἀντιγε(ούχῳ); *P. Oxy.* 153 = *Stud. Pal.* iii 286 (a. 618 May 20).

Probably identical with the Victor ἀντιγεοῦχος at Oxyrhynchus who wrote a number of letters to Georgius 55 and to Theodorus 170; *P. Oxy.* 1844-8, 1853-5, 1937 (to Georgius), 1849-52 (to Theodorus) (all dated VI/VII). Styled ἰλλ(ούστριος) σὺν Θ(εῶ) ἀντιγεοῦχος, *P. Oxy.* 1853-4; ἀντιγεοῦχος, *P. Oxy.* 1844-52, 1937; and ἰλλ(ούστριος) σὺν Θ(εῶ) χαρτ(ουλάριος) (καὶ) ὑμέ(τερος) δοῦλ(ος), *P. Oxy.* 1855 (addressed to Georgius κόμης καὶ διοικητής). Possibly the same man also wrote a letter to Cosmas 14, *P. Oxy.* 158 (VI/VII); another letter to Georgius, *P. Oxy.* 943 (VI/VII; from Βίκτωρ σὺν Θ(εῶ) α...λ ( )); and perhaps received one from Menas 42 (chartularius), *P. Oxy.* 1859 (VI/VII; addressed τῶ ἐμῶ ἀγαθῶ δεσπό(τη) τῶ ἐνδοξο(τάτῳ) ἰλλ(ο)υ(στρίῳ) (καὶ) ἀντιγε(ούχῳ), who could be Victor).

These documents concern a large estate identifiable as that of the Apions; Victor was therefore the manager. He is once styled *chartularius* and regularly used epithets denoting high rank, though it is uncertain whether or not he was officially entitled to the latter. His post of *chartularius* may have been an imperial grant (presumably honorific) giving him right to the titles, but equally he may have been *chartularius* of the Apion estates. On ἀντιγεοῦχος, cf. Hardy, *Large Estates*, pp. 80, 85-7.

Fl. Victor 16 ?v.c. (in Egypt) E VII

Addressee of three documents from Hermopolis recording purchases by him of wine and of bundles of reeds; *BGU* xii 2208 (a. 614 Oct. 8; Φ[λαυ]ῖῳ Βίκτορι τῶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ υἱ[ῶ] τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνή[μ]ης Κύρ[ου]), 2209 (a. 614 Nov. 8; Φλαυῖῳ Βίκ[το]ρι τῶ λαμπ[ρο]τάτῳ υἱῶ τοῦ τῆς ἀρ[ίσ]της μνήμης Κύρου), 2210 (a. 617 June 15; Φλαυῖῳ Βίκτορι τῶ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ υἱῶ τοῦ μακαρίτου Κύρου).

All clearly refer to the same person, son of Cyrus and a native of Hermopolis, but the variety of epithets and the absence of any indication of rank for his father suggest that λαμπρότατος is used only loosely.

Victor 17 ?v.c., dioecetes (in Egypt) VII

Recorded as receiving 791 *solidi* 5 carats in a list of payments found at Oxyrhynchus (τῶ λαμπρ(οτάτῳ) κυρ(ίῳ) Βίκτορι διοικ(ητῆ) Ἀλεξ(αν.) νο(μ.) Ψ4α κ(ερ.) ε'); *P. Oxy.* 2033, line 17 (seventh century). The circumstances of the payments are not clear, nor is the identity of the payers.

VICTORINA

(c.f.) (in Gaul) VI or earlier

Materfamilias, ex nobili stirpe progenita; owner of a *villa* between Tours and Saintes, on whose land she built a church of St Julian,

furnishing it with relics of the martyr; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Iul.* 47 (recording a miracle there).

Vidimaclus ally of Waroch 587

In 587 he and Warochus agreed to pay compensation to Guntram and Chlotharius for damage caused in Breton raids in the area of Nantes; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 18. Presumably a Breton and an associate of Waroch. See further Waroch.

Vigilantia (sister of Justinian, mother of Justin II): see *PLRE* II, p. 1165, and add Coripp. *Iust. praef.* 21–2 and *Iust.* 18 (still alive in 565, she persuaded Justinian to name Justin as his successor). In later times it was believed that Justinian built her a palace in the area known as τὰ Βιγλεντίως, but see Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 322–3 (rejecting this as based on a false etymology). A statue of her may have stood in later times in the harbour of Sophiae; *Patr. Const.* II 62, and cf. *Parastaseis*, ed. Cameron and Herrin, p. 209.

#### Vigilantius

comes domesticorum, honorary consul and patricius 527/534

Addressee of an undated law of Justinian concerning the *praesentales domestici equites*; *CJ* XII 17.4 (a. 527/534; addressed 'Vigilantio comiti domesticorum consulari ac patricio'). He was perhaps the *comes domesticorum equitum*, apparently an actual post over *domestici praesentales* (i.e. at Constantinople) and not an honorific title, although these troops were by now purely ceremonial. In addition he was an honorary consul and a *patricius*. He is not otherwise known, but Justinian had a sister called Vigilantia and, to judge by his name and his presence in Constantinople at this date with high dignities, Vigilantius may also have been a relative of the emperor.

VIGILIA (c.f.) niece of pope Vigilius M VI

Niece of pope Vigilius (nepotem suam), given by him in marriage to Asterius I; *Lib. Pont.* 61.4. Presumably daughter of Reparatus (*PLRE* II).

Vigilius (Pope 537–555): cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1166 and see *ODCC*, pp. 1440–1 with bibliography.

Vigilius (*CIG* 8835) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Vigilius (*CIL* XI 1412) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Vigilius I dedicatee of the *Romana* of Jordanes M VI

In the letter which introduces the *Romana* and dedicates the work to

Vigilius, Jordanes addresses him as 'nobilissime frater' and 'nobilissime et magnifice frater' and exhorts him to turn from the world to God; *Jord. Rom.* intro. While 'nobilissime' could indicate either noble birth or high moral qualities and so apply to a layman or a cleric, 'magnifice' properly indicates high status in secular life; it is probable therefore that Vigilius was a pious layman of high rank. He is not therefore to be identified with the bishop of Rome, Vigilius.

#### VIGILIVS 2

vicarius of the PPO (Italy) before 599

Predecessor of Ioannes 113 as deputy of the (praetorian) prefect in Liguria (qui vices illic ante hunc (sc. Ioannes) praefecturae gessit); he had employed letters of commendation from pope Gregory to extract money from Constantius, archbishop of Milan, (then living in Genoa) and Gregory warned the bishop not to allow this to recur under Ioannes; *Greg. Ep.* ix 103 (a. 599 Jan.).

Ioannes apparently succeeded Vigilius in office, which was therefore a permanent post, not a temporary mission on which the two men were sent. Whether their title was *vicarius Italiae* or *agens vices praefecturae* (or similar) is not recorded.

#### Vigilius 3

a secretis (East) ?VI or later

Said to have supplied statues which stood at the Golden Gate; *Patr. Const.* II 58a (they came παρά Βιγιλίου ἀσηκρήτου καὶ ἀστρονόμου). The source is tenth-century; the information may have come from either the *Parastaseis* or the Anonymous of Treu, although there is no trace of it in the surviving texts; cf. Cameron and Herrin, *Parastaseis*, pp. 6 and 17. The date of Vigilius *a secretis* and astronomer is unknown and his very existence uncertain.

#### Vilithuta

wife of Dagaulfus M VI

Her epitaph was composed by Venantius Fortunatus; *Ven. Fort. Carm.* IV 26 (epitaphium Vilithutae). Born in Paris, of noble barbarian family, she had a Roman education; lines 13–14 (sanguine nobilium generata Parisius urbe Romana studio, barbara prole fuit). Orphaned in childhood and reared by her grandmother; lines 33–4. Married at thirteen to Dagaulfus, she died in childbirth, together with the child, at fifteen; lines 7–8 (Vilithute decens, Dagaulfi cara iugalis). 11–12.35–6.41–2.45–8.55–6.

#### Villaticus

?advocate of the PPO (Africae) VI

*Qui celat secreta regis quem mundus adorat... / hic requies (h)abitet,*

hic pax (a)eterna moretur s.../ domus, D(e)o miserante, Villatici biri togati pr(e)fectorii et D(eo) bl(?)...; *BCTH* 1950, p. 88 = *AE* 1951, 45 Sbeitla (Sufetula, in Byzacena).

Vincentius army commander (East) 528

In early 528 (for the date, see Belisarius, p. 184) he was one of the leaders of the Roman army defeated at Tanurin by the Persians; *Zach. HE* ix 2.

VINCOMALVS (v.c.) (in Italy) L VI

Husband of Alexandria 2; dead by 596 June; *Greg. Ep.* vi 35.

Vinganes (Βιγγάνης) Persian commander ?578

Persian commander at Chlomarion during the siege by Mauricius 4 (probably in 578); his efforts to persuade the Romans to abandon the siege and his refusal to surrender are recorded in *Men. Prot. fr.* 57. See Mauricius, p. 858. Cf. *Justi*, p. 68.

VIRVS I (v.c.); bishop of Vienne 586

A priest, of senatorial descent, in 586 he was chosen by king Guntram to succeed Evantius as bishop of Vienne; *Greg. Tur. HF* viii 39 (presbyter de senatoribus). Cf. *Stroheker*, no. 407.

Virus 2 nephew of Eulalius L VI

Nephew of Eulalius 2 (perhaps by Eulalius' half-sister); he intended to marry his uncle's maltreated wife Tetradia, whom he sent for safety to Desiderius 2, but was killed by Eulalius first somewhere in the Auvergne; *Greg. Tur. HF* x 8. The date was c. 585.

Visandus I commander of Herul federates 538-540

On the name, see *Schönfeld*, p. 267.

In summer 538 Visandus, Aluith and Phanitheus were in command of two thousand Heruli who accompanied Narses I to Italy to help Belisarius in the war with the Goths; *Proc. BG* II 13.18 (ὡν Οὐίσανδός τε καὶ Ἀλουίθ καὶ Φανίθεος ἤρχον). After the recall of Narses in spring 539 the Heruli at first all planned to leave Italy, but then changed their minds and left Visandus (τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕνα) and his followers with Vitalius I in Venetia while the others returned under Aluith and Philemuth to Constantinople; *Proc. BG* II 22.7-8. 'Ο τῶν Ἐρούλων ἀρχηγός; Visandus lost his life with many other Heruli in 540 in battle against Ildibad near Treviso (cf. Vitalius); *Proc. BG* III 1.35.

Visandus 2 Gothic commander (at Auximum) 538

As an energetic leader he was placed by Vitigis in command of a select garrison, four thousand strong, at Auximum (Osimo) in Picenum in March 538; *Proc. BG* II 11.2 (ἀρχοντα ἐς ἄγαν δραστήριον Οὐίσανδον ὄνομα). It is not clear from Procopius whether or not he remained in command after Vacimus was sent to Auximum with further troops (midsummer 538); *Proc. BG* II 13.5. Auximum was besieged by the Romans in 539 and the garrison finally submitted after great hardships in October/November; *Proc. BG* II 23-4, 26-7.

He is perhaps not to be identified with Visandus Vandalarius (Οὐίσανδος Βανδαλάριος), a Gothic soldier severely wounded in a battle with Belisarius outside Rome in Feb. 537 and left for dead but found still alive three days later, who survived to live a considerable time in great renown; *Proc. BG* I 18.29-33. Procopius gives no indication that they were one and the same.

VITALIANVS I v.c., cancellarius of Lucania et Bruttium 533/537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus (in 533/537; cf. *PLRE* II, p. 267) to collect the revenues from Lucania and Bruttium paid in commutation for pigs and cattle for Rome; *Cass. Var.* XI 39 (addressed 'Vitaliano v.c., cancellario Lucaniae et Bruttiorum').

Vitalianus 2 interpreter (to the Avars) 568

Probably in early 568 he accompanied Comitatus 5 as interpreter on an embassy to Baian, khan of the Avars; they were held captive while Baian launched an attack on Sirmium (cf. Bonus 4); *Men. Prot. fr.* 26. Later in the year, when the khan sought to negotiate with the Romans, Vitalianus, on his own initiative and without securing imperial approval (ἰδιοβουλήσας), first secured eight hundred *solidi* for him from the PPO Illyrici, to stop him mounting plundering raids during the truce, and then travelled to Constantinople as interpreter with Baian's envoy, Targitis; *Men. Prot. fr.* 28. Both texts style him ἑρμηνεύς. For the dates, see *Stein, Stud.*, pp. 10-11 with nn. 12 and 13.

Vitalianus 3 Mag. mil. (in Italy) 591-592

Mentioned in 591 in a letter from pope Gregory asking the *mag. mil.* Velox to consult him and Martius on the military situation and to heed their advice (cum gloriosis filiis nostris Martio et Vitaliano loquere); *Greg. Ep.* II 7 (a. 591 Sept. 27). As a *vir gloriosus* he was presumably already *magister militum*.

In 592 July he and Mauricius 2, both 'magistri militum' and styled

'gloria vestra' and 'gloriosi filii', received two joint letters from pope Gregory on the military situation in Italy; Greg. *Ep.* II 32-3. See further Mauricius.

Not to be confused with the bearer of Gregory's letter, *Ep.* II 33, also called Vitalianus, who was to discuss matters with Vitalianus and Mauricius.

## VITALIANVS 4

v.c., ex numerariis scrinii canonum (at Ravenna) 639

In Nov. 639 he witnessed a donation to the church of Ravenna by Paulacis; Marini, *P. Dip.* 95 = *P. Ital.* 22, line 1 Vitalianus ex num. scr(i)n(ii) can(o)n(um), line 51 Vitalianus v.c. ex numerariis scrin(ii) can(oni)s.

Vitalis (*CIL* xv 7121) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

## Vitalius 1

MVM per Illyricum (?539-?)544

MVM PER ILLYRICVM A. (539?-?)544: ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγός, in 544; Proc. *BG* III 10.2. He may have succeeded Iustinus 2 in this post in 538 or 539; at that time he was in Venetia and Dalmatia and was apparently already in command of troops from Illyricum; see below, and cf. Proc. *BG* III 10.2 with 11.14.

In spring/summer 539 Vitalius was present in Venetia where the Heruli, returning from Italy to Constantinople after the recall of Narses I, met him; they left Visandus and his followers there with him (cf. Proc. *BG* III 1.34-5); Proc. *BG* II 22.7.

In early 540, when Belisarius laid siege to Ravenna, Vitalius went to his aid with an army from Dalmatia and mounted guard on the north bank of the river Po, to prevent supplies from reaching the Goths in Ravenna by that route; Proc. *BG* II 28.2. The opposite bank was guarded by Magnus 1. By a stroke of good fortune for the Romans, the river level fell and they captured many boats with corn and other supplies from Liguria; Proc. *BG* II 28.3-4. Later, as the siege continued, Vitalius went to Venetia with orders from Belisarius to win over as many places as possible there; the task of patrolling the Po was given to Ildiger; Proc. *BG* II 28.24.

After the fall of Ravenna and the return of Belisarius to Constantinople, Vitalius apparently remained in Venetia; he was there with a large army which included many Heruli in 540/541 and was the only Roman commander to act against Ildibad and try to halt the revival of the Gothic kingdom; he risked battle near Tarbesium (Treviso) but was

defeated by Ildibad with heavy losses and fled; with him in this battle were Theudimund and Visandus 1; Proc. *BG* III 1.34-6.

After Totila became king of the Goths (in 541), Vitalius and the other Roman commanders assembled in Ravenna to discuss their course of action; they decided to capture Verona and then to move against Totila at Ticinum; Proc. *BG* III 3.2-3. For the campaign which followed (probably in spring 542), the failure to take Verona and the Roman defeat at Faventia, see Ioannes 46 and Artabazes. After the battle of Faventia, the Roman commanders scattered to various cities for refuge; Proc. *BG* III 4.32.

In 544 Vitalius returned to the east from Italy, leaving behind the Illyrian troops; on the emperor's orders he accompanied Belisarius to Thrace where they recruited some four thousand fresh troops before going to Salona, intending to sail to Ravenna to continue the war from there; Proc. *BG* III 10.2-3. It was Vitalius who persuaded Belisarius to make Ravenna his base on this occasion; Proc. *BG* III 13.14. He presumably sailed with Belisarius to Pola and then to Ravenna; Proc. *BG* III 10.13, 11.1 (in 544).

He and his Illyrian troops were sent by Belisarius with Thurimuth and some of Belisarius' men into Aemilia to try to capture some places there; he accepted the surrender of several forts near Bononia, but then remained inactive in Bononia; Proc. *BG* III 11.10-12. At this point the Illyrian troops under his command, who had served in Italy a long time and were owed much back pay, heard of an attack on Illyricum by the Huns and chose to desert and return home; Proc. *BG* III 11.13-14. Totila now sent an army to Bononia to capture Vitalius and the others, but they ambushed it and put the Goths to flight; Proc. *BG* III 11.16-17.

Vitalius presumably now returned with Thurimuth to Belisarius in Ravenna (Proc. *BG* III 11.18), but Procopius records nothing further of him.

## VITALIS 2

v.c., monetarius (at Ravenna) 540

V.c., monetarius; witness to a land purchase at Ravenna in Jan. 540 by Montanus; Marini, *P. Dip.* 115 = *P. Ital.* 31, col. II, line 2.

## Vitalis 3

?bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546/547

He fought in the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 347. Possibly a member of the bodyguard of Ioannes 36 Troglita; see Germanus 2.

## VITALIS 4

comes rei militaris or dux (East) 586

Ὁ ταξιάρχης; he commanded the right wing of the Roman army

under Philippicus at the battle of Solachon (in spring/summer 586); Theoph. Sim. II 3.1, 4.1, Theoph. AM 6078 (Βιταλιανὸς ὁ ταξίαρχος). For his post, see Theodorus 21 and cf. Maur. *Strat.* I 3.13, 4.13.

Vitalis 5

tabellio (at Ravenna) c. 600

Tabellio huius civ(itatis) Rav(ennatis); he wrote down a donation to the church of Ravenna at the dictation of the donor Ioannes 228; Marini, *P. Dip.* 90 = *P. Ital.* 16, line 15 (described by Ioannes as 'rogatarius meus').

Vita(lius) (*CIL* VIII 4354 + 18540 = *ILCV* 28): see Durliat, no. 29, with pp. 72-3 (demonstrating that the name, restored by Rossi, is an error).

Vitigis

king of the Ostrogoths 536-540

For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, pp. 269ff. On his coins, it is usually spelt 'VVitiges', sometimes 'VVitigis'; cf. Kraus, 157-60.

Vitigis did not come from one of the great Ostrogothic families (ἄνδρα οἰκίης μὲν οὐκ ἐπιφανοῦς ὄντα); Proc. *BG* I 11.5. Nephew of Vlitheus; Proc. *BG* II 10.2. Uncle of Vraias; Proc. *BG* II 12.37, 30.4-5, 30.12-13. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, ad a. 540. He married Matasuintha shortly after he became king; see below. This marriage was childless; Jord. *Get.* 81. He was of age to be a soldier in 504 and was apparently elderly (senilibus curis, Cass. *Or.* II, 476.19-20) in Athalaric's reign; possibly born c. 480.

He first came to prominence while fighting in the war of Theodoric with the Gepids near Sirmium (in 504, cf. *PLRE* II, Pitzias); Proc. *BG* I 11.5. According to the panegyric later written by Cassiodorus (Cass. *Or.* II, in *MGH, AA* XII, pp. 473-84; cf. below), Vitigis made himself easy to recognise when about to fight 'with a fierce race' (cum gente ferocissima pugnaturus, 473.12-13; presumably the Gepids) in order that his exploits might attract attention, 473.12-484.16; his deeds matched his presumption and he apparently distinguished himself during the Gothic siege of Deoricum, 474.17-21 (cf. 20-1 cum Deorici civitas fortium Gothorum obsidione . . . ; the city is unidentified and the name may be corrupt, cf. Traube, *MGH, AA* XII, p. 463, n. 3); in one battle, his horse was wounded and his left arm injured but he continued to fight with his right arm only and killed many of the enemy, 475.1-9;

Cassiodorus observed that many present when the panegyric was delivered (c. Dec. 536/Jan. 537) could bear witness to his valour, 475.14-476.5. He apparently received no special recognition or promotion from the ruler of that time (i.e. Theodoric), 476.6-9 (persequamur itaque ordinem rerum, ne, dum te tardius remuneratum esse referimus, regnatorem illius temporis accusemus).

SPATHARIUS a. 526/534 (?536): soon after Athalaric became king, Vitigis returned to Ravenna and was made *spatharius*; in this capacity he was one of the young king's advisers, dealing with envoys at court and earning great respect; Cass. *Or.* II, 476.9-20 (mox enim, ut Ravennam deo nobis praestante reversus es, spatarii meruisti nihilominus dignitatem, ut laborem bellicum honor testaretur armorum. Quem locum tua modestia et maturitate nobilem, otioso pro parvula aetate rege, cum legatis saepius necessaria dissertabas; ut miro laudis eventu reverentiam tibi potius impendi feceras, qui senilibus curis adulto principi serviebas). The *spatharius* was perhaps a dignity at court, though a few years later *spatharii* were royal bodyguards; cf. *PLRE* II, Vnigis, but see also Riggo. He may have retained the title under Theodahad (cf. below).

He had some connection with Singidunum under Athalaric; Cass. *Or.* II, 476.21 (Singidunum civitas quondam otii . . .). The occasion was presumably the war early in the reign against the Gepids near Sirmium, when the Goths took part of the Danube and attacked the city of Gratiana on imperial territory; cf. Proc. *BG* I 3.15, 17.21, Cass. *Var.* XI 1.10-11 (soon after 526 - in ipsis primordiis). Vitigis was perhaps commander of the Goths; cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 307.

Under Theodahad he held a high position, possibly as commander of his bodyguard; Jord. *Get.* 309 (armiger eius fuerat). For *armiger*, cf. *PLRE* II, Theudis. It is possible that *spatharius* and *armiger* are equivalents, but perhaps more likely that *armiger* denoted a post such as commander of the bodyguard while *spatharius* was a dignity (cf. Cass. *Or.* II, 476, spatarii . . . dignitatem; honor . . . armorum) that could be held at the same time; Vitigis could therefore have remained *spatharius* under Theodahad.

In late 536, when chosen as king, Vitigis was one of the commanders of the Gothic army near Rome; Jord. *Rom.* 371, *Get.* 309 (ductorem suum).

KING of the Ostrogoths a. 536 Nov./Dec.-540 May: chosen as king by the Gothic army at Regata near Tarracina in place of Theodahad, with whose inactivity in face of the invasion by Belisarius they were dissatisfied; Proc. *BG* I 11.5, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, Jord. *Get.* 309-10 (he was made king 'in campos barbaricos'). The date was probably in late November, immediately after the loss of Naples but

before Belisarius entered Rome on Dec. 9, 536; cf. *Belisarius*, p. 196, and *Proc. BG I 11.1*. He was made king at a time of crisis because of his military experience; *Class. Or.* II, 479 (esp. 17-19 non potuissent eligere, nisi qui probetur saepius bella peregisse). Successor of Theodahad; *Agath.* I, proem. 30, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 15. Described as king of the Goths and Italians (ὁ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλεύς); *Proc. BP II 2.4*, 4.13, cf. *BG I 11.5* (βασιλέα σφίσι τε καὶ Ἰταλιώταις Οὐίττιγιν εἶλοντο, sc. Γότθοι). King of the Goths; *Proc. BP II 2.1* (ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος), *Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae* 74, *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* III 55, *Joh. Mal.* 480, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 540, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* I 25. On his coins he is styled 'rex'; *Kraus*, 157-60.

He first went to Rome, sending *Optaris* in pursuit of *Theodahad* and placing *Theudegisclus*, son of *Theodahad*, under arrest; *Proc. BG I 11.6-10*, *Jord. Get.* 309. From Rome he marched to *Ravenna*, in order to end the state of war with the Franks and prepare for war with the Romans; he left Rome garrisoned and took with him to *Ravenna* many senators as hostages, having previously extracted an oath of loyalty to the Goths from the pope *Silverius* and from the senate; *Proc. BG I 11.11.16-18.26*.

In *Ravenna* he married *Matasuintha*, the daughter of *Amalasintha*, much against her will, in order to strengthen his rule by a connection with the family of *Theoderic*; *Proc. BG I 11.27*, II 10.11, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 536, *Jord. Get.* 311, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 15. The date was probably Dec. 536 or Jan. 537. On this occasion *Cassiodorus* composed a panegyric, which survives only in fragments; *Cass. Or.* II, cf. 480.14-15 (*Vitigis'* bride was the descendant of great kings). Husband of *Matasuintha*; *Proc. BG I 29.8*, II 10.11, 28.26, III 39.14, *Jord. Get.* 81, 313-14.

*Vitigis* made peace with the Franks, surrendering to them the Gothic territories in Gaul (i.e. *Provence*) and paying a substantial sum in gold in return for a promise of assistance in the war with the Romans; this released the main Gothic army which had been stationed in north Italy opposite the Franks; *Proc. BG I 11.16-17*, 11.28, 13.16, 13.24-9. He first sent an army under *Vnilas* and *Pissas* against the Romans in *Etruria* but this was defeated and its leaders captured by *Constantinus* 3; at the news he sent another large army under *Asinarius* and *Vligisalus* to recover *Dalmatia* and himself prepared to march against Rome; *Proc. BG I 16.5-11*. He marched straight for Rome with his whole army, which is said to have numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, apparently inclusive of the army of northern Italy under *Marcias*; *Proc. BG I 16.11.19-21*, 17.7-18.43. For *Marcias'* army, cf. *Proc. BG I 16.11* and 24.3 with 19.12. The date was February 537; cf. *Belisarius*, p. 197.

On reaching Rome *Vitigis* immediately laid siege to the city; *Proc. BG I 19.1*. The siege, which is described in *Proc. BG I 19-11 9*, lasted for one year and nine days and ended in mid March 538; *Proc. BG II 10.13*, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 537, *Jord. Get.* 312, *Rom.* 374, *Lib. Pont.* 60, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 17. For details, see *Belisarius*, pp. 198-202. Soon after the siege began *Vitigis* sent troops to *Ravenna* to execute the senatorial hostages there; *Proc. BG I 26.1*.

In March 538, when the siege had clearly failed, *Vitigis* withdrew his army and marched to *Ariminum* which had been seized by *Ioannes* 46; he crossed the *Apennines*, leaving garrisons at various strongholds on the way, and besieged *Ariminum*; *Proc. BG II 10.8.12-13*, 11.1-3, 12.1-25, 17.17, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, *Jord. Get.* 312. When the Romans under *Mundilas* seized *Milan*, he sent an army under *Vraias* to recapture it and asked for help from the Frankish king *Theodebert*, who sent ten thousand *Burgundians* to join *Vraias*; *Proc. BG II 12.36-9*. He also sent a strong garrison under *Vacimus* to *Auximum* to reinforce it and protect the approaches to *Ravenna*; *Proc. BG II 13.5* (in summer 538), cf. 11.2 (in March 538 under *Visandus* 2), 18.19, 20.1-2, 23.8, 24.7, 26.13. Perhaps at this time also he destroyed the fortifications of *Pisaurum* and *Fanum*, to stop the Romans using them; *Proc. BG III 11.32*, 25.7.

The siege of *Ariminum* ended with the arrival there of the Romans under *Belisarius* and *Narses* some time after midsummer 538 and *Vitigis* fled with the Goths to *Ravenna*; *Proc. BG II 17.21-4*, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538, *Jord. Get.* 312. He remained in *Ravenna* for the next two years, until the war ended; *Proc. BG II 18.19* (late summer 538), 22.9, 23.1 (spring 539), 24.6, 26.7, 27.29 (summer/autumn 539), 28 *passim* (early 540), and cf. below.

Early in 539, in anticipation of an attack by *Belisarius* in spring, *Vitigis* and the Goths sought the help of other barbarian peoples and, fearing the Franks as untrustworthy, sent envoys first to the *Lombards* under *Vaces*, but found them allied to the Romans; *Proc. BG II 22.9-12*. They then sent envoys to the *Persians* to persuade *Chosroes* to make war on the Romans; *Proc. BG II 2.1-12*, 14.11, *BG II 22.13-20*. In summer and autumn 539 *Vitigis* promised relief to the Goths besieged in *Auximum* but in spite of several appeals failed to send any, finding his problems of maintaining supplies insoluble if he did so; *Proc. BG II 24.11-16*, 26.8-15. He planned to relieve the Goths besieged in *Faesulae* by joining forces with *Vraias* from *Milan*, but *Vraias* was stopped by the Romans and the plan failed; *Proc. BG II 24.19-24*.

Soon after the fall of *Auximum* (Oct./Nov. 539) *Vitigis* was besieged in *Ravenna* by *Belisarius*; *Proc. BG II 28.1.35*, *Jord. Get.* 313. During the

siege Vitigis rejected the offer of an alliance with the Franks and chose to open negotiations with the Romans; Proc. *BG* II 28.7-23, and cf. Belisarius, pp. 205-7 for the course of the siege and negotiations. He accepted Justinian's offer of half the royal treasure and the rule of Italy north of the Po; Proc. *BG* II 29.1-3, III 2.15. However there was hostility to his rule among the Goths from his lack of success and the privations of the siege; Proc. *BG* II 29.17. He finally gave his support to the offer to Belisarius to become ruler of Italy, which led to the Roman capture of Ravenna (in May 540); Proc. *BG* II 29.21. He was placed under guard by Belisarius but treated with honour; Proc. *BG* II 29.35. For his overthrow and capture, cf. also Proc. *Anecd.* 4.32, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540, *Jord. Get.* 313, *Joh. Lyd. de mag.* III 55, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* I 25. A later variant account of his fall is that he was defeated in battle by Belisarius, then captured by Ioannes 29 'Sanguinarius' and taken to Belisarius at Rome; *Lib. Pont.* 61, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 19.

He was taken to Constantinople by Belisarius with his wife; Proc. *BP* II 4.13, 21.28, *BG* III 1.1-2, IV 25.12, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540, *Jord. Get.* 313, *Cyr. Scyth. V. Sabae* 74, *Joh. Mal.* 480, *Agath.* I, prooem. 30, *Mar. Avent. s.a.* 540, *Lib. Pont.* 61, *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 19.

PATRICIUS: he was honourably treated by Justinian, who conferred on him the title of *patricius*; *Jord. Get.* 313, cf. *Lib. Pont.* 61 (*fecit illum patricium et comitem*), *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 19 (cited below).

In 541 he remained in Constantinople when other Goths accompanied Belisarius to the east for the war against the Persians; Proc. *BG* II 14.10. There was a tradition which maintained that he was given a post near the Persian frontier where he lived until his death; *Lib. Pont.* 61 (*transmisit - sc. Justinian - eum iuxta fines Persarum, et ibi vitam finivit*), *Paul. Diac. Hist. Rom.* XVI 19 (*eumque non multum post patricium effectum administrationem illi iuxta Persarum terminos tribuit ibique Guitigis degens vitam finivit*).

He died after living in Constantinople for little more than two years (presumably in 542); *Jord. Get.* 313 (*ubi plus biennio demoratus imperatorisque in affectu coniunctus rebus excessit humanis*), cf. *Jord. Rom.* 383 and Proc. *BG* III 39.14 (alluding to him as dead by 550).

Vitula founder of a nunnery M/L VI

She founded the nunnery of St Vitus in Sardinia and was dead by June 591 (*monasterium sancti Viti, quod Vitula quondam recordandae memoriae construxerat*); *Greg. Ep.* I 46.

Evidently wealthy and perhaps a lady of rank.

Vitulus standard bearer of Ioannes Troglita 546/547  
Signifer; present at the defeat of Antalas in winter 546/547; he was

with Recinarius among the bodyguards of Ioannes 36 Troglita; *Coripp. Ioh. v* 297.

Vitus banker and conspirator 562  
'Ο ἀργυροπράτης; he was privy to a conspiracy to murder Justinian in late 562; after arrest and questioning he gave information which compromised Belisarius; *Joh. Mal.* 494, *Joh. Mal. fr.* 49, *Theoph. AM* 6055.

VIVIANA (?c.f.) (in Italy) L VI

Domna Viviana, widow of Felix 8; she was in Campania in 591, when Gregory ordered that she be paid twenty *solidi* and three hundred *modii* of corn; *Greg. Ep.* I 37 (a. 591 March; to Anthemius *rector patrimonii* in Campania). Cf. also *Palatina* 2 and *Pateria*. The style of *domina* and the circumstances indicate that she was a lady of rank, probably of senatorial family, and the same was probably true of her husband.

Vldach (Οὐλδάχ) Hun commander (Italy) 554

A Hun, in 554 he commanded a Hun force at Pisaurum with Artabanes 2 and Roman troops; they defeated the advance guard of Leutharis but declined to encounter his main army; *Agath.* II 2.5, 3.1. Cf. *Artabanes*.

Vlfari Lombard dux of Treviso c. 591/592

Dux Vlfari; he rebelled against Ago (Agilulf) at Tarvisium, was besieged and captured by him; *Paul. Diac. Hist. Lang.* IV 3. The event, to judge by its place in Paul's narrative, took place early in Agilulf's reign.

Possibly identical with Gulfaris. If so, he had deserted to the Roman cause by 599.

Vlfus servant of Chlodosinda M VI

Reginae Chrodosinthe minister; miraculously cured of a fever (typo?) by Germanus, then bishop of Paris (555-576); *Ven. Fort. V. S. Germ.* XXI 61-4 (cf. 62, mentioning his *balteus*). Chlodosinda was perhaps the daughter of Chlotharius I.

Vliaris I bodyguard of Belisarius 533(-?539)

He was possibly German, to judge by his name; cf. Schönfeld, p. 265 (Viliarit).

In 533 he was an officer of Belisarius' bodyguard (τὸν Βελισσαρίου δορυφόρον); Proc. *BV* I 19.23, II 4.15. He is not alluded to again until 538 and 539 (below) when he is no longer described as Belisarius' bodyguard; he may therefore have left Belisarius' service by then, but bodyguards of Belisarius often commanded armies jointly with other officers and this may be the case here. The silence of Procopius is not decisive.

In Sept. 533, during the campaign in Africa, Vliaris was in command of eight hundred ὑπασπισταί of Belisarius not far from Decimum when the *foederati*, fleeing from Gelimer, came up expecting him to stand and fight; instead he and his men turned tail and fled with them back to the main army under Belisarius; for this they were severely reprimanded; Proc. *BV* I 19.23-4.30. For the date and further details, see Belisarius, p. 189. Later on, after the battle of Tricamarum (mid December 533), Vliaris accompanied Ioannes 14 in pursuit of Gelimer, but in an accident while he was drunk he inadvertently shot Ioannes and fatally wounded him; he fled for sanctuary to a nearby church but was spared by Belisarius, following the dying request of Ioannes, because it was an accident; Proc. *BV* II 4.15-19.21.25.

In summer 538 he was in Italy and was sent with Herodianus 1 and Narses 2 and a large army under the overall command of Ildiger by sea to the relief of Ariminum; Proc. *BG* II 16.21. For further details, see Herodianus. In late 538 he and Martinus 2 were sent to the aid of Milan, then besieged by the Goths; Proc. *BG* II 21.1. For subsequent events, see Martinus. After the fall of Milan (spring 539) Vliaris and Martinus returned to Rome; Vliaris was apparently considered most to blame for the disaster, for Belisarius refused ever again to admit him to his presence; Proc. *BG* II 21.42, 22.3.

Procopius describes him as strong and brave and spirited but lacking in seriousness and too fond of drunkenness and merry-making; Proc. *BV* II 4.16.

Vliaris 2 Gothic commander 542  
 Οὐλίαιρις; Proc. *Viliarid*; *Marcell. com. Addit. Vul*; Greg. For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 265 (*Viliarit*).

?COMES NEAPOLITANAE CIVITATIS a. 533/534: commander of the Gothic garrison in Naples (ὁς Νεάπολιν ἐφύλασσε) where he allegedly welcomed Hun deserters from the Roman army in Africa; Proc. *BG* I 3.15. The date must be late 533 or early 534; cf. Alexander 1. He perhaps held the *comitiva Neapolitana*, an annual office, on which see Cass. *Var.* VI 23.

Subsequently he, Bleda and Rudericus were *comites* of Totila and his most loyal supporters; Greg. *Dial.* II 14 (cited under Rudericus). They

are described by Procopius as the most warlike of the Goths (τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους); Proc. *BG* III 5.1.

In 542 they commanded the Gothic army which first besieged Florence and then defeated the Romans at Mucellis; Proc. *BG* III 5.1, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 542, and see further Ioannes 46 and Rudericus. Probably later in 542 they accompanied Riggo on his visit to St Benedict at Monte Cassino; Greg. *Dial.* II 14.

Vlias Gothic hostage 537

On the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 265 (*Wilia*).

A prominent Goth (οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα), given as hostage to the Romans in December 537 to guarantee the three-month truce during the siege of Rome; Proc. *BG* II 7.13. On the date, see Belisarius, p. 201. Cf. also Zeno 2.

Vlifus (Οὐλίφος) officer of Cyprianus' bodyguard 545

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Cyprianus in 545; Proc. *BG* III 12.19 (τῶν ἐκείνου δορυφόρων ἓνα), cf. *BG* IV 33.10 (Κυπριανοῦ δορυφόρος γεγονῶς πρότερον).

In 545 he accepted a bribe from Totila and assassinated Cyprianus in Perusia; he then fled to join Totila; Proc. *BG* III 12.19, IV 33.10. In 552 he and Meligedius were jointly in command of the Gothic garrison in Perusia; he opposed Meligedius who wanted to surrender the city to Narses 1 and was killed with his men in the ensuing fighting; Proc. *BG* IV 33.10-12.

Vligagus military commander (in Lazica) 550-555  
 Οὐλίγαγος; Proc. *Οὐλίγαγος*; Agath. On the name, cf. Schönfeld, p. 245.

A Herul; Proc. *BG* IV 9.5.

COMMANDER in Lazica a. 550-555: one of the Roman commanders already in Lazica when Bessas arrived (in 550); Proc. *BG* IV 9.5 (the others were Babas, Benilus and Odonachus). Sent by Bessas with Ioannes 44 against the Abasgian rebels; they captured the stronghold of Trachea and brought the revolt to an end; Proc. *BG* IV 9.13-30. In spring 551 he and Benilus commanded the largest concentration of Roman troops, nine thousand strong, in Lazica; they were encamped near the mouth of the river Phasis with Varazes 1; Proc. *BG* IV 13.10 (ἦρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Βενίλος τε καὶ Οὐλίγαγος). At the approach of the Persian army under Mermeroes, they retreated across the Phasis; Proc. *BG* IV 13.28 (οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες). He was presumably one of the Roman commanders described as hiding (from the Persians)



near the Phasis later in 551; at the approach of winter they began making camp there, but again dispersed when Mermeroes marched against them; Proc. *BG* iv 16.6.18-19.

In 555 he was commander of the Herul contingent (ὁ τοῦ Ἑρουλικοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεμῶν) in Lazica; in conference with the other Roman commanders near Archaeopolis, he agreed with the proposal of *Buzes* that they should take their full forces to intercept Persian reinforcements before they could join up with the garrison of Onoguris and only then should besiege the place; a saying of his was remembered, that, once the bees are driven away, one can collect the honey at leisure; Agath. iii 6.5. In the event the Romans divided their forces and were heavily defeated; Agath. iii 6.8-8.3. For the date, cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* ii 811ff.

For the Heruli as *foederati*, see Philemuth.

Vligisalus (Οὐλιγίσσαλος) Gothic commander 537-538

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 246.

A Gothic commander, sent by Vitigis in early 537 with Asinarius to recapture Dalmatia; defeated at Scardon, he later joined forces with Asinarius and laid siege to Salona; Proc. *BG* i 16.8-10.12-13.16-18. In spring 538 he was with Vitigis' army which withdrew from Rome; he was put in command of Tuder with four hundred men; Proc. *BG* ii 11.1, cf. *BG* ii 13.2-4 (the Goths of Tuder surrendered to Belisarius in midsummer 538 and were sent to Sicily and Naples).

Vlimuth (Οὐλιμούθ) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 538

A native of Thrace and an officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius; in summer 538 he and Gubulgudu helped to avert the capture by Vacimus of Ancona, where they had recently happened to arrive by sea; Proc. *BG* ii 13.14-15. See further Conon i.

Vlitan tribunus (military) in Africa 546/547

Vlitan and Liberatus were *tribuni* serving under Marcentius in winter 546/547 in the battle in which Antalas was defeated; Coripp. *Ioh.* iv 540-2 (signaque terrificis munit (sc. Marcentius) vallata tribunis. Hinc Liberatus erat . . . hinc Vlitan pulcher).

Vlitheus 1 uncle of Vitigis 538

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 246.

Uncle of Vitigis; in early 538 he commanded a Gothic army in Picenum; he was defeated and killed by Ioannes 46; Proc. *BG* ii 10.2.

Vlitheus 2 officer of Guntharis' bodyguard 545-546

Officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Guntharis 2; Proc. *BV* ii

25.8, 27.25, 28.19. Sent to negotiate secretly with Antalas in late 545 by Guntharis, who trusted him greatly; Proc. *BV* ii 25.8-11, 25.19. Employed by him to assassinate *Areobindus* 2; Proc. *BV* ii 26.32-3, 27.20. He accompanied Artabanes, Ioannes 35 and Cutzinas against Antalas and intended to kill Artabanes when he failed to pursue the enemy; Proc. *BV* ii 27.25.27.30, and cf. Artabanes. When Guntharis was assassinated, Vlitheus, who was one of the bodyguards in attendance, was also killed; Proc. *BV* ii 28.19.31-2.

Vllo comes of Bourges 585

Comes Biturigum; at Comminges in 585 he and Boso 2 captured and killed Gundovald 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 38. Presumably identical with the unnamed *comes Biturigum* who shortly afterwards tried to punish some monks of St Martin in the district of Bourges for not joining the expedition against Gundovald; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 42.

Perhaps to be identified with Olo.

Vltrogottha (wife of Childebert I): *PLRE* ii. Add Ven. Fort. *Carm.* vi 6 (de horto Vltrogothonis; cf. lines 23-4 mother of twins), *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 153 (Canon 15 of the Council of Orléans of 549 mentions a *xenodochium* at Lyon founded by Childebert and 'iugalis sua Vultrogottha regina'), *V. S. Balthildis* 18 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* ii, p. 506) (wife of Childebert, generous to the poor and to clergy and monks), Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* i 12 (very pious, she visited St Martin's tomb), and *V. Carileffi* 10 (Vultrogodae reginae).

'Umar ibn al-Khattāb caliph 634-644

Originally a strong opponent of Islam, he became a convert, perhaps (according to tradition) four years before the Hegira, at the age of twenty-six; although he took part in battles, his main role was that of an adviser rather than of a soldier and he is described as 'the real organiser of the new theocratic state'; in 632 he helped to secure the appointment of Abū Bakr as successor to Mohammed; see *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> iii 2, p. 982 (G. Levi della Vida).

In 634 he became caliph, succeeding on the death of Abū Bakr; Theoph. AM 6125, Cedr. i 745, Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 18, Balādhurī, p. 114 = p. 175, Agapius, p. 469, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1094, Mich. Syr. xi 5, *Chron.* 1234, cxii, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 93, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 945, *Hist. Nest.* ii 104.

Under his rule the Arabs overran Palestine, Syria and Egypt and overthrew the kingdom of Persia; the Romans were decisively defeated

at Yarmuk in 636 and Jerusalem fell to the Arabs in 637 or 638; see Abū 'Ubaydah, Khālid ibn al-Walīd, Iad ('Iyād ibn Ghanm), 'Amr ibn al-'Ās, and cf. (on Jerusalem) Theoph. AM 6127, Cedr. I 746, Const. Porph. *Adm. Imp.* 19, *Chron.* 1234, cxx.

He was assassinated on Nov. 3, 644, aged fifty-three; Theoph. AM 6137, *Chron.* 819 s.a. 955, *Chron.* 1234, cxxvii, Mich. Syr. xi 8, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 96, *Hist. Nest.* II 104, Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1103, Agapius, p. 475. His successor was Uthmān.

See further *Enc. of Islam*<sup>1</sup>, *loc. cit.*, pp. 482-4.

Vmbolus Lombard dux of Amiternum L VI

A Lombard; *dux* of Amiternum with Alahis, whom he later executed together with bishop Cethe(g)us; *ASS*, Iun. II, 691A (*V. Cethei*). See further Alahis.

Vncilenus I dux of the Alamanni 588

Appointed to succeed Leudefridus I in 587/588 (apparently by Childebert); *Fredegar.* IV 8 (*ordinatus est loco ipsius Vncilenus dux*).

Vncilenus 2 servant of Theoderic 605-607

Sent by Theoderic in 605 to tell the troops not to kill Protadius, he instead told them that Theoderic wanted him killed; *Fredegar.* IV 27. In 607 he was punished for this at the instigation of Brunichildis; his foot was amputated and his property confiscated; *Fredegar.* IV 28.

Vnigastus (Οὐνίγαστος) officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 539

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 246.

Officer (δορυφόρος) of Belisarius' bodyguard, at Auximum in 539; wounded in saving Belisarius from injury; *Proc. BG* II 27.13-14.

Vnilas Gothic commander 537

Οὐνίλας; *Proc.* Hunila (Hunnila); *Jord.* On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 142.

In early 537 Vnilas and Pissas, sent by Vitigis with an army against the Romans in Etruria, were defeated and captured by Constantinus 3 near Perugia and sent by him to Belisarius at Rome; *Proc. BG* I 16.5-7 (ἄρχοντες), *Jord. Get.* 311-12 (*dux Gothorum*), *Rom.* 374.

Vraias nephew of Vitigis E/M VI

Οὐραϊάς; *Proc.* Oraio; *Marcell. com. Addit.* On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 271 (*Wraja*).

Nephew of Vitigis; *Proc. BG* II 12.37, 30.4.5.12.13, *Marcell. com. Addit.*

ad a. 538, ad a. 540. His wife was an extremely wealthy Gothic lady; *Proc. BG* III 1.37.

He besieged Milan in 538 and early 539; *Proc. BG* II 12.37-39, 18.19, *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 538. After the fall of Milan he secured Liguria for the Goths; *Proc. BG* II 18.19, 21.1, 22.1-2.6. Summoned to the relief of Auximum by Vitigis, he marched from Ticinum but found his way barred at Dertona by a Roman army; *Proc. BG* II 24.20-4. Later in 539 he planned to relieve Ravenna but the loss of Liguria to the Romans led to widespread desertions among his troops and he had to remain idle; *Proc. BG* II 28.31-5.

In 540, when Belisarius prepared to leave Italy after the capture of Ravenna, the Goths invited Vraias to be their king; he declined the offer but proposed Ildibadus; *Proc. BG* II 30.3-16, cf. *Marcell. com. Addit.* ad a. 540 (the Goths living north of the Po rebelled under Oraio and Ildibad). In 541 he and Ildibad quarrelled (allegedly after a dispute between their wives) and shortly afterwards Vraias was murdered; Ildibad accused him of planning to desert to the Romans; *Proc. BG* III 1.37-42.49.

Vraius (*Not. Scav.* 1885-6, pp. 361-2) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Vraius philosopher M VI

A native of Syria, he was a familiar figure at Constantinople where he professed to be a doctor and frequented the imperial stoa and the bookshops, showing himself a vigorous disputant in the philosophical discussions held there among the unlearned; he claimed to have a profound knowledge of Aristotle and to be a disciple of the Sceptics, both claims disputed by Agathias who dismisses him as a blusterer and braggart only able to impress the ignorant; a frequent visitor to the houses of the rich, he dined and drank too well and made himself a laughing-stock; he once visited Persia, accompanying the embassy of Areobindus 3 (after 532), where he made a profound impression on Chosroes, who treated him with great favour and gave him money and privileges; after his return he boasted of the favours he had received and became unbearable; *Agath.* II 29.1-30.2, 32.1-5.

Vrbicius adviser of Justinian c. 541

One of Justinian's closest advisers; sent by him to observe events on the eastern frontier during the war with Persia, he witnessed the victory of Ioannes 36 Troglita over Mermeroes near Dara and, according to Corippus, was delighted with Ioannes' prowess; *Coripp. Ioh.* I 99-109 (cf. 100-3 *Vrbicius sapiens, quem primum maximus orbis imperialis*

apex famulum rebusque fidelem tunc habuit lectumque inimicas miserat oras noscere quae saevi fuerant discrimina belli; the name 'Vrbicius' is an emendation by Partsch of the manuscript reading 'urbi cuius'.

Nothing is known of this person from other sources; he might have been one of the *comites consistoriani* but the word 'famulus' suggests that perhaps he was not one of the officers of state but rather a member of the palace staff, possibly one of the *cubicularii*; if so the words 'primum ... famulum' may here indicate the post of *primicerius sacri cubiculi*.

The choice of Ioannes to command the African expedition was perhaps due to the recommendation of Vrbicius; although Corippus does not expressly say so, it is implied by his narrative. Vrbicius seems to have been sent by Justinian to observe the war and to report on its conduct; there does not appear to be any other example of such an observer, though cf. Ioannes 66 and Rusticus 4.

VRBICVS 1 (v.p.), protector et domesticus (Italy) 534

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae, retiring in 534 on completing his term (presumably one year) as *primicerius singulariorum*; he was then instructed to make adoration among the *domestici et protectores*; Cass. *Var.* xi 31 (title: de primicerio singulariorum qui egreditur) quoniam Vrbicus primiceriatus sui noscitur tempora peregisse, inter domesticos et protectores sacram purpuram adoraturus accedat, ut venerandis clarificatus aspectibus militaribus excubiis se gaudeat liberatum. Cf. Stein, *Untersuchungen*, p. 27. See also Pierius.

Vrbicus 2 (vir inlustris) (in Italy) L VI

Husband of Palatina 2; dead by 591; Greg. *Ep.* i 37 (a. 591 March). Since his wife was an *inlustris femina*, Vrbicus probably was himself of illustrious rank.

Vro Frankish domesticus E/M VII

A Frank, father of Otto 2, he was a *domesticus* (whether under Sigibert III or Dagobert or some other Frankish king is not recorded); Fredegar. iv 86.

VRVICINVS 1 ?comes; infantry commander in Italy 535-537

In 535 he was one of four commanders of regular infantry units sent to the west under Belisarius to reconquer Italy (his three colleagues were Herodianus 1, Paulus 4 and Demetrius 3); Proc. *BG* i 5.3 (καταλόγων ... πεζῶν δὲ Ἡρωδιανός τε ... καὶ Οὐρσικίνος sc. ἄρχοντες).

He was present in Rome when the Goths laid siege to it in 537; during their first major assault, on the eighteenth day of the siege (perhaps

March 10; cf. Belisarius), Vrsicinus was in command of an infantry unit, the *Reges*, at the Porta Flaminia; Proc. *BG* i 23.3 (οἱ Πῆγες ἐνταῦθα, πεζικὸν τέλος, ἐφύλασσαν καὶ Οὐρσικίνος, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε). His troops were the *Regii*; cf. *Not. Dig. Or.* vi 49.

His rank and office are uncertain, but one of his colleagues in Italy, the cavalry commander Magnus 1, was a *comes*.

Vrsicinus 2 referendarius of Vltrogottha; bishop of Cahors 580-585-?

Formerly *referendarius* of queen Vltrogottha, he was the candidate favoured by the bishop of Cahors, Maurilio, as his successor; Maurilio died in 580; Greg. *Tur. HF* v 42.

Bishop of Cahors: attested as bishop in 584 and 585 (when he was suspended from his priestly functions for three years as punishment for supporting the pretender Gundovald); Greg. *Tur. HF* vi 38 (584), viii 20 (585). He presumably became bishop on Maurilio's death. He attended the Council of Mâcon in 585; *Conc. Gall.* 511-695, p. 249.

Vrsinus vir illustris (in Gaul) E/M VII

Vir inl(ustris) et fedelis Deo propitio noster Vrsinus; son of Chrodolenus, brother of Beppolenus 2 and Chaimedes; he petitioned Dagobert concerning a family inheritance and had his rights confirmed; Marini, *P. Dip.* 60 (dated 628).

Vrsio Frankish noble L VI

A Frankish noble under Childebert II and an opponent of Brunichildis, in 581 he and Bertefredus attacked her supporter, Lupus; Greg. *Tur. HF* vi 4. Cf. Bertefredus.

In 587 they conspired with Rauching to murder Childebert; Rauching was to rule Champagne with Childebert's older son Theodebert and Vrsio and Bertefred would take Childebert's infant son Theoderic and rule the remainder of Austrasia; when the plot failed and Rauching was killed, they took refuge on an estate of Vrsio's in the Woèvre where Vrsio was killed by Childebert's army under Godegisel 2; he is said to have been the instigator of the plot; Greg. *Tur. HF* ix 9, 12, cf. Fredegar. iv 8 (one of the *optimates* of Childebert killed after plotting his murder).

Vrsulenthus (*CIL* iii 14207. 9) V/VI: *PLRE* ii.

Vrsus primicerius deputatorum (Italy) 534

He served in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae and reached the position of *primicerius deputatorum* in 534; Cass. *Var.* xi 30. On the *deputati* in the *officium* of the PPO, see Jones, *LRE* ii 587-8 with n. 59.

Vsdibadus (Οὐσδίβαδος) Gepid leader 568

For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 247.

A Gepid, who had taken refuge with the Romans with his followers; in 568 Baianus, khan of the Avars, demanded his surrender, claiming that the Gepids had been conquered by the Avars and were now their subjects; the Romans denied the claim; Men. Prot. fr. 27, 28, 29. For the date, see Stein, *Stud.*, pp. 10–11 with nn. 12 and 13.

Vsdrilas (Οὐσδρίλας) Gothic commander (at Rimini) 552

For the name, which is Germanic, see Schönfeld, p. 248.

A Goth, he commanded the Gothic garrison at Rimini in 552; author of a challenging letter to Valerianus 1 at Ravenna when Narses 1 arrived there; killed soon afterwards in a skirmish near Rimini; he was 'a good soldier' (διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια; cf. Cameron, *Procopius*, p. 240 with n. 84); Proc. BG iv 28.2–11 (τοῦ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἄρχων; ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε).

VSIGARDVS ?comes rei militaris (in Lazica) 555

A barbarian, he commanded a Roman unit (or units) in Lazica in 555 when he was sent with Dabragezas from Onoguris against the Persians; Agath. ii 6.9, 7.1–5 (cited under Dabragezas). See further Dabragezas and Martinus 2. On his title, see Theodorus 21.

Vstam Vahewuni Armenian noble L VI

Cf. Justi, p. 371, s.n. Wistaxma.

An Armenian noble, member of the clan of the Vahewuni who rebelled against the Romans, probably in 595; they were defeated and Vstam was killed in the battle; Sebeos vii, pp. 33–4. See further Samuel Vahewuni and Heraclius 3.

Vstrigotthus (Οὐστρίγοτθος) Gepid prince M VI

Son of the Gepid king Elemundus; he was his father's only surviving son and still young when his father died; prevented from succeeding to his father's throne by Thorisin (Turisindus), he fled to the Lombards who were then at war with the Gepids; in 552 his return was demanded from Audoin by Thorisin in exchange for Ildigisal; in the event, as neither king could openly betray a suppliant, Vstrigotthus was secretly murdered by Audoin and Ildigisal by Thorisin; Proc. BG iv 27.19–29. The date of his flight was before spring 549, probably 548/549; see Turisindus.

Vuldetrada Lombard princess; wife of Theodebald M VI  
Vuldetrada; Greg. Tur. Walderada; Paul. Diac.

Daughter of the Lombard ruler Vaces and a Gepid princess Austrigusa; she married the Frankish king Theodebald, on whose death in 555 she was first taken by king Chlothacharius (Chlotharius I) and then given by him in marriage to Garibaldus (*dux* of the Bavarians); Greg. Tur. HF iv 9, cf. Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 21 (given to Garivald by 'Cusupald', i.e. Theodebald, because he disliked her). Mother of Theodelinda, Gundoaldus and Grimoaldus 1, and another unnamed daughter; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 10, 30. Sister of Wisegardis.

Vulfarius vir illustris (in Gaul) M VI

His wife Destasia was cured by bishop Germanus; Ven. Fort. V. S. *Germ.* xi 36 (coniunx inlustris viri Vulfari Destasia nomine).

Vulfio comes (of Dagobert) c. 630

One of the addressees of a supposed letter of Dagobert; Marini, *P. Dip.* 61. See further Leutho. If genuine, presumably a Frank.

Wacces maior domus of Theodahad 535

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 248.

Given command of Gothic troops at Rome by Theodahad, after the senate complained of the soldiers' behaviour (his etiam praefecimus maiorem domus nostrae Waccenem, qui pro suarum qualitate virtutum bellatoribus esset iure reverendus, cuius exemplo et excessus vitarent et fortitudinis instrumenta perquirerent); Cass. *Var.* x 18 (a. 535).  
Possibly identical with Vacis.

Waddo 1 v.inl.; royal adviser (? in Paris) 555/576

Waddo vir inluster consilii regis particeps; miraculously cured by bishop Germanus of Paris; Ven. Fort. V. S. *Germ.* xx 59–60. Germanus was bishop from 555 to 576. He is perhaps to be identified with Waddo who served under king Childebert and carried out building work; V. *Aviti* 12.

Possibly identical with Waddo 2.

Waddo 2 maior domus (of Rigunthis) 584

He had a wife and sons; Greg. Tur. HF vii 39, ix 35 (implies three children), x 21 (implies two sons). He apparently lived in or near Poitiers, in whose territory he owned a *villa*; Greg. Tur. HF ix 35 (in 589), x 20.

COMES CIVITATIS SANTONVM before 584: Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45 (maior domus autem Waddo, qui olim Santonicum rexerat comitatum).

MAIOR DOMVS (of Rigunthis, daughter of Chilperic) a. 584: Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45 (in 584; cited above), cf. *HF* vii 27, 28, 43 (maior domus reginae Rigunthis, or similar). In autumn 584 he was one of the *viri magnifici* (cf. Bobo 1) who escorted Rigunthis when she left Paris for Spain; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 45.

After the death of Chilperic and the proclamation of Gundovald 2, Waddo joined the pretender at Toulouse; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 27, 28. In 585 he accompanied Gundovald's withdrawal to Convenae (Comminges); *HF* vii 34. During the siege there he conspired with Mummolus 2, Chariulfus and the bishop Sagittarius to betray Gundovald; *HF* vii 38. After the city fell he was taken prisoner to the camp of Leudegisel, where he left his sons as hostages and disappeared; *HF* vii 39. He then went to Brunichildis, who received him with favour and allowed him to depart with gifts; *HF* vii 43.

In 589 he was killed near Poitiers while trying to seize by force a *villa* owned by Beretrudis' son-in-law, whom he accused of stealing some of his horses; the efforts of his family to restrain him had only provoked his anger; after his death his (eldest) son visited the king (Childebert) and secured his property; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 35.

In 590 his sons, arrested for brigandage and tortured, disclosed the location of a huge treasure which Waddo had stolen from the pretender Gundovald; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 21.

Possibly identical with Waddo 1.

Wado 3 comes (of Cambrai) c. 585/587

He was *comes* of Cambrai in Austrasia; *V. Gaugerici* 7 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, p. 654) (comitem loci illius nomen Wado). For the date, see *MGH, op. cit.*, p. 649.

Waduulfus v.d. (in Italy) 535/542

V.d.; husband of Seccifrida; he and his wife brought a suit against Leo v.h. *navicularius* for payment of five *solidi* outstanding on the purchase of an estate; the settlement is recorded in a document drawn up at Ravenna in 535/542 and witnessed by Bassus 3, Hilarus v.h., Giberit, Ardica v.h. and Andreas v.h.; Marini, *P. Dip.* 131 = *P. Ital.* 43, lines 5, 10-11 (Signum + Vvaduulfi v.d. Itn, or ?ctn), 15-16, 23, 29, 36, 43-4.

Walcharius tribunus (at Cambrai) L VI/E VII

He was a *tribunus* in charge of a prison at Cambrai; *V. Gaugerici* 8 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, p. 655).

Waldaric 598

In 598 he travelled to Sardinia with a letter from pope Gregory to the *dux* Eupaterius 2; he wished to return to Rome with his wife; Greg. *Ep.* ix 70 (a. 598 Nov./Dec.).

Waldeburtus domesticus of Chlotharius II 626

Domesticus; in 626 he conspired with Chramnulfus, on behalf of Chlotharius, to murder Godinus 2 near Chartres; Fredegar. iv 54.

Waldelenus ?Frank; *dux* (east of the Jura?) L VI/E VII

*Dux* quidam nomine Waldelenus, qui gentes qui intra Alpium saepta et Iurani saltus arva incolent regebat; husband of Flavia and father of bishop Donatus of Besançon, the *dux* Chramnelenus and two daughters; Ionas, *V. Columb.* i 14 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, pp. 79-80). See also Flavia.

Waldericus Frankish *dux* (under Dagobert) 635

A Frank, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* on the expedition under Chadoin which subdued the Wascones; Fredegar. iv 78.

Wallari Lombard *dux* of Bergomum 574

He was *dux* of Bergomum (Bergamo) in the interregnum following the death of Cleph (574); Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii 32 (cited under Gisulfus 1).

Walluc ruler of the Wends M VII

He gave refuge to Alciocus and his Bulgar followers after the massacre of Bulgars by the Bavarians; Fredegar. iv 72 (post haec cum Wallucem ducem Winedorum annis plurimis vixit cum suis). See further Alciocus. 'Walluc' was a title, not a name; see Wallace-Hadrill, *Fredegar.*, p. 61, n. 2.

Waltari king of the Lombards M VI

Waltari; *Origo Gent. Lang.*, Paul. Diac. Οὐάλδαρος; Proc. Son of Vaces and Salinga; while still a child he became the eighth king of the Lombards on his father's death; after seven years he fell ill and died and was succeeded by Audoin who had been acting as regent; *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 21, 22, Proc. *BG* iii 35.14.17-18.

His father was still alive in 539, but Audoin had become king by 548/549.

Wandalmarus 1 camerarius (of Guntram) 585

For the name, cf. Förstemann 1529.

Camerarius; he served under Guntram in 585; Fredegar. iv 4. See further Domnolus.

Perhaps identical with Wandalmar 2.

Wandalmarus 2 dux Ultraiuranus 591-604

Perhaps identical with Wandalmar 1.

DVX VLTRAIVRANVS a. 591-604: in 591 he succeeded Theudefred as 'dux Ultra Iuranus', Fredegar. iv 13 (cited under Theudefred). He died in 604 and was succeeded by Protadius; Fredegar. iv 24 (in year nine of Theoderic; defuncto Wandalmaro duce, in pago Ultra-Iurano et Scotingorum Protadius patricius ordinatur).

Wandalmarus 3 Frankish dux (under Dagobert) 635

A Frank, in 635 he was one of ten *duces* on the expedition under Chadoind which subdued the Wascones; Fredegar. iv 78.

Wandelbertus Frankish dux M VII

Addressee of a letter from Dagobert; Marini, *P. Dip.* 62 (addressed 'viris inll. Vandelberto duci Raganrico dom(estico) et omnibus agentibus praesentibus et futuris'). Also addressee of a letter from Clovis II in ?640; Marini, *P. Dip.* 63 (addressed 'v.inl. Wandelberto duci et Ebrulfo graf(ioni) vel omnibus agentibus praesentibus et futuris'). If the documents and their dates are reliable, he was a *vir illustris dux* at the end of Dagobert's reign and the start of Clovis II's.

Presumably identical with the Burgundian *dux* Wandelbertus who fought against Willibadus at the battle of Autun in September 642; Fredegar. iv 90.

Wandelinus tutor and adviser of Childebert II 581-585

He succeeded Gogo (as *nutrius regis*) in 581; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 1 (in cuius locum Wandelinus subrogatur). In 585 he himself died, whereupon the queen Brunichildis assumed the task herself; all that Wandelinus had acquired from the public treasury was now repossessed; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 22 (hoc tempore et Wandelinus nutritor Childeberti regis obiit, sed in loco eius nullus est subrogatus, eo quod regina mater curam vellet propriam habere de filio. Quaecumque de fisco meruit, fisci iuribus sunt relata).

Waragulphus Frankish comes (at Angoulême) ?L VI

Waragulphus comitivam exercens militiam; miraculously cured at the

tomb of Eparchius at Angoulême; *Vita et Virtutes Eparchii* n 4 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iii, p. 561). Probably comes civitatis Ecolismensis.

Warinarius Frankish envoy ?570/572

He and Firminus 1 were envoys of Sigibert to Justin II, perhaps c. 570/572; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 40. See further Firminus.

Warmaricarius Frankish envoy 602

Fellow-envoy with Burgoaldus sent to Rome and Constantinople by Brunichildis and Theoderic from Burgundy in 602; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 7 and 9 (a. 602 Nov.). See further Burgoaldus.

Presumably Burgundians; Warmaricarius could be related to or identical with Warnacharius 2; cf. Goubert, n i, p. 89.

Warnacharius 1 maior domus (of Theoderic II) 599

Maior domus Theoderici; in 599 he died leaving his wealth to help the poor; Fredegar. iv 18. In 602 Theoderic confirmed the grant of most of it to a church at Geneva; Fredegar. iv 22. He was *maior domus* in Burgundy.

Warnacharius 2 maior domus (in Burgundy) 613-626

Father of Godinus 2 (by a first wife), husband of Berta (his second wife); Fredegar. iv 54.

MAIOR DOMVS (in Burgundy) a. 613-626: after the death of Theoderic II he was *maior domus* in Burgundy under Sigibert and Brunichildis; sent with Sigibert and Alboenus to the Thuringi to raise support for Sigibert against Chlotharius II, he learned that Brunichildis planned to have him murdered because he was thought likely to desert to Chlotharius; he then began plotting with many Burgundian leaders to overthrow Brunichildis and her sons and secure the kingship for Chlotharius; Fredegar. iv 40-2. After the death of Brunichildis (613) he secured from Chlotharius the position of *maior domus* in Burgundy for life (Warnacharius in regno Burgundiae substituitur maior domus, sacramento a Chlothario accepto, ne umquam vitae suae temporibus degradaretur); Fredegar. iv 42. *Maior domus*, in 616, when with all the bishops and the Burgundian nobles (Burgundaefarones) he attended an assembly called by Chlotharius at which the king apparently confirmed the privileges for which they asked; Fredegar. iv 44. In 617 he accepted a bribe of one thousand *solidi* (see also Gundelandus and Chucus) from Lombard envoys to secure the cancellation of the annual tribute paid by the Lombards to the Franks; Fredegar. iv 45.

In 626 he died (Warnacharius maior domus moritur); Fredegar. iv 54.

Author of an extant letter; *Ep. Aevi Merov. Coll.* 14 (= *MGH, Epp.* III, p. 457) (to Ceraunius, bishop of Paris, sending him the Lives of a bishop of Langres, Desiderius, and of three saints martyred there).

An opponent of abbot Eustasius of Luxeuil, he supported the calling of a synod at Mâcon to investigate allegations by Agrestius but died before it could discuss the matter; Ionas, *V. Columb.* II 9.

Warnecautius Lombard noble ?596

Executed by king Agilulf at Ticinum (presumably for rebellion) in c. 596; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 13. On the date, see Gaidulfus.

Warnefrida Lombard, adviser of Ariulf 598

On the name, see Schönfeld, p. 258 and Förstemann, p. 1542.

A close adviser of Ariulfus (ad cuius consilium isdem Ariulfus cuncta agit); his refusal to accept the recently negotiated peace in 598 disturbed pope Gregory; Greg. *Ep.* IX 44 (a. 598 Oct.).

Warochus comes Britannorum 577-590

Son of Maclivus; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 16, 26, Fredegar. III 77. Brother of Iacobus 4; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 16. Father of C(h)anao 2; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 9.

After his father's death in 577 Warochus retained those lands ruled by his father before the death of Bodicus; Greg. Tur. *HF* V 16, Fredegar. III 77. Maclivus and Bodicus are styled 'Britannorum comites', Greg. Tur. *HF* V 16; Warochus is styled 'comes Britannorum', Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* 61, and also 'comes', Fredegar. III 77 (Warochus Magliavi filius in patris loco comes efficitur). He was in fact an independent ruler of the Bretons, but was styled *comes* by the Franks who claimed suzerainty (usually nominal); cf. Dalton, I, p. 174, II, p. 516, and see Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 4 (nam semper Britanni sub Francorum potestate post obitum regis Chlodovechi fuerunt, et comites, non reges, appellati sunt).

In 578 a large expedition was mounted against him by Chilperic; in a surprise attack he killed many Bayeux Saxons, but soon negotiated terms with Chilperic's commanders, giving his son as hostage and binding himself by an oath of loyalty to Chilperic; he restored Vannes to the nominal rule of Chilperic while retaining the actual rule for himself in return for a promise to pay a regular annual tribute; he soon forgot his oath and sent bishop Eunius of Vannes to Chilperic to cancel the agreement (for which the bishop was exiled); Greg. Tur. *HF* V 26.

In 587 he and Vidimaclus agreed to pay compensation for damage caused by Breton raids in the area of Nantes; they met Guntram's envoys

near Nantes and submitted to the Franks, offering sureties and signed promises to pay to Guntram and Chlothachar a thousand pieces of gold (*solidi*) in compensation and never again to raid that district; later however he again ignored his promises, raided the vineyards around Nantes and carried off the wine to Vannes; Greg. Tur. *HF* IX 18.

In 590 after further Breton raids around Nantes (for an incident involving Warochus at Nantes, possibly on this occasion, see Greg. Tur. *Glor. Mart.* 61) an army was sent against them under Beppolenus I and Ebracharius but it was weakened by divisions among the Franks and moreover Warochus was joined by a force of Saxons from Bayeux, sent by Fredegundis to oppose Beppolenus; he was eventually victorious against Beppolenus, surrounding and killing him after three days of fighting; around this time Warochus was believed to have lost considerable amounts of gold and silver and other precious items while trying to transport them for safety to islands off the coast; he now met Ebracharius and made peace, giving hostages (including a nephew) and many gifts and promising not to inconvenience Guntram again; however when the best troops of Ebracharius had crossed the Vilaine, Warochus sent his son Canao to attack the remainder, still on his side of the river, and many captives were taken; the wife of Warochus later liberated many of them; subsequently Ebracharius and Willacharius were accused of taking bribes from Warochus to lead their army into danger; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 9. The remaining captives from the Frankish army were later released by Warochus at the request of Fredegundis, a circumstance cited by Gregory as proof of collusion between them; Greg. Tur. *HF* X 11.

'Wdn'

dux (?Mesopotamiae) 553

In summer 553 he was ordered by Justinian to help the Antiochene priest Basiliscus to bring back into communion with the Chalcedonians a number of separated communities living in desert areas; he began to expel monks at Amida until checked by Petrus 6; Zach. *HE* XII 6 ('et 'WDN' duci qui forte in pago Hamimthā fuit mandavit ut ... rem probaret') (the date was 'aestate πρώτου, cum annus iam finiretur').

Widin

Gothic comes (in north Italy) ?c. 561

Comes Gothorum; he rebelled against Narses I, was joined by Amingus, but defeated by Narses, captured and sent to Constantinople; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 2. For further details and the date, see Narses, p. 924.

Wiffo

Lombard dux (in Italy) 599

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory in 599 urging him to keep the

peace; Greg. *Ep.* ix 111 (a. 599 Feb.; addressed 'Wiffoni duci'; only a few words of the letter survive).

Wildigernus Visigoth; comes (at Narbo) 589?

A wealthy Visigoth, of noble birth; a *comes* at Narbo and an Arian, he rebelled against Reccared, perhaps in 589, with Granista and the Arian bishop Athalocus; *V. Patr. Emer.* xix 44. See further Granista.

Wiliacharius father-in-law of Chramnus M VI

Father-in-law of Chramnus; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 17. His daughter's name was Chalda; *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28.

Possibly identical with the priest Willacharius who took refuge with his wife in the basilica of St Martin at Tours after Chramnus fled to Brittany from Chlothachar I; they severely damaged the basilica by fire; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 20 (on the text of this and of Fredegar. iii 54, cf. Dalton, ii, pp. 522-3), x 31, *Mir. S. Mart.* i 23 (he personally told Gregory how at this time he was miraculously freed from his fetters by the power of St Martin when taken before Chlothachar), iii 13, Fredegar. iii 54, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 28. The priest Willacharius had a daughter called Theoda and was dead when Gregory wrote the third part of the *Mir. S. Mart.*; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* iii 13.

Wiliaric grandson(?) of Trasaric L VI

Nepu(s) (?grandson or nephew) of Trasaric 2; he was buried in Rome in July 589; *CIL* vi 32050 = *ILCV* 232 = Rossi i 1126 in the church of Santa Prassede (dated under Maurice, ann(o) VII p(ost)c(onsulatum) eiusd(em), and in July of ind. VII).

Wiliarit (*CIL* vi 9379) E VI: *PLRE* II.

Wiliulfus 1 citizen of Poitiers 587

A citizen of Poitiers, he died of dysentery with his stepson near Paris in 587 and was taken back to Poitiers for burial; his wife, whose second husband he was, then married a son of Beppolenus 1; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 13.

Wiliulfus 2 v.inl. (in Spain) L VI/VII

Vir inl(uster), *famulus Dei*, died aged about seventy, buried at Montoro in or after 562; Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas* 167 = *ILCV* 213 Montoro (Corduba) (dated in or after year 600 of the province, era dC...).

Willacharius comes (of Tours 584-?)590

COMES of Orléans, then of Tours a. 584: he served under Guntram as *comes civitatis Aurelianorum* in 584 and was apparently transferred after Chilperic's death to be *comes civitatis Turonum*; he took part with Sicharius 1 in an expedition to subject Poitiers to Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 13 (cum Willachario Aurelianensi comite, qui nunc Turonis acceperat).

COMES (under Guntram) a. 590: in 590 he and Ebracharius were accused of accepting bribes from Waroch and endangering Guntram's army; he fled into hiding; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 9.

He was perhaps *comes* of Tours from 584 to 590, first under Guntram and then from 585 (cf. *HF* vii 33 *ad fin.*) under Childebert; if so, he is identical with the *comes Turonicae urbis* who in 587 persuaded Childebert to dismiss the *dux* Ennodius 2, Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 7, and with the *comes urbis* (of Tours) ordered by Childebert in 590 to send Animodus for trial, *HF* x 5.

Willibadus patricius (in Burgundy) 629-642

A Burgundian (ex genere Burgundionum); Fredegar. iv 78.

PATRICIUS a. 629-642 (in Burgundy): he was *patricius* under Dagobert in 629 and 635, Fredegar. iv 58, 78; and under Clovis II in 642, Fredegar. iv 89-90. See further below.

In 629 he, Amalgarius and Arnebertus murdered Produlfus at St-Jean-de-Losne for Dagobert; Fredegar. iv 58.

In 635 he served under Chadoindus with ten *duces* on an expedition against the Wascones; Fredegar. iv 78.

He became very rich by acquiring in various clever ways the property of others and grew in arrogance through his patriciate and his wealth (inter patriciatu gradum et nimiarum facultatum elationem) so as to scorn others, among them Flaochadus; formerly he and Flaochadus had exchanged solemn oaths of mutual friendship while each, allegedly, oppressed and robbed their subjects; once Flaochadus became *maior domus* (a. 641/642), he began to plot against Willibad; a first attempt to assassinate him, at Chalon in May 642, was foiled but in September 642 Willibad was killed in a battle near Autun by the forces of Flaochadus, Amalgarius, Amalbertus and Chramnelenus, even though he had collected a large force of his own from his patriciate (colligens secum plurimam multitudinem de patriciatu sui termino, etiam et pontifices seu nobiles et fortes, quos congregare potuerat); Fredegar. iv 90, cf. *Vita Eligii* II 28 (*MGH, Scr. Rer. Mer.* iv, p. 715) (Burgundiae patricium). Cf. also Ermenricus and Gyso.



**WINTARIT** (vir magnificus); ?military commander (in Italy) 603

Magnitudo vestra; ordered by pope Gregory, with Gattulus and Romanus 12, to help investigate reports of misconduct among priests at Nursia; Greg. *Ep.* xiii 38 (a. 603 June). See further Gattulus. His name is Germanic and he may have been a Lombard.

Wintrio dux (of Champagne) 585-598; ?patricius 593

Quintrio; Fredegar. iv 14. Wintrio; *elsewhere*.

Dux Campanensis, in 593; Fredegar. iv 14. Dux, in 585, Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18; in 590, Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3 (in Champagne); in 598, Fredegar. iv 18. He is styled 'patricius' in 593 in *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36, but see Gundovaldus 1.

In 585 he temporarily lost his office of *dux*, driven out by his own people and saving his life only by flight; later the people grew calmer and he regained it; Greg. Tur. *HF* viii 18 (Wintrio dux a pagensibus suis depulsus ducatu caruit).

In 590 he was one of the twenty *duces* sent by Childebert II against the Lombards; en route he and Audovaldus, with an army levied in Champagne, plundered the district around Metz; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 3.

In 593 he and Gundovaldus 1 attacked the territory of Chlotharius around Soissons, where they were defeated and narrowly escaped with their lives; Fredegar. iv 14, *Lib. Hist. Franc.* 36. See further Gundovaldus.

He was assassinated at the instigation of Brunichildis in 598 (the third year of Theodebert II); Fredegar. iv 18.

According to the Life of S. Glodesinda, he was the father of Glodesinda (cuiusdam illustris ducis filia, qui dux Wintro vocabatur), the husband of Godila, and brother of Rotlinda; *ASS*, Iul. vi, 203-4 (put in the reign of a king Childeric, possibly an error for Childebert II).

Wiolicus dux (of Guntram) 574

For the name, cf. Förstemann 1554.

Son of Magnacharius, brother of Guntio 1 and Marcatrudis; Fredegar. iii 56.

dux (of Guntram) a. 574: in 574 Wiolicus and Theodefied, 'duces Guntchramni', defeated a Lombard invasion under Taloard and Nuccio at the *villa* of Baccis near the monastery of Agaunum; Fredegar. iii 68, cf. Mar. Avent. s.a. 574.

In 577 he and his brother were put to death by Guntram; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 17 (the two, unnamed, sons of Magnacharius).

See further Guntio.

WISIBADVVS comes (?civitatis Ticinensis) 535/536

A Goth, of noble family, he had defended Ticinum in a time of war and was to be appointed its peacetime governor (in 535/536) by Theodahad (cum generis tui honoranda nobilitas et magnae fidei documenta suasissent, ut tibi urbem Ticinum, quam per bella defenderas, gubernandum pace crederemus), but had to delay taking up the post while, with Theodahad's permission, he sought treatment for gout; Cass. *Var.* x 29 (a. 535/536; addressed 'Wisibado comiti'; he is also styled 'bellicosissimus vir').

Wisegardis wife of Theodebert ?c. 540

Wisegardis, Wisegarda; Greg. Tur., Paul. Diac.

Daughter of Waccho (Vaces), king of the Lombards, and Austrigusa; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 21, cf. Greg. Tur. *HF* iii 20 (cuiusdam regis filiam). Betrothed to Theodebert by his father Theoderic (*PLRE* II, Theodericus 6); Greg. Tur. *HF* iii 20. He eventually married her in the seventh year after the betrothal (cf. Deotera), but she died not long afterwards; Greg. Tur. *HF* iii 27, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* i 21. Also mentioned in Greg. Tur. *HF* iii 33 (cf. Asteriolus). Sister of Walderada (Vuldetrada).

Wittericus king of the Visigoths 603-610

A wealthy Visigothic noble, he took part in the conspiracy of the Arian bishop Sunna in 587 to murder the catholic bishop of Merida, Massona, but betrayed his co-conspirators after the failure of a first assassination attempt and was pardoned by Claudius 2; *V. Patr. Emer.* xvii 38-9, xviii 40-1. He was a strong young man at the time (xvii 39 iuvenis fortissimus) and possibly a *comes civitatis* (xvii 38 the conspirators included 'quosdam Gotorum, nobiles genere opibusque perquam ditissimos, e quibus etiam nonnulli in quibusdam civitatibus comites a rege fuerant constituti').

king of the Visigoths a. 603-610: subsequently he became king of the Visigoths, *V. Patr. Emer.* xvii 38. He deposed and killed Liuva II in 603; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 57-8 (in the twentieth year of Maurice, in year 641 - DCXLI - of the province). He reigned for seven years and nine months before himself being overthrown by Gundemar; *Lat. reg. Visig.* 30 (*MGH, AA* xiii, p. 466), Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 58-9, Fredegar. iv 33.

He waged war against the Romans in Spain but met with little success apart from the capture of Sagontia by his commanders; Isid. *Hist. Goth.* 58. In 607 he responded favourably to a request from the Frankish king Theoderic for the hand of his daughter Ermenberga; in 608 when the

marriage failed he constructed a quadruple alliance with Theodebert, Chlotharius and the Lombard king Agilulf against Theoderic, but nothing came of it; Fredegar. iv 30-1.

Witterit v.d., scutarius (in Italy) 539

Owner of an estate near Faventia adjacent to one sold in 539; Marini, *P. Dip.* 114 = *P. Ital.* 30, line 14 fund(us) Salecto iuris Vvitterit v.d. scutarii. Doubtless an Ostrogoth.

Wulfegundis queen of Dagobert M VII

One of the three *reginae* of Dagobert; Fredegar. iv 60. See Berchildis and Nantechildis.

Wulfus patricius (in Burgundy) 605-607

Vulfos patricius; murdered in 607 at the villa of Faverney (Fauriniaco villa; near Luxeuil) on Theoderic's orders, on the advice of Brunichildis; in 605 he had supported the murder of Protadius; his successor as *patricius* was Ricomer; Fredegar. iv 29.

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FL. XANTHIPPE gloriosa femina ?L VI/E VII

Daughter of Megistus 1, she made a donation at Rome to the church of Santa Maria Maggiore; Marini, *P. Dip.* 91 = *P. Ital.* 17, especially lines 8 (cited under Megistus) and 33 (the donation 'facta a Xanthippi gl(orio)sa f(emina)').

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Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān Arab general M VI

Son of Abū Sufyān and brother of Mu'āwiya, he was one of the commanders sent by Abū Bakr to attack Syria; Balādhurī, p. 108 = Hitti, pp. 166-7 (appointed in place of Khālid, but cf. 'Amr), *Chron.* 1234, cvi. In Feb. 634 he defeated Sergius 43; Balādhurī, p. 109 = Hitti, p. 168, *Chron.* 724 s.a. 634. Sent by Abū 'Ubaydah to help 'Amr subdue the coastal cities; Balādhurī, p. 117 = Hitti, pp. 179-80. Present at the siege of Damascus; Balādhurī, pp. 120ff. = Hitti, pp. 186ff. He was active in the conquest of Syria after the battle of the Yarmuk; Balādhurī, p. 126 = Hitti, pp. 193-4, p. 131 = Hitti, p. 201.

On the death of Mu'ādh ibn Jabal in 639 he was appointed governor

of Syria in his place by 'Mu'ādh but in the same year he too caught the plague and died; Balādhurī, pp. 140-1 = Hitti, pp. 215-17, p. 142 = Hitti, p. 219.

Yazīd: see also Iezidus

Ashtat Yeztayar

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Zaban Lombard dux 574

Zafan; *Auct. Haun. Extr.* Zaban; elsewhere. On the name Zafan, see Schönfeld, p. 272.

He was *dux* of Ticinum in the interregnum after the death of Cleph (in 574); *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 7 (= *MGH, AA IX*, p. 338) (Ticinensium dux), Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* II 32 (cited under Gisulfus 1).

In 574 he, Amo and Rhodan, three 'Langobardorum duces', invaded Gaul; Zaban passed through Die to Valence and plundered the district, then withdrew to Embrun with Rhodan and suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Mummolus 2; they retreated with their surviving followers to Susa in Italy, where Sisinnius 1 was stationed; following a report that Mummolus was at hand, Zaban left the city with all speed; Greg. Tur. *HF* IV 44, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* III 8, *Auct. Haun. Extr.* 7.

Zabardas (vir gloriosus); dux Sardiniae 594

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory dated May 594 giving thanks 'quod talem ducem Sardinia suscepit' and praising him for negotiating with the Barbaricini a peace by which they agreed to become Christian (eo pacto cum Barbaricinis facere pacem disponitis, ut eosdem Barbaricinos ad Christi servitium adducatis); asked to help bishop Felix and abbot Cyriacus to investigate abuses in Sardinia; he is styled 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* IV 25 (a. 594 May; addressed 'Zabardae duci Sardiniae'). *Gloria vestra* indicates a rank higher than that of *dux*; Zabardas was perhaps a *magister militum* (?honorary) appointed to the post of *dux Sardiniae*; see Theodorus 42 (probably his predecessor in the post) and Edantius.

Zabeas Moorish chief 548

Leader of the Moors, he fought in the battle of the Plains of Cato in 548; Coripp. *Ioh.* VIII 384-5 (Zabeas hic, hic Bruten erat, quos deinde secuti mille duces).

Zaberganes 1

Persian envoy c. 540/541

A close associate of the Persian king Chosroes, responsible for the downfall of Mebodes 1; Proc. *BP* I 23.25-6 (early in Chosroes' reign). In 540 at the fall of Antioch he urged Chosroes against showing mercy to the citizens; Proc. *BP* II 8.30-2 (styled τῶν τῆς ἀρχόντων). In 541 he received a letter from the empress Theodora urging him to persuade Chosroes to make peace; he had recently gone to Constantinople on an embassy; Proc. *Anecd.* 2.32-5. In 544 at the siege of Edessa he met envoys from the city with threats and demands for a huge sum of money to end the siege; Proc. *BP* II 26.16-19.

Zabergan 2

Hun leader M VI

Ruler of the Cotrigur Huns; Men. Prot. fr. 3, Agath. v 11.6.

In c. 557 the Huns of Zabergan were receiving annual payments from the Romans; however they were suspected of planning to attack Thrace and Justinian urged the ruler of the Utigur Huns, Sandilch, to make war on them; he refused but agreed to deprive them of their horses; Men. Prot. fr. 3.

In March 559 (for the date, see Joh. Mal. 490) he led his horsemen across the frozen Danube, meeting no resistance as he crossed Moesia and Scythia into Thrace; there he divided his army, sending half to attack Greece and half to seize the Thracian Chersonese; he apparently intended to cross to Asia and seize the customs house at Abydus; Agath. v 11.6-7, 12.4-5. He himself with seven thousand cavalry left to raid the districts close to Constantinople; Agath. v 12.5-7, Joh. Ant. fr. 218. Here he was defeated by Belisarius; Agath. v 19.2-20.2, and see Belisarius, pp. 218-19.

He withdrew from Constantinople and was joined first by his defeated army from the Chersonese and then by his army from Greece; they accepted a ransom of gold from the emperor for the captives they had taken and then withdrew peacefully from Roman territory; Agath. v 20.8, 23.5-9. However Justinian stirred up the Huns of Sandilch to attack the Cotrigur homelands and to waylay the returning army of Zabergan; both tribes then disintegrated through mutual warfare; Agath. v 24-5.

Zabertas

Persian officer 586

Commander of the garrison of Chlomarion when Philippicus laid siege to it in summer 586 (τῆς τοῦ Χλομαρῶν δ' ἄρα οὗτος διαφρουρᾶς τὰς φροντίδας ἀμπέιχετο); he escaped through the Roman army and guided

Persian forces under Cardarigan 1 to the relief of the fort; Theoph. Sim. II 8.7-12.

Zacharias: comes Orientis 527; *PLRE* II.

Zacharias: historian; bishop of Mytilene 536; *PLRE* II.

Zacharias 1

pupil of Choricus E/M VI

Addressee of an oration by Choricus of Gaza on the occasion of his marriage; Chor. *Or.* 5 (ἐπιθαλάμιος εἰς Ζαχαρίαν). He was a pupil of Choricus and both he and his bride came of good family; *Or.* 5. 5-9.11.

Zacharias 2

doctor; ex praefectis; envoy to Persia M/L VI

A native of Sura (in Euphratensis); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.19, 6.12, 6.26.

A doctor, he served in the imperial palace; Men. Prot. fr. 37, 38, 46, 47, 50, 54 (ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καταταττόμενος ἰατροῖς, or similar); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.19 ('sophistam et archiatrum palatii'), 6.12 ('medicus et sophista'). First attested in 567, he was evidently in the confidence of Justin II and his successor Tiberius and was entrusted with important missions at least down to 581; see below.

Styled a 'sophist'; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.19, 6.12, 6.26. He was evidently well educated, as well as a capable doctor, and, to judge by his role on various embassies to Persia and his private conversations with Mebodes (see below), may have spoken Persian (as well as, presumably, Syriac and Greek). The description of him in Mich. Syr. x 2 (cited below) as an archdeacon as well as a doctor perhaps arose from a misunderstanding of *archiatrus* as *archidiaconus*.

According to John of Ephesus (*HE* III 1.19) he was once thought to be a monophysite ('antea orthodoxus, ut putabatur').

In 567 he was at Callinicum when talks with the monophysites on church union took place with Ioannes 81; it was he who delivered a copy of Justin's edict of union to the assembled monophysite bishops and returned with their proposed amendments; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.19, cf. Mich. Syr. x 2 ('il (= Ioannes) leur envoya l'édit de l'empereur, par Zacharias l'archidiacre, médecin en chef'). John implies that it was he who was sent to Callinicum by the emperor with a copy of the edict; in view of his later career as envoy, it is likely that he accompanied Ioannes on his mission from Constantinople to Persia and they had with them the edict of union, for presentation to the monophysites on the way to Persia; see further Ioannes 81.

Envoy to Persia (late 573/early 574), sent by Sophia (Justin by now being deranged) to Chosroes in response to the embassy of Iacobus 2; he arranged a one-year truce (spring 574-spring 575), covering Armenia as

well as Oriens, with the Romans paying the sum of forty-five thousand *solidi*, and promised that a plenipotentiary would be sent later to discuss a more permanent truce; Men. Prot. fr. 37, fr. 38, Mich. Syr. x 9, Bar Hebr., *Chron.*, p. 79.

Envoy to Persia (late 574/early 575), he accompanied Traianus 3 to seek a three-year truce with Persia; Men. Prot. fr. 39, fr. 40, fr. 47, fr. 50, cf. Evagr. *HE* v 12, Nic. Call. *HE* xvii 39 and see further Traianus.

Envoy to Persia (a. 576–a. 577), he accompanied Theodorus 34, Ioannes 90 and Petrus 17 in order to settle outstanding differences following the mission of Nadoes; they met the Persian representative Mebodes 2 at Athraclon; Men. Prot. fr. 46. The talks proved difficult and ill-tempered and an impasse was reached; Zacharias held private conversations with Mebodes, in accordance with secret instructions given him by Tiberius and otherwise known only to Mauricius 4, about the possibility of the Romans purchasing Dara from the Persians, but nothing came of it and the talks dragged on fruitlessly; the envoys eventually returned home empty-handed in 577; Men. Prot. fr. 47, Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.12. Cf. also Ioannes 90 and Theodorus 34.

EX PRAEFECTIS a. 578/579: probably in late 578/early 579 he was given the dignity of honorary prefect in order to raise his status on his next embassy to Persia; Men. Prot. fr. 54 (τοῦτον δὴ οὖν τὸν ἄνδρα τῆ λεγομένη ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων ἀξία διακοσμῆσας, sc. Tiberius).

Envoy to Persia in 579, sent with Theodorus 36 with plenipotentiary powers to negotiate peace with Chosroes (μεγίστων πρέσβων ἔχειν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ὡς ἂν οἶοι τε ἔσονται διατιθέναι); the embassy was at Zacharias' own suggestion; before they reached the frontier they learned that Chosroes had sent an envoy, Pherogdathes, to Constantinople, and were instructed to wait at the frontier for his return; Men. Prot. fr. 54. While they were waiting, Chosroes died (Feb./March 579) and Hormisdas became king of Persia; it was spring when they reached Nisibis and then they were subjected to long delays before they reached the Persian court; they wasted three months here, being received with hostility, lodged and treated badly and eventually dismissed and sent home by a difficult and arduous route without accomplishing their purpose; Men. Prot. fr. 55. This embassy is also mentioned in Joh. Eph. *HE* iii 6.26.

Envoy to Persia in 581, sent again by Tiberius; he met Andigan near Dara for talks about peace, with the commanders of neighbouring cities, both Persian and Roman, taking part; Zacharias made Mardīn his base (cf. Anonymus 89); the talks eventually broke down and Zacharias sent instructions accordingly to tell Mauricius to advance his forces to the vicinity of Constantina; Men. Prot. fr. 60, and cf. Mauricius 4.

Zacharias 3 honorary consul M/L VI  
Ζαχαρία ὑπάτου; Zacos 2832 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (89) of Ζαχαρία; rev.: cruciform monogram (344) of ὑπάτου).

Zacharias 4 MVM M/L VI  
Ζαχαρία str[a]τη[α]tv; Zacos 1675 (seal; obv.: monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει, and the legend ZAXA/PIA; rev.: STR/.ThL/.ΤΥ).

Zacharias 5 silentiarius M/L VI  
Ζαχαρία sile[n]tiariu; Zacos 2833 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (90) of Ζαχαρία; rev.: SILE/.ΤΙΑ/PIU).

Zacharias 6 ?topoteretes (in Egypt) L VI  
Father of Theodorus 59; of illustrious rank, he was 'un général' and served at Bousir as deputy of the *augustalis Alexandriae* Ioannes 169; Joh. Nik. 97.15–16 (p. 531 Zotenberg) ('ce Zacharie était lieutenant de Jean à Bousir, et avait un rang illustre'). Possibly a *topoteretes*.

ZACHARIAS 7 comes (in Egypt) ?VI  
Mentioned in a papyrus of uncertain provenance, possibly from Hermopolis; *P. Grenf.* i 67, 3 = *Stud. Pal.* iii 317 (records a payment – συνθημία – τῷ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐξπελλῶ( ) διδασκά(λω) τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ κόμε(τος) Ζαχαρίου).

Zacharias 8 v.sp. (in Egypt) VI  
A document from the Fayum records a payment connected with the *embole* of barley made to Cyrus 10 and to Zacharias – Ζαχαρίου (sic, for -ῶ) τοῦ περιβλ(έπτου) ὀσπρ(ι)γ(ίτου) (sic); *Stud. Pal.* viii 1111. He was a merchant in pulses; for an unnamed μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ὀσπρειγιτής, see *Stud. Pal.* viii 1114. See further Cyrus and Theodosius 18.

Zacharias 9 curator M VI/M VII  
Ζαχαρία κουράτορος; Zacos 1091 (seal; obv.: ZA/XAP/IA; rev.: KOV/PATO/POC).

Zacharias 10 scribo VI/VII  
Ζαχαρία σκρίβονος; Zacos 570 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.2813 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (90) of Ζαχαρία; rev.: cruciform monogram (305) of σκρίβονος).

Zacharias 11 ?v.c. (in Egypt); chartularius E VII  
Named with Ioannacius 2 in an early seventh-century document; *P.*

*Ross.-Georg.* III 50, line 9. Apparently *chartularii* of a private estate. See Ioannacius.

## Zacharias 12

honorary consul VII

Ζαχαρία ὑπάτω; Zacos 722 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.382 (seal; obv.: eagle with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ZA/XARIA/VIAT/Ω+).

## Zacharias 13

MVM VII

Ζαχαρία στρατ(η)λάτ(η); Zacos 1676 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.599 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +/ZAXA/.IACTP/ATIIA/TEI).

## Zacharias 14

praefectus VII

Z[α]χ[α]ρί[α] ἐπ[ί]ρχου; Zacos 1228 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.253 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: cruciform monogram (91) of ?Ζαχαρία ἐπάρχου).

## Zadespras

Persian rebel 590-591

Ζαδέσπρας, Ζαδεσπράτης; Theoph. Sim., cf. Nic. Call. (Ζαδεπράμ). Released from prison by the Persian king Hormisdas in early 590 to help Pherochanes against the rebellion of Bahram, Zadespras deserted to Bahram at the first opportunity; Theoph. Sim. IV 2.3-5. He was killed in early 591 (between Jan. 7 and Feb. 9; Higgins, p. 42) by Rhosas, not far from Nisibis; Theoph. Sim. V 1.2-16, Nic. Call. *HE* XVIII 21.

## Zadoes

scholarius VII

On the name, cf. Justi, p. 378, s.n. Zādōē.

Ζαδῶη σχολαρίω; Zacos 723 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.3602 (seal; obv.: eagle with open wings, between them a cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: +ZA/ΔΩΗ/ΧΧΟΛΛ/ΡΙΩ, so Nesbitt; the name was read by Zacos as +ZA/ΔΩΝ[1]).

## Zahulfus

envoy of Gundovald 585

Envoy with Zotanus sent by Gundovald to Guntram in 585; arrested and tortured by Guntram, they revealed Gundovald's secrets; Greg. Tur. *HF* VII 32, 33. The two names, occurring in one MS only, are suspect as interpolations; see Goubert, II 1, p. 42, n. 1.

## Zaidus

infantry commander (in Africa) 533

The name is perhaps the Arabic name Zayd or Sa'īd; he will therefore not have been a native of Thrace, where most of his colleagues originated (cf. Proc. *BV* I 11.10).

In 533 he was one of the infantry commanders (ἄρχοντες... πεζῶν) sent with Belisarius on the expedition against the Vandals; he and his colleagues (cf. Theodorus 6) were under the overall command of Ioannes 16; Proc. *BV* I 11.7-8. He is not mentioned by Procopius again.

## Zakai (?Zacchaeus)

schoolmaster; bishop M/L VI

'A certain layman called Zakai, schoolmaster at Edessa' was consecrated bishop by two priests whom he then in turn consecrated as bishops; subsequently deposed by the bishop of Dara and made subdeacon; Mich. Syr. IX 30. The date, from the context, was perhaps c. 569/570.

Zamanarzus (Theoph. AM 6027): see Samanazus.

## Zamerdes

Persian supporter of Chosroes 590

In early 590 he commanded part of Chosroes' army against Bahram; Theoph. Sim. IV 9.2. Later in 590 he conspired with Zoanambes to assassinate Bahram but was captured and killed; Theoph. Sim. IV 14.11, 14.14.

Zames: Persian prince E VI; *PLRE* II.

## Zandalas (Ζανδαλαῖς)

maior domus of Narses 553-554

'Ο τῶν οἰκοτρίβων ὀπαδῶν πρωτοστάτης; together with ὅσον ἄλλο οἰκετικόν καί ὅσοι τομίαι κατευναστήρες, he accompanied Narses I to Ravenna in late 553; Agath. I 19.5 (the total number of these, together with Narses' attendants, bodyguards and official staff, was only about four hundred). 'Ο τῶν ὀπαδῶν ἐπιστάτης; he took part in the battle of Casilinum (autumn 554; cf. Narses) together with τοῦ τε θητικοῦ καί οἰκετικοῦ ὀπόσον οὐκ ἀπόλεμον ἦν; Agath. II 8.2 (they were with Narses on the right flank).

## Zangrulfus

Lombard dux of Verona ?596

In c. 596 he was executed for rebellion against king Agilulf; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 13 (Ago (= Agilulf) rex rebellantem sibi Zangrulfum Veronensium ducem extinxit), *Origo Gent. Lang.* 6, *Hist. Lang. cod. Goth.* 6. For the date, see Gaidulfus.

## Zarter (Ζαρτῆρ)

officer of Belisarius' bodyguard 537

A Hun (Μασσαγέτης); officer (δορυφόρος) of the bodyguard of Belisarius, in Italy in early 537; he and other δορυφόροι were sent with Constantinus 3 to Etruria; Proc. *BG* I 16.1. See further Chorsamantis and Constantinus.

## ZEMARCHVS 1

comes Orientis 560/561

COMES ORIENTIS in late 560/early 561: sent to restore order when violence broke out between orthodox and monophysites (at Antioch, presumably) in Dec. 560; he checked the rioters, exiling some, executing others and confiscating their property; Theoph. AM 6053.

## Zemarchus 2

PVC (II) 565

HONORARY CONSVL: recorded on a bronze weight from one of his prefectures (cited below).

HONORARY PREFECT a. 562; Joh. Mal. 490 (in 562; cited below), Joh. Mal. fr. 51 (in 565; cited below).

CVRATOR DOMVS DIVINAE RERVV PLACIDIAE a. 562: ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπαρχῶν καὶ κουράτωρ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ οἴκου τῶν Πλακιδίας, Joh. Mal. 490; ὁ κουράτωρ τῶν Πλακιδίας, Theoph. AM 6054. He was dismissed from this office on May 3, 562, and replaced by Theodorus 25, following allegations by Georgius 7 and Ioannes 90 that he had spoken against the emperor; Joh. Mal. 490, Theoph. AM 6054.

PVC before 565: Joh. Mal. fr. 51 (see below).

PVC (II) a. 565: in 565 he became PVC for the second time but was dismissed and replaced by Iulianus 15 after violence erupted in the city following his attempt to arrest a young man apparently belonging to the Green faction; Joh. Mal. fr. 51 (καὶ διεδέχθη Ζιμαρχος ὁ ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων ἀνύσας δις τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ ἀρχήν), cf. Vict. Tonn. ad a. 566. The date is determined by the facts that he served under Justinian, was succeeded by Iulianus (still in office when Justin II became emperor), and was preceded by Addaeus (in office in Jan. 565); see also Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 779, n. 4. His name occurs on two bronze weights; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 24, no. 5 (= Pink, col. 59, no. 2): +ἐπὶ Ζιμάρχου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἐπαρχοῦ Ῥώμης; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 25 (= Pink, col. 59, no. 1 = CIG 8984): +ἐπὶ Ζημάρχου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἐπαρχοῦ Ῥώμης (καὶ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων). It also occurs on glass weights; Schlumberger, *Mél.*, p. 320, no. 3 = Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, no. 52: +Ζιμαρχοῦ (sic) τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου, and Jungfleisch, *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* 14 (1932), p. 236, no. 4: +ἐπὶ Ζιμάρχου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου. Cf. Feissel, *Rev. Num.*<sup>6</sup> 28 (1986), pp. 125-6.

## Zemarchus 3

MVM per Orientem 569; envoy to the Turks 569-571

A native of Cilicia; Men. Prot. fr. 19.

Member of the senate of Constantinople; Joh. Epiph. fr. 2 (ἄνδρα τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς).

MVM PER ORIENTEM a. 569: τῶν πρὸς ἑὼ πόλεων τηρικαῦτα ὑπῆρχε στρατηγός, Men. Prot. fr. 19. For the date, see below.

Envoy to the Turks a. 569-571: in August 569 he was sent on an embassy to the khan of the Turks, Sizabulus, accompanying a returning Turkish embassy under Maniach; Men. Prot. fr. 19 (in early August, in the second indiction, and late in the fourth year of Justin), Theoph. Byz. fr. 3, Joh. Epiph. fr. 2. John of Ephesus (*HE* III 6.23, = Mich. Syr. x 10) states that the embassy left in the seventh year of Justin, took one year to arrive and returned home two years after its original departure; in view of the evidence of Menander it is probable that the embassy returned in the seventh year of Justin and that its duration was some two to three years (a. 569-571/572). After a long journey they reached Sogdia and were well received by Sizabulus; he took them with him on a campaign against Persia and then sent them back accompanied by another Turkish embassy led by Tagma in place of Maniach; Men. Prot. fr. 20, Theoph. Byz. fr. 3, Joh. Epiph. fr. 2. They had reached agreement on a treaty between Sizabulus and Justin II; Men. Prot. fr. 43. Zemarchus' return journey is described in Men. Prot. fr. 21-2. It was a long and dangerous journey and their safety was under threat from Persia; Zemarchus sent Georgius 8 on in advance to report their coming to Constantinople, and meanwhile was hospitably received by the Alans under Sarosius (Saroēs) and advised on the safest route home. John of Epiphania records that the Persians suborned some Alans to try to assassinate the envoys (Joh. Epiph. fr. 2) and this was one of the causes of the resumption of war between Rome and Persia in 572.

ZEMARCHVS 4 v.c., tribunus and comes (at Civitavecchia) 590

Husband of Luminosa; a *tribunus* at Centumcellae, he received a *comitiva* which on his death passed to his widow to exercise, either herself or through her nominee, until the end of the current indiction; Greg. *Ep.* 1 13 (a. 590 Dec.; 'Luminosa honesta femina, relicta clarissimi Zemarci tribuni' and see further Luminosa). The *comitiva* was perhaps financial in character, since it was linked to the indiction; cf. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 57, n. 34.

## Zemarcus 5

primicerius numeri(?) (in Italy) ?VI

Zimarcus primicerius nomiri tar votum solvit (sic); *AE* 1951, 92 = *Epigraphica* XI (1949), pp. 68-70 (= *CIL* v 1614 = *ILCV* 488A adn.) from Grado, in the *diaconicum* of the church of Santa Maria. On the date, cf. *AE* 1975, pp. 103-4. Zemarchus was perhaps *primicerius numeri Tar(bisani)* (cf. *AE* 1951, 93) rather than *primicerius notariorum* (as suggested by *CIL* v 1614).

ZENO 1 governor of Egypt 527/548

Grandson of the emperor Anthemius, living in Constantinople under Justinian and Theodora; appointed governor of Egypt by them (τοῦτον δὴ ἐξεπίτηδες ἄρχοντα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καταστησάμενοι ἔστειλλον), he lost a ship-load of gold and silver and precious stones while preparing to leave for Egypt, when the ship was destroyed by fire; according to Procopius the fire was started on the orders of Justinian and Theodora after the cargo had been secretly unloaded; sometime later Zeno died suddenly and his estate was seized by Justinian and Theodora who produced a will (claimed as a forgery by Procopius) naming them as his heirs; Proc. *Anecd.* 12.1-4.

He was in office between 527 and 548, but whether he was *praefectus augustalis* in 527/539 or *dux et augustalis Alexandriae* in 539/548 (after the reforms of 538/539, cf. Rhodon) is impossible to determine.

Zeno 2 Roman officer (in Italy) 537

In late 537 with three hundred cavalry he reached Rome via Samnium and the Via Latina to help reinforce Belisarius; Proc. *BG* II 5.2. In December 537 he was sent as hostage to the Goths in exchange for Vllias to guarantee the three-month truce; Proc. *BG* II 7.13. See Belisarius, p. 201.

The fate of the two hostages when the truce ended in March 538 is not recorded; cf. Proc. *BG* II 10.12.

Zeno 3 advocate (at Constantinople) M VI

A well-known advocate in Constantinople, acquainted with the emperor Justinian and enjoying access to the palace; Agath. v 6.7 (τῶ μὲν τῶν ῥητόρων καταλόγῳ ἀναγεγραμμένος, ἄλλως δὲ διαφανῆς καὶ βασιλεῖ γνωριμώτατος), cf. 7.1 (δικήγορος). He and Anthemius 2, whose house adjoined his, fell out over various matters including a building extension; Zeno had the better of the argument but Anthemius used mechanical tricks with steampipes and mirrors to make his life a misery and he appealed for help to the emperor and the senate; Agath. v 6.7-8.6.

Zeno 4 a secretis VI

Zenonis a secretis; Zacos 1092, Dumbarton Oaks seal 58.106.737, Fogg Art Museum seal 1549 (three seals; obv.: +ZE/NON/IS+; rev.: ASE/CRET/IS).

Zenobius 1 defensor (of Beroea or Edessa, in Macedonia) V/VI

His son Ioannes died aged eight and was buried at Beroea (υἱὸς

Ζηνοβίου τοῦ ΕΔΕ/ἐκδ(ίκου)); Feissel, *Recueil*, no. 71 Beroea (Macedonia). He was either *defensor* of Edessa (τοῦ Ἐδέ(σσης) ἐκδίκου) or more probably *defensor* of Beroea (τοῦ ἔδε(σίμου) ἐκδίκου).

Zenobius 2 scholasticus (at Emesa) M VI

A σχολαστικός at Emesa and a monophysite, to whom Ephraem bishop of Antioch addressed a letter on a question of theological dispute; Phot. *Bibl.* 228.

Zenodorus a secretis 562

A secretis; in Constantinople in late 562 he was one of the commissioners who investigated a conspiracy to murder Justinian; his colleagues were Constantinus 4 (QSP), Iulianus 15 (*magister scrinii*) and Procopius 3 (PVC); Joh. Mal. 494 (Ζηνοδώρου ἀσεκρήτις), fr. 49 (Ζηνοδώρου ἀσεκρήτου).

Fl. Zenophanes (*AE* 1948, 139) VI: *PLRE* II.

Zerezindo Visigothic dux in Baetica 578

Zerezindo dux, f(i)d(elis); he died aged about forty-four on July 30, 578 (in year 616 of the provincial era); buried at Villamartín; Huebner, *Inscr. Hisp. Christ.* 91 = *ILCV* 241 = Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas* 153 Villamartín (in Baetica). The inscription has the Christian symbols: A+Ω.

Zich (Persian envoy): Isdigousnas Zich

Ziebel (Theoph. AM 6117): see Jebu Khak'an

Ziper 1 bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita 546-547

One of the *armigeri* of Ioannes 36 Troglita in Africa in 546 and 547; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 279-80, vi 534-5, 670. In winter 546/547 he fought in the defeat of Antalas; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 291-6. In summer 547 he encouraged Ioannes to join battle at Marta; *Ioh.* vi 533-42. He fought at Marta together with Solumuth; *Ioh.* vi 637-44. In this battle he was killed; *Ioh.* vi 670-2, cf. 537, 640.

Ziper 2 bodyguard, ? of Ioannes 66 Dacnas 556

In 556 he was with the army sent under Ioannes 66 Dacnas against the Misimiani and with others was chosen by him to accompany the soldier Illus on an attempt to scale the fortress of Tzachar by night; he is identified as Ζίπερ ὁ Μαρκελλίνου δορυφόρος; Agath. iv 18.1. This may mean that he was a bodyguard of a Marcellinus, although no

Marcellinus is named by Agathias elsewhere or is identifiable in other sources. Alternatively he was perhaps son of Marcellinus and bodyguard of, presumably, Ioannes Dacnas. Cf. Marcellinus 1.

Fl. Ziper 3 tribunus numeri (in Africa) M VI

+ Mem(oria) Fl(avii) Ziperis trib(u)n(i) n(umeri) pr(i)m(anorum) Fel(iciu)m Iust(inianorum); depositus est in p(a)c(e), agens tribu-natu(m) Rusg(uniis) ann(os) XII; *CIL* viii 9248 = *ILCV* 442 = D 2812 = Pringle, no. 45 (now in Algiers, presumably originally in Rusguniae). Fl. Ziper, evidently a Christian, had been stationed with his unit at Rusguniae (in Mauretania Caesariensis, on the coast) for twelve years when he died. It is not certain when Rusguniae was reoccupied by the Romans, possibly not until 540, if then; cf. Proc. *BV* ii 20.30-2. The date of the inscription, presumably in the reign of Justinian, can hardly be earlier than 552.

He cannot be identical with the bodyguard of Ioannes Troglita.

Zittas MVM (in Sicily) 600

He sent a letter (in Greek - epistolas vestras graeco sermone dictatas) to pope Gregory complaining that certain religious places around Palermo were refusing to reveal to the authorities details of their accounts; Gregory replied that he had ordered the matter to be put right; Greg. *Ep.* x 10 (a. 600 May; addressed 'Zittani magistro militum'); he is styled 'gloria vestra'. For the name, cf. Sittas, Tzittas.

Zoanambes (Ζοανάμβης) Persian conspirator 590

In 590 he conspired with Zamerdes to assassinate Bahram for Chosroes; they were captured and executed; Theoph. Sim. iv 14.11, 14.14. On the name, cf. Justi, p. 386, s.n. Ζοάμβρης.

Zoarab ruler of the Dilimnitae 589

In 589 he and Sarames 2 assassinated Pherochanes and joined the rebellion of Bahram; Theoph. Sim. iv 3.1 (ὁ Ζοαράβ - εἷς δ' οὗτος τοῦ Διλιμνιτικοῦ ἔθνους ἡγούμενος).

Zogomus (Ζώγομος) Arab phylarch 586

In 586 he and Ogyrus led Arab allies of Rome in the army of Philippicus; Theoph. Sim. ii 2.5 (cited under Ogyrus).

Zoilus 1 honorary consul M VI/M VII

Ζω(ῖ)λου ὑπάτου; Zacos 572 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (93) of Ζωήλου; rev.: cruciform monogram (341) of ὑπάτου). Another similar seal occurs in Zacos' series.

Zoilus 2 MVM M VI/M VII

Ζω(ῖ)λου στρατηλάτου; Zacos 573 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (93) of Ζωήλου; rev.: cruciform monogram (327) of στρατηλάτου). Another similar seal occurs in Zacos' series.

Zoilus 3 candidatus E/M VII

Ζωῖλω κανδιδάτω; Zacos 724 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (94) of Ζωῖλω κανδιδάτω).

Zongoes (Ζογγόης) Persian general 605

After the campaign of 605 (cf. Leontius 29) Chosroes returned home leaving his army under the command of Zongoes; Theoph. AM 6096.

Zosimus doctor (East) E VII

A native of Constantinople, he was a doctor (ἀρχιήτρος); he was cured of paralysis by Sts Cyrus and John; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 52 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3617-20).

Zotanus envoy of Gundovald 585

Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 32, 33. See Zahulfus.

Zoticus protovestiarius 565/578

A late and unreliable source records Zoticus as holding office under Justin II and Sophia, when they built the orphanage of St Paul and also the church of 'St Zoticus the Second'; *Patr. Const.* iii 47 (παρίστατο δὲ Ζωτικός ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος αὐτοῦ τοῖς κτίσμασιν). At *Patr. Const.* iii 48, in one MS only, Ζωτικός πατρικίος καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος is recorded under Constantius II. Cf. also Troilus 2.

For *protovestiarius*, the successor of the *comes sacrae vestis*, see Bury, *Imp. Adm. Sys.*, p. 127, Oeconomides, *Listes*, p. 305. The title may be an anachronism in a sixth-century context and is certainly so in a fourth century one. For the buildings recorded in the *Patria*, see Janin, *Églises et Monastères*, pp. 142-3.

Zotto Lombard dux of Beneventum 571-591

dux of Beneventum a. 571-591: the first Lombard *dux* of Beneventum, he held the post for twenty years; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iii 33 (fuit autem primus Langobardorum dux in Benevento nomine Zotto, qui in ea principatus est per curricula viginti annorum). He died in office and was succeeded by Arichis; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 18. Arichis was



## ZOTTO

appointed by Agilulf before July 592 and therefore Zotto's death occurred in 591 or early 592, and, if Paul's figures are correct, he became *dux* in 571 or 572. The fact that the first notice about Zotto is placed by Paul in a section concerned with Authari (584-590) does not prove that Zotto became *dux* in Authari's reign.

Ztathius: king of the Lazi 522-c. 527; *PLRE* II.

Zuchilo Lombard noble E VI  
Brother of Tato (*PLRE* II), father of Waccho (Vaces); *Origo Gent. Lang.* 4, Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* I 21.

Zudius tribunus (in Africa) 546/547  
Tribunus; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 261, 272. In winter 546/547 he fought in the battle in which Antalas was defeated, dismounting to fight on foot; finally he was overwhelmed and killed; Coripp. *Ioh.* v 260-76.

## FRAGMENTARY NAMES AND ANONYMI

...ander vir gloriosissimus, a secretis and biocolytes M VI

He is recorded on an undated inscription from Iulia-Ipsus in Phrygia – διὰ [?]Ἀλεξ[?]άνδρου τοῦ ἐν[δοξο]τάτῳ ἀδοθηκ[ρῆτις] κὲ βίας κωλυτοῦ; *JRS* II (1912), p. 260, no. 21. The name is uncertain, possibly Alexander or Menander perhaps preceded by Flavius (Φλ'). The post of *biocolytes* was created by Justinian (Just. *Nov.* 145) and is attested from 548 to 553; cf. Jones, *LRE* I, p. 294 with n. 60. The combination of this post with the title *a secretis* is surprising, suggesting that the title *a secretis* is here honorific, and apparently conferred the status of *vir gloriosissimus*.

...rnius ...anus (*CIL* VI 3866b = 32057) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...anus (*SEG* VIII 355 = *SB* 6978) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...cius (*CIL* VI 32080) E VI: *PLRE* II.

...cus (*CIL* VI 32955) IV/VI: *PLRE* II.

...dorus (*CIL* VI 32053) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...iaerus (*CIL* VI 32057a) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...is (*CIL* VI 32071) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...ita (*CIL* VI 32080a = x 1868) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...itius patricius M VI

A document from the Fayum, from the reign of Justinian, mentions *bucellarii* τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου τοῦ πατρι[κίου...].ιτίου; *BGU* III 836, line 8. Cf. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985), p. 65, n. 362 from p. 64.

...ius (*CIL* VI 32080a = x 1868) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...ius (*CIL* VI 32082b) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...IVS v.sp., comes (in Egypt) VI/VII

Mentioned in a document from Hermopolis; *Stud. Pal.* III 388, line 1  
...]ίῳ τῷ περιβλέ(πτῳ) κόμει[τι...]

(Fl... )la

?v.c. (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a document from Aphrodito concerning the hiring of land by a shepherd; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67113, lines 1-2 [Φλ. . . . .]λα τῷ λαμπροτ[άτῳ πολίτῃ] [νομ]ένῳ [τῆς] Ἀνταίο/[πολ(έως), υἱοῦ] τοῦ τῆς λαμπ[ρᾶς μνήμης] Ἰω[ά]ννο(υ). A citizen of Antaeopolis and a landowner at or near Aphrodito, and son of Ioannes 156.

...nes

pagarch (in the Fayum) VI/VII

... ]νην τὸν μεγαλο(πρεπέστατον) πάγαρχ(ον); he is styled (recto, line 4) τῇ ὑμετέρῳ μεγαλοπρεπ[είᾳ]; *BGU* II 403 Fayum (the document, very fragmentary, records an agreement by one Menas μείζων and son of Nephervas).

...on

advocatus (at Oxyrhynchus) M VI

Son of Potammon, he was an advocate and a landowner at Oxyrhynchus; *P. Lond.* v 1797, lines 3-4 ... ]ωνι τῷ ἔλλογιμωτάτῳ σχολαστ[ι]κῷ τῆ[ς] / ... υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς μνήμης Ποτάμ-μω[νο]ς. The document, from Oxyrhynchus, is dated in a tenth indiction, possibly on Epiph 18 in a post consulship of Basilus; perhaps therefore the date was July 12 in 547 or 562.

...osius

ex tribunis (in Egypt) VI

Mentioned in a papyrus, of unknown provenance; *Stud. Pal.* VIII 1228, line 5 ... ]όσιος ἀπὸ τριβούν[ων].

...redianus (*Not. Scav.* 1893, p. 62) V/VI: *PLRE* II....s (*CIL* VI 1796, 72 (p. 860) = 32224) V/VI: *PLRE* II....sfa.us (Pais 193) IV/VI: *PLRE* II....sinus (*CIL* VI 32956) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...sius

former defensor (of Diocletianopolis) V/VI

Buried at Beroea on October 1 of an unknown indiction; Feissel, *Recueil*, no. 68 Beroea (Macedonia) (lines 1-4 + Μ[ημ]ό[ρι]ον [δι]α-φ[έρον]/Π[. . . .] ασίω ἀπὸ ἐκδ[ί]κ[η] / [ων. ] ||Ξ|C Διοκλητιᾶ/νουπ(όλεως)).

...SOIVS

v.c., comes (at Gerasa) 535

In 535 he voluntarily gave a performance of the Maiuma at Gerasa; Kraeling, *Gerasa*, pp. 470-1 = *AE* 1903, 331 Gerasa (lines 5-6... σ... σοίου λαμπρ(οτάτου) κόμ(ιτος) αὐτο(νό)/(μ)ου ἐπιτελεσά-ντος).

Fl. . . th. . .

?comes Orientis et sacrarum largitionum ?VI

Building work at Antioch is recorded ἐπὶ Φ[λ' . . .]θ. . . / τοῦ με[γαλ]-ο[π']/καὶ ἐν[δοξ]ο[τ'] κόμ(ιτος)?/τῆς ἐφας [ἐπα?]ρ[χίας?]/καὶ τῶν ἀπαν[τάχ]ου/ θείων λαρ[γισιόν]ων; *IGLS* III 786 Antioch. The inscription is dated ἐν χρό(νοῖς) ἰνδ. ' α' / τ. . ε. φ ἔτους, which cannot be fixed precisely. The titlature recalls that of *IGLS* 1142 (see *PLRE* II, p. 395, Ephraemius) but the restoration is conjectural. The formulae used however indicate a sixth-century date. Probably like Ephraem the man bore the honorific title of CSL and held the post of *comes Orientis*.

...tianus (*CIL* VI 32074) V/VI: *PLRE* II....tinus (*CIL* VI 32948) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

...tius

pagarch of Arsinoe 600

Recorded in a papyrus from the Fayum dated Aug. 8, 600; *P. Lond.* I, p. 212, no. 113, 5(c), lines 6-7 ... ]τίῳ τῷ πανευφήμῳ παγά(ρχῳ)/[καὶ στρατηγ]ῷ τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν καὶ Θεοδοσίου/[πολιτῶν]. He appears to have been of very high rank (πανεύφημος) and certainly pagarch of Arsinoe, but the restoration στρατηγ[ῷ] is very uncertain. Cf. Strategus 10.

...trus (*CIL* VI 32082) V/VI: *PLRE* II.Anonymus: patricius (*CIL* XIII 10032, 12) V/VI: *PLRE* II.Anonymus: comes protectorum et consul ordinarius (*CIL* V 8120, 7) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Anonymus 1

patricius L VI/E VII

Εἰς τῶν πατρικίων; pulled Phocas' beard for supposedly insulting the emperor Maurice; Joh. Ant. fr. 218b (*FHG* V 35). For the date (perhaps late 598) and circumstances, see Phocas 7. After Phocas became emperor, he was executed; Joh. Ant. fr. 218d, and cf. Phocas for other references.

Anonymus 2

patricius 639

Ὁ πατρικίος ὁ κατὰ Ἰέσδην, one of the highest dignitaries in the imperial procession to Hagia Sophia on Jan. 1, 639; Const. Porph. *de cer.*

π 28. See further Nicetas 8. His identity is uncertain; he was perhaps a son of the Persian noble Iesdem.

**Anonymus 3** PPO Illyrici 568

He gave eight hundred *solidi* to Vitalianus 2 in late 568 to pay to Baianus, khan of the Avars, to stop him raiding during a truce; Men. Prot. fr. 28 (ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος ὑπάρχου).

**Anonymus 4** ?PPO Orientis or comes Orientis c. 579

He accepted bribes from Anatolius 8 and would have released him if not prevented by popular feeling; Evagr. *HE* v 18 (τὸν τῆς Ἐφέας ἡγούμενον) (= Nic. Call. *HE* xviii 4).

**Anonymus 5** PPO Africae 589

*Praefectus*, at Carthage in 589; responsible for arranging the journey on to Constantinople of a Frankish embassy from Childeburt (cf. Grippo); Greg. Tur. *HF* x 2. He is the PPO Africae and is not to be confused with the 'senior urbis' (called 'praefectus urbis illius' at *HF* x 4) who led an armed attack on the envoys and is apparently a municipal official with responsibilities for law and order (including the right to summon troops).

**Anonymus 6** ex praefectis 579

Ἐπὶ π(οῦ) ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἀπὸ ἐπάρχ(ων); *IGLS* 502 Dour Samān (Syria). The inscription is dated in 579 (indiction 12 and year 626 of the era of Antioch).

Anonymus: PVR (*CIL* vi 1786) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

Anonymus: ?PVR (*CIL* vi 31530) V/VI; *PLRE* II.

**Anonymus 7** PVC; patricius and honorific PPO? 565/578

Supposedly a high-ranking dignitary (εἰς τις τῶν ἐν τέλει) who at his own request was made PVC by Justin II to stop abuses; he arrested, convicted and made an example of a certain *magister* (Anonymus 21) and as a reward was made *patricius* and prefect for life by Justin (πατρικιον αὐτὸν ἐποίησέ καὶ ὑπαρχον αὐτὸν μέχρι τέλους τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ); Cedr. 1 681-2, Zon. xiv 10. The whole story could be a fabrication intended to show an emperor's love of justice.

**Anonymus 8** PVC 571

Prefect ('ὑπαρχος') at Constantinople to whom the monophysite priest Stephanus was sent for trial; he sent Stephanus back to the

patriarch John; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 1.9 (= Mich. Syr. x 3). The date was 571.

**Anonymus 9** PVC VI

A glass weight, Monneret de Villard, Catalogue C, no. 20a, reads +επι η(?)...τοι(?) δ επαρχδ. The surviving traces are not enough to restore the name.

**Anonymus 10** PVC VI

A glass weight, Monneret de Villard, Catalogue B, no. 1a, reads +Τδ ΕΝΔΟΞΕΣ ΕΠΑΡΣ ΡΟΣ and has a monogram (413) whose meaning is uncertain, possibly СЕРΓΙΟΥ.

**Anonymus 11** ?PVC or PPO 609

According to John of Nikiu 107.9 (p. 542 Zotenberg) Phocas, on learning from his officials in Alexandria (cf. Ioannes 235) that Heraclius was in rebellion, sent the city prefect of Constantinople with a large army ('par l'entremise du préfet de Constantinople, qu'il fit partir pour l'Égypte avec une nombreuse armée') to deliver to military officials at Manūf and Athribis (see Anonymus 117 and Ptolemaeus 5) considerable quantities of supplies ('des subsides considérables'); he also exacted an oath of loyalty from him and made him swear to oppose Heraclius in Egypt.

Nothing further is heard of this person. It seems highly unlikely that a PVC would be sent on a mission of this nature. On the other hand, one of the main functions of a PPO was to organise the commissariat of armies on campaign. Possibly therefore Phocas sent a PPO (?Orientis or *vacans*) from Constantinople to Egypt, not to fight but to see that the soldiers received pay and supplies.

**Anonymus 12** mag. (off.) 578/579

When informed about Romans held captive in Persia, he told the emperor Tiberius (who allegedly ignored the matter); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 6.19 ('cum haec magistro officiorum (μαγιστρός) indicasset'). The date was apparently shortly before the death of Chosroes I.

**Anonymus 13** magister (officiorum) 594

Involved in correspondence with Romanus 8 and pope Gregory concerning bishop Felix of Sardica; Greg. *Ep.* v 6 (a. 594 Sept./Oct.; to the deacon Sabinianus, papal *apocrisarius* at Constantinople; virum excellentissimum magistrum).

## Anonymus 14

PSC 590

Sent by bishop Domitianus of Melitene in autumn 590 to instruct the Persian defenders of Martyropolis to surrender (καὶ δῆτα εὐνοῦχον εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν δορυφορίαν συντεταγμένον αὐτῷ τὸν κορυφαϊότατον, ὃν πραιπόσιτον εἶθισται Ῥωμαίοις ἀποκαλεῖν, ἀνὰ τὴν Μαρτύρων πόλιν ἐξέπεμψε); Theoph. Sim. iv 15. 12. The man was apparently PSC, but it is possible (though not so stated by Theophylact) that he was in the service of the Persian king Chosroes, not the emperor Maurice.

## Anonymus 15

sacellarius c. 598/599

He accompanied bishop Domitianus to the east to persecute monophysites and killed many delivered to him at Edessa; *Chron.* 1234, lxxxii ('iussum dedit duci militum, qui cum eo missus fuerat ab imperatore et vocabatur sacellarius').

## Anonymus 16

curator (divinae domus) 571/572

'Regis curator', sent to intimidate Andreas 8 in the palace of Hormisdas into communicating with the Chalcedonians; he failed, and reported his failure to the emperor (Justin II); *Joh. Eph. HE* iii 2.9. Perhaps *curator divinae domus rerum Hormisdae*.

## Anonymus 17

curator domus divinae (at Antioch) c. 579

He defended the crypto-pagan Anatolius 8, although allegedly warned by the Theotokos that to do so was an insult to her Son; *Evagr. HE* v 18 (καὶ μέγας δὲ εἰς τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν προεστῶς). It is possible that μέγας should be taken as the proper name Megas and this man identified with Megas 2.

## Anonymus 18

?MVM (in Palestine) 531/532

Στρατηγός, assisted by Summus (*PLRE* II; *dux Palaestinae*) in 531/532 in taking a stronghold of marauders (?Arabs); *Chor. Or.* 4.21.

## Anonymus 19a

MVM (in Egypt) 537

Addressee of a document found at Aphrodito and dated Oct. 30, 537; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67123, lines 2-3 ... τ]ῷ ἐνδοξο[τά]τῳ καὶ πανευφύμῳ στρατ[η]λάτῃ, υἱ[ῷ] το(ῦ) [τῆ]ς/[μακαρίας μνήμ(ης) Κο]μήτο(υ) (?). Possibly a wealthy local with an honorific title.

## Anonymus 19b

MVM (?honorific) (Egypt) 553

Son of Theodorus and brother of Strategius 2; he was apparently a στρατηλάτης; *BGU* II 364 (cited under Strategius).

To judge by the coincidence of names and locations, this man and his brother may have been related to Strategius 10. Their dates suggest a previous generation. Perhaps this man was none other than Theodorus Κιλίου, father of Strategius 10.

## Anonymus 20

?MVM (East) 566

A general of Justin II, sent to Apamea in 566 where he took forceful possession of some wood from the True Cross, took it first to Antioch, then sent it on to Constantinople where it arrived on December 10; *Mich. Syr.* x 1 ('a' general'), *Agapius*, p. 175 = 435 ('one of his, sc. Justin's, lieutenants').

## Anonymus 21

magister (?MVM or Mag. Off.) 565/578

Subject of an anecdote recorded in later sources to illustrate the regard in which Justin II held justice and fairness; μαγιστρός τις, accused of wronging a widow, he ignored a summons from the prefect (Anonymus 7) and was arrested by him while dining at the emperor's table; he was convicted and punished and his property was given to the widow; *Cedr.* I 682, *Zon.* xiv 10. The story may be fiction.

## Anonymus 22

MVM and honorary consul; ?dux Thebaidis VI

In authority at Antioch; *P. Fouad* 86 (provenance unknown) (he is styled τὸν ὑπερφύεστατον στρατηλάτην καὶ ὑπατον - the writer of the document fears that he will pay heed to a troublemaking monk and cause more trouble for the monasteries and the monks). In the circumstances it is very likely that he was the *dux et augustalis Thebaidis* but is alluded to in this document by his two most prestigious titles, those of honorary MVM and honorary consul (both regularly held by *duces* of the Thebais, cf. *Fasti*).

## Anonymus 23

?MVM (on Rhodes) c. 622/623

In c. 622/623 the Persians seized Rhodes, captured the 'strategus' and took many prisoners away to Persia; *Chron.* 724, p. 147 = p. 113 (this was in the same year, a. 934 Sel., as Heraclius began his campaign against Persia).

## Anonymus 24

MVM 622/623 or 623/624

He was left in command of the army of Heraclius in Armenia in 622/623 (or 623/624) when the emperor returned for the winter to Constantinople (τὸν στρατὸν σὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ καταλιπὼν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν); *Theoph. AM* 6113 ad fin., cf. *Georg. Pisid. Exp. Pers.* III 337 (καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ τὸν στρατὸν συναρμόσας) (in 623?; Heraclius left his

army in Pontica after defeating the Persians and returned to Constantinople). Cf. Stratos, 1, pp. 142-3 (suggesting that he was the brother of Heraclius, Theodorus 163).

**Anonymus 25** ?MVM (East) c. 629

A native of Mabbug (Hierapolis), he was related to bishop Severus of Samosata; he was a general and is said to have received the wood of the True Cross from the Persian Shahrbaraz, carried it back from Persia and delivered it to the emperor Heraclius at Mabbug; he had a son who died unbaptised, was restored to life and baptised by Severus and then died a second time; Mich. Syr. xi 7.

**Anonymus 26** MVM (Italy) E VII

Mag(ister) mil(itum), at Ravenna; husband of Melissa; father of Deusdedit 4 (subdiaconus); Marini, *P. Dip.* 94 = *P. Ital.* 21 (a. 625).

**Anonymus 27** ?MVM (at Arsinoe) VII

*Stud. Pal.* iii 72, lines 3-4 τοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξοῦ μνήμη[ς]/[.....<sup>12</sup>.....γεν]ομένου στρατηλάτου ταύτης τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως. The document, from Arsinoe, is assigned by the editors to the seventh century. The man, dead at the time of the document, was husband of Fl. Didyma. He was apparently *vir gloriosissimus* and *magister militum* of Arsinoe; presumably he commanded the troops garrisoned there and may have been the *dux Arcadiae*, a post attested under the Arabs; cf. *P. Grenf.* ii 100 (a. 683), *SB* vi 9460 (a. 699/700), *BGU* i 323 (see Papnuthius).

**Anonymus 28** army commander (Syria) M VII

Described as 'the Greek patrician who was at Antioch', he assembled a large army (allegedly seventy thousand strong) to recover Damascus but was thwarted by Khālid; Agapius, p. 470.

**Anonymus 29** Roman senator ?537/538

A member of the senate in Rome (ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς); he met Procopius 2 (the historian) in Rome and told him of a prophecy that the ruler of Rome would one day be overthrown by a eunuch; Proc. *BG* iv 21.10. Procopius is attested in Rome only in 537-538.

**Anonymus 30** vir gloriosus 599

Addressee of a letter from pope Gregory complaining about remarks made by the exarch of Italy; his name is lost from the address but he is styled 'gloria vestra'; Greg. *Ep.* ix 95 (a. 599 Jan.).

**Anonymus 31** vir gloriosissimus, comes (?Orientis) M VI

An inscription from Syria defining the limits of asylum at a shrine of the protomartyr Stephen granted by Justinian is dated in the time of the patriarch Domninus (a. 545-559, or ?567) and (ἐπι) τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κόμ(ητος) [. . .]ν θεοφφ/Ἡρακλείου Ἀνδρα (καί) Ἰωάννου πρρ [. . .]; *IGLS* 618 = *Princ. Exp. Syr.* iii, n. 29 Gouwānīyē (near Antioch). It seems that Heraclius, Andr(e)as and Ioannes are θεοφιλέστατοι πρεσβύτεροι and that the name of the *comes* is not given; the alternative, that Heraclius was κόμης [τῶ]ν θεοφ(ιλεστάτων) (?what) is meaningless since θεοφιλέστατοι denotes religious persons of some kind. The *comes*, unqualified in this sort of context, is perhaps the *comes Orientis*; the omission of the name, though, in what is apparently an attempt to date the inscription, is strange.

**Anonymus 32** vir gloriosus M VI

Father of Anonyma 2; *P. Oxy.* 3204. His name probably ended . . .ων[ο]ς. He was dead by Jan. 1, 588.

**Anonymus 33** illustrius (in Egypt) 591/592

Mentioned in a fragment of papyrus from Heracleopolis (which also names Anastasia 3, *illustris femina*); *P. Erl.* 87, lines 10-11 διὰ σοῦ Φλα/[ουίου...τοῦ ἐν]δοξοτάτου ἐλλ/... Probably ἐλλ(ουστρίου); cf. Anastasia.

**Anonymus 34** vir gloriosissimus, pagarch VI

A document from Oxyrhynchus, *P. Oxy.* 1829, apparently concerns the fulfilment of the terms of this man's will. It consists of two sections, the first addressed to his son or daughter and the second to his son-in-law or daughter-in-law; in both the writer (unidentified) states that he has heard from the civil governor (ἄρχων) that the late pagarch's will has been published (lines 1-2 οἱ τύποι παραρχίας τοῦ τῆς ἐνδοξ(ου) μνήμης ὑμῶν πάτρος, cf. lines 11-12 οἱ τύποι of the addressee's father-in-law). See further Cyra and Strategius 5.

**Anonymus 35** illustrius and pagarch (of Oxyrhynchus?) VI

Mentioned in a document from Oxyrhynchus; *PSI* viii 955, line 39 . . .]α τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) ἰλλουστρίου) παρχ[άρχου]?

**Anonymus 36** illustrius (in Egypt) ?VII

Named in the same document as Iustus 10 and Fl. Papnuthius, from Arsinoe; *BGU* i 323, lines 3-4 τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἰλλουστρίου καὶ κτ[...]/τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλεως.

**Anonymus 37** illustrius and pagarch (of Arsinoe) ?VII

Mentioned in a papyrus from somewhere in the Fayum (?Arsinoe); *BGU* II 396, lines 4-5 ...] ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἰλλουστρίῳ καὶ παγάρχ[ῳ] ταύ[της]/[τῆς Ἀρσινοϊτῶν πόλει]ς.

Anonymus: v.sp. (*CIL* VI 1786) IV/VI; *PLRE* II.

**ANONYMVS 38** (v.sp.), consularis Liguria 533/537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to order tax-collectors in Liguria not to collect the taxes from certain estates whose owner had offered to pay them himself directly to the *arcarii*; *Cass. Var.* XII 8 (addressed 'consulari provinciae Liguriaie'; he is styled 'spectabilitas tua').

**ANONYMVS 39** v.sp., tribunus et notarius (in Italy) 534

He ended his career in the *officium* of the PPO Italiae as *primiscrinus* in 534; on retirement he was instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to present himself at court to make adoration and be confirmed as v.sp., *tribunus et notarius*; *Cass. Var.* XI 20 (title: de primiscrinio qui egreditur) spectabilitatis honore suffultus inter tribunos et notarios venerandam purpuram adoraturus accede, ut per sacros aspectus principis tuae subsistat firmitas dignitatis. Cf. Jones, *LRE* II 588-9 with n. 61.

He is presumably identical with the (unnamed) retiring *primiscrinus* to whom Cassiodorus ordered the payment of so many *solidi* in 534 (cf. *Lucinus* 1); *Cass. Var.* XI 37.

**ANONYMVS 40** dux Thebaidis 538/545

'Dux Thebaidis'; he detained Justinian's envoy to the Nobades so that Theodora's envoy could reach them first; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 4.6. On the date, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 302, n. 1.

**ANONYMI 41** (two) duces (in Byzacena) 546/547

In a speech attributed to *Ioannes* 36 Troglita after his victory over the Moors in Byzacena in 546 are the words: *Byzacii geminis ducibus sit maxima cura Massylas acies acie turbare sequaci, sollicitis tristes gladiis urguere phalanges et procul a nostris expellere finibus hostes*; *Coripp. Ioh.* VI 49-52. There were therefore two *duces Byzacenaie* by this date, but their identification among the various commanders under *Ioannes* Troglita is not obvious; cf. *Putzintulus*.

**ANONYMVS 42** comes 'navium' (?at Constantinople) 571

Brother of the monophysite bishop of Antioch, Paul; after Paul's escape from custody at Constantinople (571) he was himself arrested; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 2.8 ('et tandem frater eius qui erat comes (κόμης) navium comprehensus est et in tribulationem incidit').

Perhaps he was *comes* at Hieron or Abydos. Cf. *Theodorus* 155 and *Ioannes* 7.

Probably a native of Alexandria; see *Honigmann, CSCO, Subsidia* 2 (1951), p. 195.

**ANONYMVS 43** dux (at Emesa) 581

The Arab phylarch Alamundarus, arrested by *Magnus* 2 in 581, was handed over to the *dux* at Emesa to be sent to Constantinople; *Chron.* 1234, lxxiii ('duci (δοῦκας) civitatis (= Emesa) qui eum imperatori in urbem imperialem mitteret'). Cf. however *Magnus*.

**ANONYMVS 44** dux (Arabiae) c. 582

'Dux' (δοῦξ) at Bostra, 'vir inclitus et clarus', defeated by *Naamanes* 3 (al-Nu'man) in c. 582; *Joh. Eph. HE* III 3.42.

**ANONYMVS 45** praetor plebis 598/599

A murderer and thief was arrested by seven men from this official's staff (ἐκ τοῦ λεγομένου πραιτώρος τῶν δήμων); *Theoph. Sim.* VI 10.6.

**ANONYMVS 46** v.sp., comes (in Egypt) VI

Addressee of a document from Oxyrhynchus; *P. Oxy.* 1868 verso (τῶ τὰ πάντα λαμπρο(τάτῳ) καὶ περιβλέπτῳ κόμει(τι) σ[...]), cf. recto, line 1, styled τὴν σὴν γνησίαν λαμπρότητα. He was associated with *Lamason*.

**ANONYMVS 47** vicarius (?loci servator) Palaestinae Secundae VI

An inscription from Beersheba, incomplete but concerned with taxation, records ὁ βικάριος δευτέρ(ας) Παλαιστίνης ὁ προβ(αλ)λόμενος; *Rev. Bibl.*, n.s. III, p. 88. It is not clear what sort of official he was; possibly a deputy of the PPO (τοποτηρητής) in the province concerned with taxation. For a possible parallel, see *Anatolius* 8 (governor of

Osrhoene and ἀντιπάρχος), and see also Just. *Nov.* 134.1 (a law of 556, attempting to regulate such appointments).

ANONYMVS 48 praefectus Augustalis E VII

A praefectus augustalis who employed fourteen copyists to multiply theological texts altered to conform with monophysite ideas; Anast. Sin. *Hod.* (PG 89, col. 184-5) (after the death of the patriarch Eulogius, γέγονέν τις Αὐγουστάλιος ἐνταῦθα Σεσηριανός, i.e. follower of Severus).

ANONYMVS 49 governor of Palaestina Prima E/M VI

Son of Maria 1; Chor. *Or.* 7.8, 7.21. He was a native of Gaza. Brother of Anastasius 2, Marcianus 1 and a third brother who was a lawyer; Chor. *Or.* 7 title, and cf. Anastasius, Marcianus and Anonymus 63. He also had four sisters; Chor. *Or.* 7.5.

GOVERNOR (?CONSULARIS) OF PALAESTINA PRIMA: at the date of the funeral oration on his mother, he held office (ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ πλεονεξίας) as a judge (κριτής); Chor. *Or.* 7.8. He was the provincial governor at Gaza (ὁ τὴν ἡμετέραν λαχὼν πρυτανεύειν ἀρχήν), i.e. governor of Palaestina Prima; Chor. *Or.* 7.21. He travelled to Constantinople while in office, with a petition to the emperor; Chor. *Or.* 7.22 (he supposedly fell ill but was cured by his mother in a dream).

ANONYMVS 50 ?governor of Palestine c. 531

'Praefectus Palaestinae', ordered to pay the taxes of Palestine to the special envoy of Justinian (Anonymus 65) in order to rebuild churches damaged in the Samaritan revolt of 530; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1070.

ANONYMVS 51 (v.c.) ?deacon 533

Father of Praetextatus Salventius Verecundus Traianus 1 and of Salventius; of senatorial descent; in 533 he was in holy orders (levita; perhaps a deacon); *CIL* VI 32038 with p. 3814 = Rossi I 1031 = *ILCV* 135.

ANONYMVS 52 ?governor of Osrhoene c. 542/543

Ὁ τὴν πόλιν (= Edessa) ἐπιτροπεύων; produced a letter supposedly from Ioannes 30 of Edessa leaving his property to the emperor; Proc. *Anecd.* 12.10. The phrase probably denotes the governor of Osrhoene, of which Edessa was the metropolis. For the date, see Ioannes.

ANONYMVS 53 v.c., palatinus (Italy) M VI

[Hic requiescit in pace...] v.c. palat(inus); *AE* 1977, 209b Nola (a large stone in the basilica which also contains the epitaph of Ianuarius 1). The date was in or soon after 541 ([tunc cons(ulatu)Ba]sili v.c.).

ANONYMVS 54 comes and curialis (in Egypt) 579

Recorded in a document found at Oxyrhynchus, dated a. 579 and apparently addressed to him; *P. Oxy.* 2002 ... ]σὺν Θ(ε)ῶ κόμ(ε)τι καὶ πολιτ(ευομένῳ).

ANONYMVS 55 provincial governor or dux (?of Lower Moesia or Scythia) 582

He captured Boocolabras at the city of the Libidini (τὴν Λιβιδινῶν πόλιν, on the Danube), believed his story and sent him to the emperor; Theoph. Sim. I 8.6-7 (τινος τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν ἐς φρουρὰν συντεταγμένων τοῦ Ἰστρου). For the date, see Men. Prot. fr. 66 and cf. Boocolabras. The place may be Beledina, on the Danube in Lower Moesia or Scythia (cf. Proc. *Aed.* IV 11).

ANONYMVS 56 governor (consularis) of Campania 591

Unnamed governor of Campania (iudex provinciae), before whom pope Gregory ordered the rector of Campania, the subdeacon Anthemius, to send for trial a Jew accused of receiving church vessels; Greg. *Ep.* I 66 (a. 591 Aug.).

ANONYMVS 57 praeses Sardiniae 595

Unnamed governor of Sardinia (iudex insulae), reported by pope Gregory to the empress Constantina in 595 for permitting pagan practices in return for bribes; Greg. *Ep.* v 38 (a. 595 June 1). Cf. Spesindeo.

ANONYMVS 58 young noble M/L VI

A young man of noble birth, living in the house of Calopodius 2 at Constantinople, cured of an eye injury by Eutychius; Eustrat. *V. Eutych.* 85 (PG 86, col. 2372) (νεώτερός τις τῶν εὐγενῶν παραμενῶν Καλοποδίου τῷ πριμικηρίῳ Αὐγουστής).



*ANONYMVS* 59 comes and riparius (Egypt) VI  
Mentioned in a papyrus from the Fayum; *Stud. Pal.* III 138, line 2  
... Ἰκόμετι καὶ ῥιπαρίῳ of Arsinoe. He was a *riparius* of Arsinoe with the  
title of *comes*.

*ANONYMVS* 60 comes et tribunus VI/VII  
Addressee of a petition from three *scholastici* (cf. *Ioannes* 219) about a  
*chartularius*; *P. Oxy.* 128 recto + δεσπ(ότη) ἡμῶν τ(ῶ) πάντ(ων) ἐνδοξ-  
(στάτῳ) π(αν)ευφ(ήμῳ) κρείττ(ον)ι κομιτοτριβ(ούνῳ). On the close link  
between the titles *comes* and *tribunus*, see Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 57, n. 34.  
This man was presumably the *comes et tribunus* stationed at Oxyrhynchus.

*ANONYMVS* 61 vir magnificus, comes (in Egypt) VI/VII  
Ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος ὑμῶν υἱὸς ὁ κόμης; he wrote asking his  
correspondent to ask a bishop Senuthis to put pressure on a priest to  
behave justly; *P. Grenf.* II 93 provenance unknown.

*ANONYMVS* 62 governor (of Edessa) 627/628  
Governor of Edessa under Persian rule; by his delay in obeying orders  
from Chosroes to transport the population of Edessa to Persia until  
Heraclius arrived, he is said to have saved many lives; *Chron.* 1234, xcvi  
(‘the marzban, prefect of Edessa’), Agapius, p. 460. Cf. also Cyrus  
(Qourā) 16.

Anonymus: palatinus (*CIL* XIII 2479) V/VI: *PLRE* II.

Anonymus 63 advocate E/M VI  
Son of Maria I, brother of Anastasius 2, Marcianus I and Anonymus  
49; a native of Gaza, he was a lawyer; *Chor. Or.* 7.5, 7.8.

Anonymus 64 brother of Radegundis E/M VI  
A brother of Radegundis (and therefore of royal Thuringian descent),  
he was murdered by Chlotharius I; *Greg. Tur. HF* III 4 (the only  
survivor of several brothers), 7, *Ven. Fort. V. S. Radeg.* 12. See further  
Radegundis.

Anonymus 65 agent of Justinian c. 531  
Envoy (‘legatus’) of Justinian, sent with Saint Saba to rebuild  
churches in Palestine damaged in the Samaritan revolt (of 530); on his

return to Constantinople he was questioned on his church building  
activities at Bethlehem and executed for diverting public funds into his  
own pocket; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1070. See Anonymus 50.

Anonymus 66 canonicarius Venetiarum 533/537

Instructed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) to procure for  
the royal court fresh supplies of a particular wine from the landowners  
of Verona, where it was a local speciality; *Cass. Var.* XII 4 ‘addressed  
‘canoniaro Venetiarum’).

Anonymus 67 canonicarius Venetiarum 536/537

Informed by the PPO Cassiodorus Senator (*PLRE* II) that the king  
had ordered estates recently plundered by the Suebi to be exempt from  
taxation for the current fifteenth indiction (Sept. 536/Aug. 537); *Cass.*  
*Var.* XII 7 (addressed ‘canoniaro Venetiarum’). This raid by the Suebi  
is also recorded in *Cass. Var.* XII 28 (where they are called Alamanni);  
cf. Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 349, n. 1 and *Jord. Get.* 280–1.

*Canonicarii* were sent out annually; cf. Jones, *LRE* I 450 with n. 98.

Anonymus 68 Roman; envoy of the Goths 537

A Roman, highly regarded by the Goths who sent him as envoy with  
two Goths to Belisarius at Rome in late 537 to discuss peace; *Proc. BG*  
II 6.3 (‘Ρωμαῖον ἄνδρα ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμον’).

Anonymus 69 ?officer (in Lazica) 548–549

Brother of Dagisthaeus 2, with whom he apparently served in Lazica  
in 548 and 549; Dagisthaeus considered that the emperor should reward  
both of them for the capture of Petra; *Proc. BP* II 29.40. Presumably  
therefore he held a command in the army under Dagisthaeus.

Anonymus 70 Gothic comes (in Italy) 548–549

A Goth, he commanded the Gothic army which captured Perugia in  
early 549, then wrote to Totila for instructions what to do with the  
bishop Herculianus and the people; *Greg. Dial.* III 13 (tunc comes, qui  
eidem exercitui praecerat). Perugia fell while Belisarius was on his way  
back from Italy to Constantinople; see *Proc. BG* III 35.2 and cf.  
Belisarius, p. 216.

Anonymus 71 adopted son of Phocas M VI

Son of Theoprepes, adopted by Phocas (*PLRE* II, pp. 881–2) and brought up to outdo Phocas in generosity; Joh. Lyd. *de mag.* III 75.

Anonymus 72 Frankish prince M VI

An unidentified Frankish boy was buried beneath the cathedral at Cologne around the mid sixth century; he was about six years old and was probably a member of the Frankish royal house (a small wooden stick found in the tomb was possibly a royal sceptre); see Lasko, *The Kingdom of the Franks* (1971), pp. 46 ('with full warrior's equipment'), 54–5, and Doppelfeld, in *Germania* 38 (1960), p. 89, note. Cf. Anonyma 6.

Anonymus 73 ?vir gloriosus (Egypt); advocatus (fori Thebaidis) M VI

Father of Fl. Theodorus 27; he died before March 31, 567; *P. Cairo Masp.* 67312, lines 6–7 τοῦ τῆς ἐ[ν]δ[όξο(ν)] μνήμ[ης] ?Φοιβάμων[ος] γεγόνητος (sic) σχολαστικο(ῦ) φόρου Θεβαΐδος. This man can certainly not be identified with Phocbammon 7, who was still alive in 569.

Anonymus 74 comes civitatis Ecolismensis M VI

Comes at Angoulême and a friend of the recluse Eparchius; he featured in an anecdote in which the recluse saved a criminal, and for which the comes himself was Gregory's informant; Greg. Tur. *HF* VI 8 (iudex; comes), *Glor. Conf.* 98 (comes antedictae urbis Equolesinensis). Eparchius died in 581. Cf. Ramnulfus and Waragulfus.

Anonymus 75 spatharius of Narses M VI

A Bulgar, *spatharius* of Narses 1, present in the house of Valerianus 2 at Rome when there was an outbreak of plague; Greg. *Dial.* IV 27 (praedicti Narse spatarius vulgar).

Anonymus 76 commerciarus (in Palestine) M VI

... κωμερκιάριος, ἀνεψιός Ἀρεοβί[νδου]; buried in indiction one, in year 104 of the local era; *Rev. Bibl.* I, p. 581, n. 40 Jerusalem. For the date of this inscription and the identification of Arcobindus, see Stein, *Bas-Emp.* II 215, n. 1 from 214, and Ariobindus 4.

Anonymus 77 curator (?regionis) (at Constantinople) 561

In Nov. 561 the *comes excubitorum* Marinus 2 was sent σὺν τῷ κουράτορι τῶν Καισαρίου to try to stop a circus riot but failed; Theoph. AM 6054. The *curator* of τὰ Καισαρίου was perhaps one of the *curatores regionum* (possibly the third) at Constantinople; cf. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 56–7, 337.

Anonymus 78 v.c. et spectabilis, magister (in Egypt) 566/567

Addressee of a petition from Aphrodito (from Fl. Dioscorus 5) concerning misdeeds by the pagarch Menas 5; *P. Lond.* v 1677, lines 2–3 τῷ ἀλ[η]θείνῳ ἀγάθῳ δεσπότῃ μου καὶ φιλανθρωπ(οτάτῳ) εὐεργέτῃ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ περ[ιβλ]έπτῳ μαγίστῃ. The papyrus, from Antinopolis, is dated c. a. 566/567; see *P. Lond.* v, p. 69, and cf. *P. Cairo Masp.* 67002. The *magister* is here perhaps an *officialis* of the *serinium a libellis* of the *dux Thebaidis* whose duty it was to forward such petitions for the attention of the *dux*; see Rouillard, *Adm. Civ.*, p. 151, but cf. also *P. Lond.* v, p. 69.

Anonymus 79 Turkish envoy 570/571

Son of Maniach; sent by the Turkish khan Sizabulus to accompany Zemarchus 3 back to Constantinople as envoy with Tagma in 570/571; after Maniach died the son was given his father's dignity; Men. Prot. fr. 20.

Anonymus 80 ruler of the Uguri c. 570/571

Ὁ τῶν Οὐγούρων ἡγούμενος; a subject of the Turkish khan Sizabulus, he helped the embassy of Zemarchus 3 on its homeward journey; Men. Prot. fr. 21.

Anonymus 81 ruler of the Choliatae c. 570/571

Ὁ τῶν Χολιατῶν ἡγεμών; he received permission from the Turkish khan Sizabulus to send some of his people to accompany the returning embassy of Zemarchus 3 and see the Roman empire; Men. Prot. fr. 21.

Anonymus 82 magister (?xenodochii) 573/574

John of Ephesus mentions an unnamed *magister* ('μαίστρος') in whose

custody a certain John 'super paganos' was placed; John was detained in the *xenodochium Eubuli* (at Constantinople); Joh. Eph. *HE* III 2.6 (6 *ad fin.*, in the translation, has the words 'in xenodochio vestro'), cf. 7 for the date.

Anonymus 83 king of the Suani 576

Suanorum rex; captured alive with his wife and children by Romanus 4 and carried off to Constantinople with his treasury; his country was annexed to Roman rule; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 576.2.

Anonymus 84 Persian magister officiorum 579

Ὁ παρὰ Πέρσαις τῆς αὐλῆς ἡγεμών, also alluded to as τῶ παρὰ Πέρσαις μαγίστρῳ; in 579 he and Mebodes 2 spoke to the envoys Zacharias 2 and Theodorus 36 on behalf of Hormisdas; Men. Prot. fr. 55.

Anonymus 85 Persian a secretis 579

A Persian official sent to meet the envoys Zacharias 2 and Theodorus 36 in 579; they refused to have anything to do with him because he was the wrong official; his post was equivalent to that of a *secretis*, not *magister officiorum* (τῶν τις παρὰ Πέρσαις τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τε καὶ δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ἐξυπηρετουμένων, οὓς, εἴ τις τῇ Λατινῶν χρῆσοιτο φωνῇ, ἀσηκρῆτις προσαγορεύσειεν); Men. Prot. fr. 55.

Anonymus 86 ?praeses Osrhoenae or vicarius of the PPO 579/580

Brother of the monophysite bishop of Alexandria, Damianus (578–604), he was a prefect ('ὑπαρχος') at (or ?of) Edessa; Mich. Syr. x 17, 22. Rather than a PPO, he was perhaps the provincial governor, or possibly the *vicarius* of the PPO in Osrhoene (cf. Just. Nov. 134.1 and see Anatolius 8). For the date, cf. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites (CSCO, Subsidia 2, 1951)*, p. 241.

Anonymus 87 Avar envoy c. 580

Envoy of the Avar khan, Baianus, to Tiberius in c. 580; on his return journey he was killed with his Roman escort by raiding Slavs in Illyricum; he was a close adviser to the khan and urged him to make war on the Romans; Men. Prot. fr. 64. Cf. Solachus.

Anonymus 88 thesaurarius (of Chlodovechus) 580

The treasurer of Chlodovechus, he was arrested at Bourges in late 580, delivered to Fredegundis and condemned to be tortured; following the intervention of Gregory of Tours, he was not tortured and eventually recovered his liberty; Greg. Tur. *HF* v 39 (thesaurarius Chlodovechi). Cf. Cuppa.

Anonymus 89 protector (on the eastern frontier) 581

Ὁ δὲ γε τῶν μεθορίων λεγόμενος προτίκτωρ (δηλοῖ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τὸν ἐς τοῦτο καταλεγόμενον ἀξίας τὸν βασιλεῖον προσκεπαστήν); in 581 he prepared the accommodation at the Persian frontier (between Mardin and Dara) where the Roman and Persian representatives, Zacharias 2 and Andigan, met (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ λειτούργημα ἄνωθεν τε καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶ προτίκτορι ἐπιτέτραπται); Men. Prot. fr. 60. The title of *protector* τῶν μεθορίων seems not to be recorded apart from this passage, but the function is doubtless that alluded to in Const. Porph. *de cer.* I 89 (an official sent to the frontier by the *mag. off.* to look after Persian envoys – ἓνα ἄρχοντα ἰλλούστριον ἢ σιλεντιάριον ἢ τριβούνον ἢ καὶ ἓνα τῶν ἐπισήμων ἢ μαγιστριανῶν ἢ ὃν ἂν συνίδη πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ἐρχομένου προσώπου πέμπη, ἵνα δέξηται καὶ διασώσει αὐτόν).

Anonymus 90 ?MVM (in Spain) 582

He led Byzantine forces against the Visigoths in Spain and accepted an offer of friendship with Ermenegildus when the latter rebelled against Leovigild (ligans cum praefecto eius (sc. of the emperor) amicitias, qui tunc Hispaniam impugnabat); later, in 582, he accepted a bribe of thirty thousand *solidi* from Leovigild to abandon Ermenegild on the field of battle (datis praefecto imperatoris triginta milibus solidorum ut se ab eius solatio revocaret); Greg. Tur. *HF* v 38.

The title *praefectus* suggests a praetorian prefect but the circumstances suggest that this man was a *magister militum*; cf. Thompson, *Goths in Spain*, p. 329 and see Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 18 (Hermenegild was allied 'cum ducibus imperatoris Tiberii').

Anonymus 91 comes civitatis Rotomagensis 583

Executed by king Chilperic after Guntram's victory in 583 when the defeated army of Chilperic refused orders to cease plundering; Greg. Tur. *HF* vi 31 (Rotomagensem comitem gladio trucidavit).

Anonymus 92 comes Duni Castri 585  
*Comes* of Châteaudun, in 585 he gave three hundred soldiers to Claudius I; Greg. Tur. *HF* vii 29 (*comes loci*).

Anonymus 93 Roman commander 586  
 Roman commander with Heraclius 3, on the campaign against Persia in 586; he accompanied him on a scouting expedition after the Roman victory of Solachon; Theoph. Sim. II 5.10-11 (ἕτερος τῶν ἡγεμόνων).

Anonymus 94 Roman officer 587  
 Τίς τῶν χιλιάρχων, ὁ χιλίαρχος; he supposedly spoke out in a military assembly against the plans of Comentiolus to stay and fight the Avars in 587; Theoph. Sim. II 13.1-15. If genuine, he was perhaps a *tribunus*, but the episode, reporting the speeches for and against, has certainly been expanded by Theophylact into a rhetorical set piece and may be fictitious.

Anonymus 95 imperial bodyguard (?excubitor) 588  
 In spring 588 Priscus 6 fled from mutinous troops at Monocarton on this man's horse - ἵππου τινὸς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως περιτυχῶν; Theoph. Sim. III 1.12.

Anonymus 96 excubitor (of Maurice) 588  
 Sent by Maurice with a false message to deceive the khan of the Avars and trick him into making peace, in summer 588 (see Priscus 6); Theoph. Sim. VI 5.12 (τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τις), Theoph. AM 6084 (ἕνα τῶν ἐσκουβιτόρων), Cedr. I 697 (as Theophanes).

Anonymus 97 v.c., dioecetes (in Egypt) 588  
*Dioecetes* of Anonyma 2 (landowner at Oxyrhynchus); *P. Oxy.* 3204, lines 5-6 διὰ σοῦ/[<sup>c.15</sup>]γος τοῦ λαμπροτάτου αὐτῆς διοικήτου. The document is dated Jan. 1, 588.

Anonymus 98 comes Turonicae urbis 590  
*Comes urbis*, at Tours in 590, instructed by Childebert to send Animodus, his *vicarius*, to court for questioning; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 5.

Anonymus 99 tribunus (at Poitiers) 590  
 Vir *tribunitiae potestatis*; killed and robbed by the sons of Waddo 2 near Poitiers in 590; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 21. The *tribunus* was a subordinate of the *comes civitatis*; cf. Dalton, I, p. 203, II, p. 598. The *comes* at Poitiers at this time was Macco.

Anonymus 100 Gepid, deserter to the Romans 593  
 A Gepid and a Christian with the Slavs in Thrace in 593; he deserted to the Romans and gave information to Priscus 6 which enabled the Romans to defeat the Slavs under Musocius; Theoph. Sim. VI 8.13ff.

Anonymus 101 scribo 594  
 Sent by Petrus 6 to arrest the bishop of Asemus during the campaign of 594 in the Balkans; Theoph. Sim. VII 3.8 (ἕνα τινὰ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως σωματοφυλάκων, ὃν σκρίβωνα Ῥωμαῖοι κατονομάζουσιν), Theoph. AM 6089 (σκριβων).

Anonymus 102 imperial bodyguard 598  
 A soldier of the imperial bodyguard, with Maurice at Heracleia Perinthus in 598; Theoph. Sim. VI 1.6 (τῶν περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τίς ὑπασπιστής). Perhaps an *excubitor*. Cf. also Theoph. Sim. VI 2.10 (three Slavs were arrested ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπασπιστῶν).

Anonymus 103 imperial bodyguard 598  
 A young man and a member of the emperor's bodyguard (τῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τις δορυφόρων), with Maurice in Thrace in 598; killed by a Gepid for his golden belt and bridle and fine clothes; Theoph. Sim. VI 2.4-9. The incident took place between Enaton and Anchialus; Theoph. Sim. VI 2.1, 10.4.

Anonymus 104 tribunus numeri (at Amasea) M/L VI  
 Τριβοῦνός τις τοῦ καθεζομένου ἀριθμοῦ ἐν Ἀμασειᾷ; wishing to gain the favour of Tiberius, he took a letter to him at Sirmium from Euty chius in Amasea; Eustrat. V. *Euty ch.* 67 (*PG* 86. 2. 2349). The date, before Tiberius became Caesar, was perhaps c. 568/569 (during a campaign against the Avars).

Anonymus 105 son of Celsus M/L VI

Son of Celsus 2; he inherited his father's wealth but died childless leaving the property to the very churches from which Celsus had originally stolen it; Greg. Tur. *HF* iv 24.

Anonymus 106 holder of a dignity L VI

Said to be a brigand in Africa who having evaded capture was given a free pardon by the emperor Maurice and went to live in Constantinople; there he died after receiving honourable treatment and appointment to a dignity ('ad dignitatem evectus') from Maurice; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1079.

Anonymus 107 ?exarchus Africae L VI

'Africae patricius'; alluded to in connection with the story about an African brigand, Anonymus 106; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1079. The anecdote is referred to the reign of Maurice.

Anonymus 108 'curator' (?MVM) (in Armenia) L VI

A 'korator' in Armenia who narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Armenian rebels led by Samuel Vahewuni in the 590s; at the time he was at Karin (Theodosiopolis) seeking treatment for his health; Sebeos vii, p. 33. He was perhaps the MVM *per Armeniam* (rather than e.g. a curator of the *domus divina*); cf. Sebeos xxiv, p. 65 and see Priscus 6.

Anonymus 109 son of Beppolenus L VI

One of Beppolenus 1's two sons; a notorious womaniser, he married the widow of Wiliulfus (died in 587) while two earlier wives were still living; Greg. Tur. *HF* ix 13.

Anonymus 110 ?topoteretes and pagarch of Hermopolis VI

A fragment of papyrus from Hermopolis, lacking both beginning and end, begins with the words ...]τὸν τόπον τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπερφύϊας ἐπ(ε)ίγοντος ἐν ταύτ[η] τῇ Ἑρμοπολιτῶν καὶ διοικοῦντος ὄλου τὸν {{τὸν}} Ἑρμοπολίτην νόμον; *P. Ross. - Georg.* v 34, lines 1-3 Hermopolite nome. The last five words suggest that the man was pagarch of the

Hermopolite, the first ten that he was deputising there (ἐπείγοντος, perhaps = ἐπέχοντος?) for someone of high rank (ὑπερφύϊστατος), certainly an official and not a private citizen and presumably *dux Thebaidis* (Hermopolis was in the province of the Lower Thebais). The handwriting is assigned to the sixth century, and the editors, who date it to c. 600, compare a formula in it to one in a papyrus of 595, *P. Grenf.* II 86. Cf. also Thomas 24.

Anonymus 111 topoteretes (at Seleucia Pieria) VI

... ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπέστατου)/... καὶ τοῦ καθ(οσιωμένου) θ/... κ]αὶ τοπο[τηρήτου; *IGLS* 1242, 5 Seleucia Pieria (Syria).

Anonymus 112 defensor and ?scriniarius ?VI

[Ἐνθάδε κατακέϊται]/[.....]/[.....]ἔκδικ/[ος κὲ σκρι]νιάρ(ιος); Beshevliev, *Spätgr. und spätlat. Inschr. Bulg.*, no. 251 Odessus.

Anonymus 113 (= Ἐναντιοφανής) writer on law L VI/E VII

Author of two legal monographs, one on legacies and *donationes mortis causa* (now lost), the other on discrepancies in the Digest (surviving in extracts quoted in scholia on the *Basilica* and there called *περὶ ἐναντιοφανειῶν*, hence the nickname of the unknown author); he also wrote a version of the Digest as well as the legal collection known as 'the Nomocanon in fourteen Titles'; see Jolowicz, p. 513 with n. 7, and cf. *Basilica*, ed. Heimbach, I, p. 99, II, pp. 548, 560, III, pp. 230, 258, 318, VI, pp. 250, 251, 260, VII, pp. 496, 499, 565, 640, 641.

Anonymus 114 vir inluster (in Spain) VI/VII

Husband of Andvira (cum viro suo/... viro inluste); Vives, *Inscriptiones cristianas*, no. 505 Vildé, near Osma (Carthaginensis). The restoration 'Andviro inluste' (Vives) is unlikely; the formula 'viro inlust(r)e' was presumably preceded by the name, now lost. Cf. Garcia Moreno, p. 32, no. 10, with notes.

Anonymus 115 magistrianus (?agens in rebus) 602

Sent to canvas the views of the desert fathers on Maurice's repentance in 602; Theoph. AM 6094 (ὁ ἀποσταλεῖς μαγιστριανός). The story may be fictitious.

Anonymus 116 military officer (?tribunus) in Alexandria 609

When in 609 Heraclius' generals arrived at Alexandria, they found 'l'Apellōn d'Alexandrie' opposing them with a large body of men-at-arms; ignoring their suggestion that he remain neutral, he insisted on fighting for the emperor Phocas and was killed; his head was put on display and the great wealth which Phocas had sent to him to finance resistance was seized; Joh. Nik. 107.15-16.21 (pp. 543-4 Zotenberg). His office is not certain but he was apparently a local military officer at Alexandria.

Anonymus 117 military officer (?tribunus) 609

Described as 'l'Apellōn de Menouf', he received a large sum of money from Phocas in 609 to stay loyal and oppose Heraclius; Joh. Nik. 107.9 (p. 542 Zotenberg). See also Anonymus 11.

Anonymus 118 officialis of the PVC 610

Ὁ ταξεώτης τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως, ὁ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἀπὸ Δαιμο-  
νιάρῳ; as a supporter of Phocas he was among those killed at his  
overthrow; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 610.

Anonymus 119 Arab chief 622/623

Commander of a force of Arabs fighting for Persia, in 622/623 he was captured by the army of Heraclius; Theoph. AM 6113 (τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν), cf. Georg. Pisid., *Exp. Pers.* II 217ff. (describing the same incident; 217-20 παρῆν τις ἀρχίφυλος εὐτόλμου γένους τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν τάγμα τῶν πολυτρίχων ἄγων σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ περισκοπῶν ὅπως λαθῶν ἐπέλθοι τῷ στρατῷ σου πρὸς βλάβην, 221-4 captured and brought before the emperor, 225-34 given his freedom).

Anonymus 120 eunuch official (East) c. 632

An unnamed εὐνοῦχος who delivered their pay (ρόγας) to the soldiers guarding the frontier with the Arabs but who refused to pay their dues to the pro-Roman Arabs who helped to guard the frontier; in consequence the latter joined their fellow-Arabs against the Romans at Gaza; Theoph. AM 6123. Perhaps a eunuch *sacellarius*.

Anonymus 121 ?MVM (East) 635

Commander of the Roman army at the battle of Fihl (Pella); after the

Arab victory at Ajnādayn (July 30, 634), Heraclius 'summoned the Greeks and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia to go forth to war, putting them under the command of one of his men in whom he trusted'; they were defeated at Pella and 'the Greek patrician with about ten thousand men was slaughtered'; the battle was fought two days before the end of Dhū l-Qa'dah, five months after 'Umar became caliph (i.e. Jan. 23, 635); Balādhurī, p. 115 = Hitti, pp. 176-7. Possibly a *patricius*, but the word is used in Arabic sources of high-ranking Romans in general and he is more probably an MVM. Cf. Stratos II, pp. 57-8 on this battle.

Anonymi 122 two high-ranking brothers (Syria) 630s

'Bālis (= Barbalissus) and Kāšīrīn belonged to two brothers of the Greek nobility to whom were given as fiefs the adjacent villages and who were made guardians of the Greek towns of Syria that lay between Bālis and Kāšīrīn. When the Moslem armies reached these towns, their inhabitants capitulated;' Balādhurī, p. 150 = Hitti, p. 231.

Anonymus 123 'curator' (?MVM) 635

A 'korator' who was privy to the conspiracy of 635 to kill Heraclius and disclosed the details to the emperor; Sebeos xxix, p. 93. Cf. Ioannes 260 *qui et Athalaricus*. For the title 'korator' in Sebeos, see Anonymus 108.

Anonymus 124 ?PSC (of Heraclius) c. 635

'The high chamberlain of Heraclius', described as the lover of Smbat (Symbatius 2), son of Varaztiroch; Sebeos xxix, p. 93.

Anonymus 125 army commander (at Nicephorium) c. 640

'The patrician of the city' of al-Raqqah asked for peace from 'Iyād after a few days' siege; Balādhurī, p. 173 = Hitti, p. 271. Al-Raqqah was Nicephorium (= Callinicum), on the Euphrates.

Anonymus 126 ?landowner (near Nisibis) 640/641

'The patrician of az-Zawazān came to 'Iyād and made terms regarding his lands, agreeing to pay tax;' Balādhurī, p. 176 = Hitti, p. 275. The date was late 19/early 20 A.H. = A.D. 640/641. The place

was in the vicinity of Nisibis and Dara. The 'patrician' was apparently a wealthy landowner in the area, but might have been the local commander who negotiated the surrender of his territory (in return for rewards).

Anonymus 127 ?large landowner (at Khilāt) 641

In year 20 A.H. = A.D. 641, 'Iyād 'passed through ad-Darb into Badlīs which he left for Khilāt, with whose patrician he made terms'; Balādhurī, p. 176 = Hitti, p. 275. Some years later Ḥabīb 'marched to Mirbāla where the patrician of Khilāt brought him a statement written by 'Iyād ibn Ghanm, who had guaranteed to the patrician the security of his life, possessions and country and had concluded a treaty with him stipulating that the patrician should pay tax. Ḥabīb sanctioned the terms of the statement'; the patrician then paid Ḥabīb the money he owed and offered a gift, which was refused; Balādhurī, p. 199 = Hitti, p. 313.

Anonymus 128 ?patricius E VII

Described as a 'patricius qui Tyri substitit', he is said to have arrested the Jews of Tyre and then defended the city against attack by Jews from Jerusalem, Cyprus, Damascus, Mount Galilee and Tiberias; Eutychius, *Annales*, col. 1085. The chronology is confused. The incident, if historical, probably occurred during the Persian domination of the east; Eutychius appears to put it both in the reign of Phocas and after the Persian capture of Jerusalem and the death of John the Almsgiver.

Anonymus 129 tribunus E VII

'Ο παρών τριβοῦνος; born in Africa and brought up at the shrine of St Menas, he became a τριβοῦνος; he went blind and was cured by Sts Cyrus and John, going on their advice to bathe in Siloam; he then returned and lived until his death close to the saints' shrine; Sophronius, *Mir. SS. Cyr. et Ioh.* 46 (PG 87.3, col. 3596-7).

Anonymus 130 chartularius VI

...χαρτουλαρίου; Zacos 575 (seal; obv.: square monogram (406), meaning unresolved; rev.: square monogram (358) of χαρτουλαρίου).

Anonymus 131 MVM M/L VI

...στρατηλάτου; Zacos 581 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (407), meaning uncertain, possibly Μενάνδρου; rev.: CTY/CTNL/CTY).

Anonymus 132 praefectus VI

...ὑπάρχου; Zacos 577 (seal; obv.: T-shaped monogram (408), meaning uncertain; rev.: square monogram (338) of ὑπάρχου).

Anonymus 133 praefectus Italiae VI

...praefecti Ital(iae); Zacos 726 (seal; obv.: eagle, with monogram (409), of uncertain meaning, possibly 'Marini'; rev.: PRG/EFECT/IICTGL).

Anonymus 134 ex praefectis M/L VI

...ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων; Zacos 2834 (seal; obv.: square monogram (410), meaning unresolved, possibly Κωνσταντίνου (so Zacos, with doubts); rev.: +ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩΝ).

Anonymus 135 scriniarius VI

...σκρινιαρίου; Zacos 2836 (seal; obv.: square monogram (402), meaning unresolved, perhaps Κοιτᾶ(?); rev.: square monogram (307), of σκρινιαρίου).

Anonymus 136 spatharius M/L VI

...spathariu; Zacos 580 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (403), meaning unresolved, possibly Ζηωνιάνου; rev.: SPA/CHA/RIY).

Anonymus 137 imperialis strator M/L VI

...βασιλικῷ στρατόρος; Zacos 2837 (seal; obv.: monogram (404), meaning unresolved, possibly 'Ισίου (Zacos); rev.: +BAC/IAIKOV/CTPAT[O]/POC).

Anonymus 138 vestitor et scholarius VI

...βεσιτίωρος καὶ σχο(λαρίου); Zacos 582 = Dumbarton Oaks seal 55.1.54 (seal; obv.: square monogram (405), meaning unresolved, possibly Κοιτᾶς (Nesbitt) or Κωνσταντίνου; rev.: BECTI/TΩPO/C/ΣΧ).

Anonymus 139 Avaricus (?) VI/VII

.....(?) τοῦ Ἀβαρικοῦ; Fogg Art Museum seal 1460 (seal; obv.:

square monogram (411), whose meaning is unresolved; rev.: +TO/V ABA/PIK8).

Anonymus 140 chartularius M VI/M VII

...χαρτουλαρίου; Dumbarton Oaks seals 55.1.143 and 58.106.2085 (two identical seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (399), meaning unresolved; rev.: cruciform monogram (361) of χαρτουλαρίου).

Anonymus 141 chartularius M VI/M VII

Zacos 728 (seal; obv.: eagle, with a Δ surmounted by a cross; rev.: cruciform monogram (400) which probably combines χαρτουλαρίου with a name, which could be Εύχαρίστου or Εύστρατίου or Σεργίου).

Anonymus 142 ?MVM M VI/M VII

...στρατηλάτου; Zacos 2858 (seal; obv.: eagle; rev.: square monogram (401) which can be read in part as στρατηλάτου).

Anonymus 143 ex praefectis M VI/M VII

...ἀπό ἐπάρχων; Zacos 574 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (397), meaning unresolved, possibly Κρατίστου (Zacos); rev.: ΑΠΟ/ΕΠΑΡ/Χ).

Anonymus 144 ?scribo M VI/M VII

Zacos 1237 (seal; obv.: Virgin and child; rev.: cruciform monogram (398), meaning uncertain, possibly Θεοδώρου σκρίβωνος (Zacos)).

Anonymus 145 ?chartularius VII

...χαρτουλαρίου(?); Zacos 1236A (seal; obv.: Virgin with child and angels; rev.: cruciform monogram (394), meaning unresolved, but possibly including χαρτουλαρίου).

Anonymus 146 ?chartularius VII

Zacos 1684 (seal; obv.: monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (395), meaning unresolved, possibly 'Ιωάννη χαρτουλαρίου).

Anonymus 147 ?comes VII

Zacos 1686 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: cruciform monogram (396), meaning unresolved, possibly Νικίου κόμιτος).

Anonymus 148 honorary consul and embolator VII

...ὕπάτω (καὶ) ἐμβολάτορι; Zacos 725 (seal; obv.: eagle, with cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: ..../VΠAT[Ω]/ΣΕΜΒΟΛ/ΑΤΟΡ[I]).

Anonymus 149 honorary consul VII

Zacos 1238 (seal; Virgin and child, with the inscription Θ̅V B̅Θ̅A = Θεοῦ βοήθεια; rev.: cruciform monogram (391), meaning uncertain, possibly Θεοφυλάκτου ὑπάτου (Zacos)).

Anonymus 150 honorary consul E/M VII

Zacos 3065 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram (392) of Θεοτόκε βοήθει and a name which may be Θεοδοσίου; rev.: cruciform monogram (343) of ὑπάτου).

Anonymus 151 MVM and imperial meizoterus VII

...ου στρατηλάτου (καὶ) δεσποτικοῦ μειζοτέρου; Zacos 1095 (seal; obv.: ..../.8CTPA/THΛA/TOV; rev.: ΔΕCΠ/ΜΕΙΖΟ/ΤΕΡ8).

Anonymus 152 MVM et comes VII

...στρατηλάτου καὶ κόμιτος; Zacos 1679a and b (two identical seals; obv.: cruciform monogram (393) of Θεοτόκε βοήθει and a name, which is quite uncertain; rev.: CTPA/THΛAT/8/KOMI/TΩI).

Anonymus 153 ?notarius E/M VII

Zacos 1683 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (388), interpreted by Zacos as perhaps either Στεφάνου ὀρφανοτρόφου or Στεφάνου νοταρίου).



Anonymus 154 ?notarius VII

Zacos 1687 (seal; obv.: cruciform monogram of Θεοτόκε βοήθει; rev.: square monogram (389), explained by Zacos as perhaps Παύλω νοταρίω).

Anonymus 155 patricius et praefectus VII

...πατρικίω καὶ ἐπάρχω; Zacos 1094 (seal; obv.: ΘΕ/[Ο]ΤΟΚΕ/[Β]ΟΗΘΕΙ/.....; rev.: ΠΑΤ/ΡΙΚΙΩ/ΡΕΠΑΡ/ΧΩ).

Anonymus 156 praefectus VII

...ἐπάρχου; Zacos 1319 (seal; obv.: saint (unidentified); rev.: cruciform monogram (390), of ἐπάρχου and an unresolved name).

Anonyma (wife of Erythrius, Joh. Mal. 423): *PLRE* II, pp. 89 (Andronica) and 402 (Erythrius 2).

Anonyma: wife of Theudis (Proc. *BG* I 12. 50-1) E/M VI; *PLRE* II.

Anonyma 1 gloriosissima (in Egypt) M VI

Unnamed wife of Marcianus 6, in Egypt in c. 549/550; *SB* 9616 verso 14 τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης ἐλευθέρας (= wife, not a proper name) τοῦ ὑπερφανεστάτου Μαρκιανοῦ.

Anonyma 2 illustria (in Egypt) 588

An *illustria*, daughter of a *vir gloriosus* (Anonymus 32), a landowner at Oxyrhynchus in 588; *P. Oxy.* 3204, lines 4-5 ...]τῆ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ ἰλλουστρία θυγατρὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης/[<sup>ο.15</sup>]ων[ο]ς γεουχούση ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγγιτῶν πόλει. The document, a deed of surety dated Jan. 1, 588, is addressed to her by her βοηθός, one Apollon son of Phoebammon. See also Anonymus 97.

Anonyma 3 wife of Georgius 2 M VI

Wife of Georgius 2; after his death she lived at Clermont and was miraculously cured there; Greg. Tur. *Glor. Conf.* 34.

Anonyma 4 sister of Gregory of Tours M VI

Sister of Gregory of Tours, wife of Iustinus 3; Greg. Tur. *Mir. S. Mart.* II 2, *Glor. Mart.* 70 (living in Besançon). See stemma 12.

Anonyma 5 sister of Gubazes 552

Sister of Gubazes; an attempt by Mermeroes to capture her in late 552 failed because the fortress where she was staying was too strong and well defended; Proc. *BG* IV 17.14-15.

Anonyma 6 first wife of Leovigild M VI

The first wife of Leovigild and mother of Hermenegild and Reccared; Joh. Bicl. s.a. 573? (his sons 'ex amissa coniuge').

Anonyma 7 Frankish princess M VI

An unidentified Frankish lady was buried beneath the cathedral at Cologne around the mid sixth century; the tomb contained rich jewellery, including coins, of which the latest was a silver half siliqua of the Ostrogothic king Athalaric; probably a member of the royal house; see Lasko, *The Kingdom of the Franks* (1971), pp. 46ff., and Doppelfeld, *Das fränkische Frauengrab unter dem Chor des Kölner Domes*, in *Germania* 38 (1960), pp. 89-113. Cf. Anonymus 72.

Perhaps identical with Theudechildis?

Anonyma 8 mother of Maurice L VI

Mother of the emperor Maurice and of Petrus 55, Gordia 2 and Theoctista 2; wife of Paulus 23; Joh. Eph. *HE* III 5.18, and cf. Paulus.

Anonyma 9 daughter of Baudegisel L VI

Daughter of Baudegiselus and Magnatrudis; in 590 an attempt was made by Cuppa to carry her off by force and marry her; Greg. Tur. *HF* x 5.

Anonyma 10 daughter of Agilulfus L VI/E VII

Daughter of the Lombard king Agilulfus and wife of Gudescalculus 2, she and her husband and family were captured by Callinicus 10 at Parma in 601 and carried off to Ravenna; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* IV 20. They were held prisoner until 603 when Smaragdus released them and

ANONYMA 11

made peace with the Lombards; she died shortly afterwards in childbirth at Parma; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* iv 28.

Anonyma 11 wife of Theodosius 13 L VI/E VII

Daughter of Germanus 11, wife of Theodosius 13 (and daughter-in-law of the emperor Maurice); *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 602, s.a. 603, Theoph. Sim. viii 4.10, Zon. xiv 13 (p. 297 her marriage). She subsequently was among the victims of Phocas, killed with her father and Maurice's female relatives; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 605, Zon. xiv 14 (p. 301).

FASTI CONSVLARES 527-541

- 527 Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius (West) without a colleague  
 528 Iustinianus Aug. II (East) without a colleague  
 529 Decius (?East or West) without a colleague  
 530 Lampadius (West) :: Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes (West)  
 531 *p.c. Lampadii et Orestis*  
 532 *iterum p.c. Lampadii et Orestis*  
 533 Iustinianus Aug. III (East) without a colleague  
 534 Iustinianus Aug. IV (East) :: (Decius) Paulinus (West)  
 535 Belisarius (East) without a colleague  
 536 *p.c. Belisarii*  
 537 *iterum p.c. Belisarii*  
 538 Ioannes (East) without a colleague  
 539 Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion (East) without a colleague  
 540 Fl. Mar. Petrus Theodorus Valentinus Rusticius Boraides Germanus Iustinus (East) without a colleague  
 541 Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius (East) without a colleague

HONORARY CONSULS (ἀπὸ ὑπάτων)

Vigilantius	527/534
Ioannes 7	528 (-540)
Ioannes (PLRE II, p. 610)	528-529
Phocas 1	528-529
Leontius (PLRE II, pp. 673-4)	528-529
Thomas 3	528-529
Anastasius 3	529
Priscus 1	529
Tribonianus 1	533-c. 542
Hermogenes 1	535
Basilides	536
Florus 1	536
Maxentianus	536
Sittas 1	536
Solomon 1	539/540-544
Domnicus 3	540
Paulus 11	541

Photius 2	541
Buzes	542
Eudaemon 2	c. 542
Petrus 9 Barsymes	542-562
Artabanus 2	546-?
Marcianus 6	c. 549-550
Anastasius 10	550
Marcellus 3	552
Iustinus 5	552-553 (-?565)
Petrus 6	552-565
Constantianus 2	553
Anatolius 7	557
Eusebius 4	562
Ioannes 90	562-577
Narses 1	565 (-?573)
Eudaemon 3	576
Petrus 17	576
Magnus 2	c. 581
Georgius 10	586/587
Apion 4	c. 586-619/623
Leo 5	590-591
Ioannes 105	591
Leontius 11	598-600
Germanus 13	602-604
Bonosus 2	609
Olympius 6	615/616
Leontius 31	615-616
Anastasius 22	VI
Asterius 1	M VI
Athanasius 3	M VI
Carellus 3	VI
Constantinus 15	VI
Cyrus 6	M VI
Damianus 4	M/L VI
Dorotheus 11	VI
Genethlius 1	VI
Gennadius 1	L VI
Gennadius 3	VI
Ioannes 36 Troglita	M VI
Ioannes 128	VI
Ioannes 129	M/L VI

Ioannicius	VI
Longinus 3	M VI
Macedonius 3	M VI
Mauricius 3	VI
Megas 2	L VI
Narses 7	M/L VI
Patricius 5	M VI
Patricius 7	VI
Petrus 27	M/L VI
Se...	M VI
Sergius 19	VI
Theodorus 65	?VI
Theodorus 67	M/L VI
Theodorus 68	VI
Theodorus 71	VI
Theodosius 21	VI
Zacharias 3	M/L VI
Zemarchus 2	M/L VI
Anonymus 22	VI
Abramius 4	M VI/VII
An...	?VI/VII
Arsaphius 1	VI/VII
Bonus 6	VI/VII
Callinicus 11	VI/VII
Constantinus 22	M VI/M VII
Cosmas 9	M VI/M VII
Cosmas 10	M VI/M VII
Dionysius 4	M VI/M VII
Droserius 1	VI/VII
Eulampius 1	M VI/M VII
Euphemius 2	M VI/M VII
Gennadius 4	VI/VII
Georgius 31	VI/VII
Ioannes 192	VI/VII
Ioannes 193	VI/VII
Leo 14	M VI/M VII
Marinus 9	M VI/M VII
Maurianus 2	M VI/M VII
Negrinus	M VI/M VII
Nicetas 3	M VI/VII
Petronius 2	L VI/E VII

Stephanus 42	VI/VII
Strategius 10	L VI/E VII
Theodorus 96	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 110	M VI/M VII
Theodosius 28	VI/VII
Theophylactus 3	M VI/M VII
Theophylactus 4	M VI/M VII
Thomas 29	M VI/M VII
Traianus 5	VI/VII
Zoilus 1	M VI/M VII

Aemilianus 6	VII
Andreas 25	VII
Annon	VII
Arsaphius 2	VII
Arsaphius 3	VII
Artemius	VII
Caesarius 3	VII
Chosroes 2	VII
Cleonicus	VII
Constantinus 39	VII
Constantinus 40	VII
Constantinus 41	VII
Constantinus 42	VII
Demetrius 9	?E VII
Demetrius 10	VII
Domitius 2	VII
Domnentiolus 2	VII
Gennadius 7	VII
Georgius 61	VII
Georgius 62	VII
Georgius 63	VII
Georgius 64	VII
Gregorius 22	VII
Gregorius 23	VII
Ioannes 267	E VII
Ioannes 268	VII
Ioannes 269	VII
Ioannes 270	VII
Ioannes 271	VII
Ioannes 272	VII
Ioannes 273	VII

Ioannes 274	VII
Leo 20	VII
Leontius 34	VII
Leontius 35	VII
Manuel 4	VII
Mercurius 2	VII
Miccinus	VII
Narses 13	VII
Nicephorus 2	VII
Nicolaus 5	VII
Nicolaus 6	VII
Paulus 57	VII
Paulus 58	VII
Petrus 62	VII
Philagrius 4	VII
Philippus 7	VII
Philippus 8	VII
Samuel 4	VII
Sergius 49	VII
Stephanus 66	VII
Stephanus 67	VII
Stephanus 68	VII
Stephanus 69	VII
Strategius 11	E/M VII
Tatianus 4	VII
Theodorus 177	E/M VII
Theodorus 178	VII
Theodorus 179	VII
Theodorus 180	VII
Theophilus 5	VII
Theophylactus 12	VII
Thomas 34	VII
Tribunas 2	VII
Troilus 3	VII
Zacharias 12	VII
Anonymus 150	E/M VII
Anonymus 148	VII
Anonymus 149	VII

## CONSVLARES FEMINAE (ὑποτίσσαι)

Anna 2	VII
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Georgia	M/L VI
Helena 2	VII
Praeiecta 2	L VI
Theophano	VII

PATRICII (in *PLRE* I)

Aurelianus 3 (pp. 128-9)	E V
Caesarius 6 (p. 171)	L IV
Iulius Constantius 7 (p. 226)	335
Datianus 1 (pp. 243-4)	M IV
Optatus 2 (p. 650)	334
Petronius 3 (p. 690)	364-365
Philagrius 4 (p. 693)	?L IV
?Rufinus 18 (pp. 778-81)	L IV
?Secundus 3 (pp. 814-17)	M IV
Taurus 3 (pp. 879-80) ('patricia dignitate')	M IV

PATRICII (in *PLRE* II)

Adamantius 2 (pp. 6-7)	479
Valerius Faltonius Adelfius 3 (pp. 8-9)	M V
Aetius 7 (pp. 21-9)	M V
Agapitus 2 (p. 30)	525-526
Agapitus 3 (pp. 30-2)	E VI
Aggerius (pp. 33-4)	L V
Agnellus (pp. 35-6)	508-511
Albinus 9 (pp. 51-2)	E VI
Albinus 10 (p. 53)	446-449
Ammonius 8 (pp. 72-3)	V/VI
Anastasius 16 (p. 82)	?476/483
Anatolius 10 (pp. 84-6)	447-451
Anthemius 1 (pp. 93-5)	E V
Anthemius 3 (pp. 96-8)	455-467
Antiochus 5 (pp. 101-2)	E V
Antiochus 10 (p. 104)	M V
Apion 2 (pp. 111-12)	E VI
Apollinaris 6 (pp. 115-118)	M V
Archelaus 5 (pp. 133-34)	E VI
Ardabur 1 (pp. 135-7)	M V
Ariobindus 2 (pp. 145-6)	447-449
Armatius (pp. 148-9)	M/L V

Aspar (pp. 164-9)	M V
Asterius 4 (p. 171)	420/422
Asterius 10 (pp. 172-3)	526
Asterius 11 (pp. 173-4)	L V
Avienus 3 (p. 193)	E VI
Basiliscus 2 (pp. 212-14)	M/L V
Basilius 11 (pp. 216-17)	M V
Basilius 12 (p. 217)	M/L V
Basilius 13 (p. 218)	M/L V
Bergantinus (p. 225)	538
Bessas (pp. 226-9)	551
Boethius 4 (pp. 232-3)	L V
Boethius 5 (pp. 233-7)	E VI
Bonifatius 3 (pp. 237-40)	432
Caelianus (pp. 247-8)	507/511
Calliopius 6 (pp. 252-3)	E VI
Cassiodorus 3 (pp. 264-5)	E VI
Cassiodorus 4 (pp. 265-9)	M VI
Cethegus (pp. 281-2)	512-c. 558
Chilpericus II (pp. 286-7)	L V
Chlodovechus (Clovis) (pp. 288-90)	E VI
Claudius 3 (p. 301)	M V
Claudius (Addenda, p. xxxvii)	M/L V
Clementinus (p. 303)	E VI
Constantinus 2 (p. 311)	L IV or E/M V
Constantinus 22 (pp. 317-18)	M/L V
Constantius 17 (pp. 321-5)	415-421
Cyprianus 2 (pp. 332-3)	527
Cyrus 7 (pp. 336-9)	M V
Dagalaiphus 2 (pp. 340-41)	475/496
Dardanus (pp. 346-7)	E V
Decius 2 (p. 349)	L V
Dexiocrates (Addenda, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii)	E/M V
Diogenianus 4 (p. 362)	E VI
Dioscorus 5 (pp. 367-8)	L V
Ecdicius 3 (pp. 383-4)	474-475
Epinicus (p. 397)	L V
Erythrius 2 (p. 402)	c. 527
Eulogius 9 (p. 420)	E VI
Eurycles (p. 428)	E/M V
Eutropius 1 (pp. 440-4)	399
Faustus 9 (pp. 454-6)	E VI

Faustus 10 (pp. 456-7)	L V
Felix 14 (pp. 461-2)	425-430
Felix 21 (pp. 463-4)	469
Festus 5 (pp. 467-9)	L V/E VI
Firminus 2 (p. 471)	M V
Firmus 3 (p. 472)	L V
Florentius 1 (pp. 476-7)	395/408
Florentius 7 (pp. 478-80)	M V
Germanus 4 (pp. 505-7)	M VI
Gundobadus 1 (pp. 524-5)	472-473/474
Helion 1 (p. 533)	425-427
Hierius 6 (p. 558)	L V
Hilarianus 2 (pp. 561-2)	470-?479
Hilarion (Addenda, p. xxxviii)	457/474
Honoratus 1 (p. 567)	M V
Hosius 2 (p. 572)	E/M V
Hypatius 6 (pp. 577-81)	E VI
Ianuarius 6 (p. 584)	V/VI
Illus 1 (pp. 586-90)	477-488
Inportunus (p. 592)	E VI
Ioannes 43 (p. 604)	c. 495/496
Ioannes 68 (p. 610)	528-529
Iordanes 1 (pp. 619-20)	?L IV/E V or M V
Iovius 3 (pp. 623-4)	E V
Isaac 1 (p. 626)	M/L V
Iulianus 26 (p. 641)	E VI
Iustinianus 7 (pp. 645-8)	E VI
Latinus (p. 657)	476
Leontius 17 (pp. 670-1)	484
Leontius 23 (pp. 672-3)	E VI
Leontius 27 (pp. 673-4)	528-529
Liberius 3 (pp. 677-81)	500-554
Mamianus 2 (p. 705)	L V/E VI
Marcellinus 6 (pp. 708-10)	468
Marcianus 17 (pp. 717-18)	M/L V
Marianus 3 (p. 722)	L V/E VI
Marinianus 3 (pp. 723-4)	E V
Maximus 20 (pp. 748-9)	523/525-552
Maximus 22 (pp. 749-51)	445-455
Menas 5 (p. 755)	529
Menas 6 (p. 756)	V/VI
Merobaudes (pp. 756-8)	M V

Messianus 1 (pp. 761-2)	456
Nepos 3 (pp. 777-8)	474
Nomus 1 (pp. 785-6)	448-451
Nomus 3 (p. 787)	522
Odoacer (pp. 791-3)	L V
Olybrius 1 (p. 794)	?V/VI
Olybrius 3 (p. 795)	E VI
Olybrius 6 (pp. 796-8)	M/L V
Opilio 1 (p. 807)	M V
Opilio 5 (pp. 808-9)	E VI
Orestes 2 (pp. 811-12)	475-476
Pampropius (pp. 825-8)	479-484
Parthenius 3 (pp. 833-4)	544
Paulinus 11 (p. 847)	510
Paulinus 13 (p. 848)	L V
Paulus 34 (pp. 854-5)	E VI
Pelagius 2 (pp. 857-8)	490
Phocas 5 (pp. 881-2)	E/M VI
Pompeius 2 (pp. 898-9)	E VI
Probinus 2 (pp. 909-10)	511-512
Probus 8 (pp. 912-13)	E VI
Proclus (Addenda, p. xxxix)	E/M V
Procopius 2 (p. 920)	422-424
Protogenes (pp. 927-8)	451
Remistus (p. 939)	456
Ricimer 2 (pp. 942-5)	457-472
Romanus 4 (p. 947)	470
Rufinus 13 (pp. 954-7)	E VI
Sabinianus 2 (p. 966)	E V
Secundinus 5 (p. 989)	E VI
Senarius (pp. 988-9)	E VI
Senator 4 (pp. 990-1)	446/447-451
Sergius 7 (pp. 994-5)	E VI
Severus 8 (p. 1003)	474
Severus 19 (pp. 1005-6)	M/L V
Sigisvultus (p. 1010)	448
Sividius (pp. 1017-18)	L V
Speciosus 1 (pp. 1024-5)	L V
Strategius 9 (pp. 1034-6)	E/M VI
Symmachus 4 (p. 1043)	519-520
Symmachus 9 (pp. 1044-6)	E VI
Tatianus 1 (pp. 1053-4)	M V

Taurus 4 (pp. 1056-7)	M V
Tertullus 2 (p. 1059)	?c. 522
Theagenes (pp. 1063-4)	M/L V
Theodericus 1 (p. 1070)	398/404
Theodericus 7 (pp. 1077-84)	L V
Theodorus 62 (pp. 1097-8)	E VI
Theodulus 3 (p. 1106)	V/VI
Trocundes (pp. 1127-8)	L V
Tuluin (pp. 1131-3)	526
Venantius 5 (pp. 1153-4)	511-533
Vitalianus 2 (pp. 1171-6)	E VI
Volusianus 5 (pp. 1183-4)	E VI
Vrbicius 2 (p. 1190)	L V/E VI
Zenon 6 (pp. 1199-200)	451
Zenon 7 (pp. 1200-2)	471/474
...s (p. 1216)	V/VI
Anonymus 1 (p. 1219)	V/VI
Anonymus 2 (p. 1219)	?476/483

PATRICIAE (in *PLRE* II)

Anastasia 4 (p. 77)	E/M VI
Caesaria 3 (pp. 248-9)	E/M VI
Georgia (p. 503)	E/M VI
Herais (p. 543)	c. 476-493
Iuliana 3 (pp. 635-6)	L V/E VI

PATRICII (in *PLRE* III)

Abramius 2	VI
Addaeus	566
Aetherius 2	566
Alamundarus	578-580
Anagastes	M VI
Anastasius 23	VI
Apion 3	547/548-577/579
Areobindus 2	M VI
Arethas	c. 528-569
Athanasius 3	563-568
Baduarius 2	565-?576
Basilides	528-536
Basilius 3	541

Bassus 2	M VI
Belisarius 1	(?532-) 536-565
Callinicus 2	565
Carianus	before L VI
Carinus 2	VI
Clementinus 1	546
Constantianus 2	562
Constantinus 3	537/538
Constantinus 17	VI
Constantinus 12	L VI
Damianus 6	M/L VI
Decius 1	546
Decius 2	584
Decoratus	559
Domnicus 3	540
Dulcitus 2	558/559
Ebrimuth	after 536
Elias 2	529
Elpidius 1	583/584
Epiphanes	M/L VI
Eubulus	E/M VI
Eusebius 6	565/578
Felix 6	M/L VI
Genethlius 1	VI
Gennadius 1	L VI
Germanus 5	582
Germanus 9	?M/L VI
Hermogenes 1	535
Ioannes 11	535-541
Ioannes 22	c. 536
Ioannes 36 ( <i>qui et Troglita</i> )	M VI
Ioannes 52	M VI
Ioannes 59	M VI
Ioannes 71	559
Ioannes 81	567
Ioannes 90	576/577
Ioannes 101 <i>Mystacon</i>	589-591 (-?)
Ioannes 105	591
Ioannes 85	M/L VI
Ioannes 158	VI
Isidorus 12	?
Iulianus 10	M VI

Iulianus 26	VI
Iustinianus 3	572-577
Longinus 4	M VI
Mamianus	M VI
Manasses	M VI
Marcellus 5	565
Marcianus 7	572
Marianus 3	VI
Mauricius 4	577/578-582
Megas 2	L VI
Narses 1	559-?573
Narses 3	565/578
Narses 5	M/L VI
Narses 6	M/L VI
Nordulfus	590 (-?595)
Olybrius 2	M VI
Orestes	546
Pamphronius	c. 561-578
Patricius 4	553
Patricius 8	VI
Paulus 23	?582-593
Petrus 6	542-565
Petrus 9 ( <i>qui et Barsymes</i> )	542-562
Petrus 17 (? <i>patricius</i> )	576
Philippicus 1	VI
Phocas 1	528-529
Phocas ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	532
Photius 3	VI
Plato 1	528
Plato 3	539
Probus 4	?VI
Procopius 5	VI
Romanus 7	589/590-595/597
Rusticus 3	553
Se...	M VI
Senuthius 1	VI
Sergius 4	559
Sittas 1	535-536 (-?538/539)
Solomon 1	539/540-544
Solomon 6	VI
Strategius 3	557
(Syagrius 2 envoy from Gaul	587)

Theodorus 4	528
Theodorus 34	576
Theodorus 78	M/L VI
Theodorus 79	M/L VI
Theodorus 80	VI
Theodorus 81	VI
Traianus 3	575
Valerianus 1	559
Victor 1	539
Victor 3	545
Vigilantius	527/534
Vitigis	540/541
Anonymus 7	565/578
...itius	M VI
Athanasius 6	M VI/M VII
Bonus 8	VI/VII
Callinicus 10	596/597-602/603
Comentiolus 1	(585-) 602
Demetrius 8	M VI/M VII
Georgius 36	VI/VII
Gregoras 2	VI/VII
Ioannes 181	VI/VII
Ioannes 205	VI/VII
Marcus 10	M VI/M VII
Mauricius 7	M VI/M VII
Olympius 4	M VI/M VII
Petrus 45	M VI/M VII
Philippicus 3	L VI/E VII
Priscus 6	593-612
Probus 6	M VI/M VII
Procopius 7	?VI/VII
Smaragdus 2	c. 585-608
Stephanus 44	VI/VII
Theodorus 120	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 121	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 122	M VI/M VII
Theodosius 33	VI/VII
Thomas 29	M VI/M VII
Valentinus 4	VI/VII
Venantius 2	587/588-601
Venantius 4	598-602



Anonymus 1	L VI/E VII
Anastasio 39	VII
Anastasio 40	VII
Apion 4	609-619/623
Arsaphius 3	VII
Athanasius 10	626
Athanasius 12	VII
Bonus 5	622-626 (-?627)
Caesarius 2	c. 615
Callistus 1	VII
Callistus 2	VII
Comentiolus 2	610
Conon 3	VII
Constantinus 33 ( <i>qui et Lardys</i> )	602
Constantinus 45	VII
Domentianus	641
Domitius 3	639
Domitziolus 2	603-610
Dorotheus 19	VII
Elias 12	VII
Elias 13	VII
Georgius 48	626
Georgius 70	VII
Germanus 11	c. 601/603
Gregoras 3	609/610
Gregorius 15	E VII
Gregorius 19	641-645
Heraclius 3	608/610 (?602-610)
Ioannes 267	E VII
Ioannes 239	615/616
Ioannes 241 Cataeas	E/M VII
Ioannes 242	639
Ioannes 285	VII
Ioannes 286	VII
Ioannes 287	VII
Isaacius 8	E/M VII
Iustinus 14	610/611
Leo 23	VII
Leontius 31	615/616
Lupus 2	VII
Menas 45	VII

Miccinus	VII
Musilius	VII
Narses 14	VII
Nazar 2	VII
Nicetas 7	(?610-) 617
Nicetas 8	639
Nicetas 9	M VII
Nicetas 13	VII
Nicolaus 6	VII
Olympius 6	615/616
Palatinus	600
Paulus 63	VII
Paulus 64	VII
Petrus 65	E/M VII
Petrus 70	636
Petrus 62	VII
Petrus 64	VII
Petrus 66	VII
Photius 7	E VII
Plutinus 1	VII
Probus 7	610
Ptolemaeus 7	639
Romanus 13	605 or 607
Sergius 41	604
Sergius 42	611/641
Sergius 43	634
Sergius 50	VII
Sergius 51	VII
Soterichus 3	?VII
Stephanus 70	VII
Strategius 10	604-615
Theodorus 163	E/M VII
Theodorus 164 ( <i>qui et Trithyrius</i> )	634-636
Theodorus 167 Rshtuni	643-c. 653
Theodorus 178	VII
Theodorus 193	VII
Theodorus 194	VII
Theodorus 195	VII
Theodosius 40	626
Theodosius 47	VII
Troilus 4	VII
Valentinus 5	644/645

Vasacius 2	VII
Vasacius 3	VII
Anonymus 2	639
Anonymus 155	VII

PATRICIAE (in *PLRE* III)

Antipatra	M/L VI
Antonina 1	M VI
Antonina 2	559
Campana	L VI
Clementina	L VI
Gabrielia	M VI
Italica	L VI
Iuliana 1	M/L VI
Maria 7	596
Maria 4	M/L VI
Matasuentha	c. 549/550
Rustica	M/L VI
Sophia 1	before 565
Sophia 2	L VI
Theodora 1	E/M VI
Domnica	VI/VII
Rusticana 2	L VI/E VII
Theoctista 2	597-601
Athanasia 2	VII
Eusebia 2	603
Marcia 2	E VII

EXARCHI ITALIAE

Decius 2 (? <i>exarchus</i> )	584 Oct. 4
Smaragdus 2	584/585-?589/590
Romanus 7	589/590-595/597
Callinicus 10	596/597-602/603
Smaragdus 2 ( <i>exarchus</i> II)	603-608
Photius 7	E VII (?608/613)
Gregorius 15	E VII (c. 610/615 or 619/625)
Ioannes 239	615/616
Eleutherius	616-619
Isaac 8	625/626-643/644

(NB Iulianus 22, recorded a. 589 March 31, probably not *exarchus Italiae*)

EXARCHI AFRICAE

Gennadius 1	591 July-598 Sept./Oct.
Heraclius 3	608/610 (?602-610)
Fl. Gregorius 19	(?641-) 645
Anonymus 107 (? <i>exarchus Africae</i> )	L VI

EXARCHI

Theocharistus 1	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 70	VI

PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO ORIENTIS

Basilides	before 528 Feb. 13
Atarbius	528 March 1
Menas ( <i>PLRE</i> II) (PPO II)	528 June 1-529 April 7
Fl. Theodorus Petrus Demosthenes ( <i>PLRE</i> II) (PPO II)	529 Sept. 17-Oct. 30
Iulianus 4	530 March 18-531 Feb. 20
Ioannes 11	531 Feb./April-532 Jan. 14
Phocas ( <i>PLRE</i> II)	532 Jan./Oct.
Ioannes 11 (PPO II)	532 Oct. 18-541 May 7
(Fl. Comitas Theodorus Bassus, deputy for Ioannes)	541 Feb.)
Theodotus 3	541 June 1-542 Dec. 18 (-?543)
Petrus 9 ( <i>qui et Barsymes</i> )	543 July 16-546 May 1
Theodotus 3 (PPO II)	546/547-?548
Fl. Comitas Theodorus Bassus 4	548 early-c. Sept. 15/17
Eugenius 1	548 Sept./Oct.
Fl. Marianus Iacobus Marcellus Aninas Addaeus	551 June 15
Fl. Ioannes Theodorus Menas Narses Chnoubammon Horion	
Hephaestus	551 late-552 early
Areobindus 4	553 Feb. 8-April 15
Petrus 9 ( <i>qui et Barsymes</i> ) (PPO II)	555 June 1-562 May
Leo 4	563 Dec. 21
Diomedes 2	572 May 18
Gregorius 4	577/578
Anonymus 4 (?PPO or <i>comes Orientis</i> )	579
Theodorus 61 ( <i>qui et Picridius</i> )	L VI

FASTI

Plato 4 ( <i>magister et PPO, ?Orientis</i> )	VI
Georgius 14	?598
Constantinus 33 ( <i>qui et Lardys</i> )	before 602
Theodorus 150	605 or 607
Alexander 21	?615 or 626
Olympius 6	615/616

PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO AFRICAE

Archelaus ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	534 April 13
Solomon 1	535 Jan. 1-536 April 1
Symmachus 2	536-539
Solomon 1 ( <i>PPO II</i> )	539-544
Sergius 4	544-545
Athanasius 1	545 spring-548 (-?549/550)
Paulus 17	552 Sept. 6
Boethius 1	556/561
Ioannes 69	558 Sept. 22
Ioannes 75 ( <i>qui et Rogathinus</i> ) ( <i>?PPO or MVM</i> )	563 Jan.
Thomas 15 ( <i>?PPO</i> )	563/565
Theodorus 30	570 March 1
Thomas 15 ( <i>?PPO II</i> )	?574-578
Theodorus 38	582 Aug. 11
Ioannes 95	582/602
Anonymus 5	589
Pantaleo	594 July
Menas 11 ( <i>?PPO Africae</i> )	?M/L VI
Georgius 44	L VI/E VII
Innocentius 3	600 July-Oct.
Sergius 44 ( <i>?PPO Africae</i> )	E VII
Gregorius 16	627 June
Georgius 50	(?633/634-) 641-642

PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO ITALIAE

Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	527-528
Faustus ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	521/522 or 529
Cassiodorus Senator ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	533 Sept. 1-537 Sept. 1
Fidelis ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	537 early-538 spring
Reparatus ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	538 spring-539 March
Athanasius 1	539 summer-540 (-?542)
Maximinus 2	542

FASTI

Antiochus 2	552 late-554
Fl. Marianus Micahelius Gabrihelius Petrus Iohannis Narses	
Aurelianus Limenius Stefanus Aurelianus 1	554/568
Longinus 5	568-574/575
Maurilio ( <i>?PPO Italiae</i> )	before 591
Georgius 11	591 Feb.-593 April
Gregorius 6	595 June
Constantinus 10 ( <i>PPO of Italy or Illyricum</i> )	596 Oct.
Ioannes 111	598 Sept./Oct.
Ioannes 226	600 March
Anonymus 133	VI
Acataphronius	VI/E VII
Ioannes 180	M VI/VII
Theopemptus 6	M VI/M VII
Ioannes 270	VII
Theodorus 200 ( <i>ex praefectis et PPO Italiae</i> )	VII

PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO ILLYRICI

Basilides	529 April 7
Domnicus 2	535 March 16-540 April 7
Elias 4	541 June 1-Dec. 12
Anonymus 3	568 late
Ioannes 91 ( <i>PPO Illyrici et quaestor exercitus</i> )	578
Callistratus	581/582
Iovinus 2	592 March
Constantinus 10 ( <i>PPO of Illyricum or Italy</i> )	596
Charias	c. 618
Leo 17	c. 620/630

PRAEFECTI PRAETORIO (doubtful)

Aiditqlios ( <i>?PPO or army commander</i> )	538/539
Areobindus 4 ( <i>?PPO</i> )	563
Paulus 32 ( <i>?PPO</i> )	?VI

HONORARY PREFECTS (*ex praefectis, ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων*)

Aristobulus 2	591
Asclepiodotus 1	529/530
Comitas 10	M/L VI
Elias 6	M VI

Evagrius	L VI
Eunapius	VI
Eustathius 1	?530/531
Eutyclus	599
Ioannes 141	VI
Ioannes 162	L VI
Iulianus 30	?VI
Iulianus 11	M VI
Iulianus 17	M VI
Iulianus 28	VI
Iulianus 30	VI
Iulianus 32	VI
Longinus 3	M VI
Petrus 34	VI
Petrus 35	VI
Quertinus	598
Theodorus 44	593-597
Thomas 9	541
Valerianus 3	VI
Zacharias 2	578/579
Zemarchus 2	562-565
Anonymus 7	565/578
Anonymus 6	579
Anonymus 134	M/L VI
Abramius 5	M VI/M VII
Acindynus 3	M VI/M VII
Athanasius 8	?VI/VII
Bodianus	M VI/VII
Bonus 10	M VI/M VII
Callinicus 13	M VI/M VII
Constantinus 25	M VI/M VII
Constantinus 26	M VI/M VII
Constantinus 27	M VI/M VII
Daniel 2	VI/VII
Diomedes 4	M VI/E VII
Dorotheus 17	M VI/M VII
Georgius 37	M VI/M VII
Ioannes 207	VI/VII
Ioannes 208	VI/VII
Ioannes 209	VI/VII
Ioannes 211	VI/VII

Iulianus 35	M VI/M VII
Michael 6	VI/VII
Nemesion	L VI/E VII
Nicolaus 4	M VI/M VII
Paulus 52	VI/VII
Paulus 46	M VI/M VII
Photinus 2	M VI/M VII
Plato 5	VI/VII
Sergius 31	M VI/M VII
Sergius 32	M VI/M VII
Sergius 33	M VI/M VII
Sergius 55	VI/IX
Stauracius 1	VI/VII
Theodorus 95	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 109	M VI/M VII
Theodulus 2	M VI/M VII
Theophylactus 2	M VI/VII
Anonymus 143	M VI/M VII
Agallianus	VII
Anastasius 41	VII
Andreas 27	VII
Anthemius 4	VII
Asyncritus	VII
Basilus 12	VII
Basilus 13	VII
Caesarius 3	VII
Callinicus 16	VII
Chrestus	VII
Christophorus 5	E/M VII
Chrysonas	VII
Colympadius (?)	VII
Constantinus 46	VII
Constantinus 47	VII
Cosmas 27	VII
Cosmas 28	VII
Damianus 11	VII
Euphemius 4	VII
Eustathius 16	VII
Georgius 71	VII
Georgius 72	VII
Georgius 73	VII

Georgius 74 (?Sergius)	VII
Germanus 16	VII
Iannulus	VII
Ioannes 288	VII
Ioannes 289	VII
Ioannes 290	VII
Ioannes 291	VII
Ioannes 292	VII
Iordanes 3	VII
Isaacius 10	VII
Iustinus 15	VII
Leontius 40	VII
Leontius 41	VII
Lycastus	VII
Maurianus 3	VII
Michael 9	VII
Patricius 10	VII
Paulus 65	VII
Perigenes 2	VII
Petrus 68	VII
Philaretus 2	VII
Praesentinus 3	VII
Stephanus 72	VII
Stephanus 73	VII
Stephanus 74	VII
Theodorus 196	VII
Theodorus 197	VII
Theodorus 198	VII
Theodorus 199	VII
Theodorus 200	VII
Theodorus 201	VII
Theodosius 48	VII
Theodosius 49	VII
Theodotus 9	VII
Theopemptus 11	E VII
Theophylactus 10 Simocatta	?VII
Theophylactus 15	VII
Tribunas 4	VII
Tribunas 5	VII
Vasacius 4	VII

## PRAEFECTI (?honorary)

Bonus 9	VI/VII
Demetrius 10	VII
E...cimus	M VI/M VII
Elias	VI
Eusebius 10	VI
Eustathius 10	VI
Georgius 25	E/M VII
Hadrianus 4	VI
Ioannes 142	E/M VII
Ioannes 293	VI/VII
Leontius 25	VII
Nicetas 13	VII
Nicolaus 7	VI/E VII
Olympius 5	VI
Petrus 30	VI
Petrus 31	M VI/M VII
Petrus 46	VII
Petrus 66	VII
Petrus 67	VI
Phocas 5	VI
Priscus 4	M VI/M VII
Sergius 30	VI
Theodorus 68	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 124	VII
Zacharias 14	VI
Anonymus 132	VII
Anonymus 155	VII
Anonymus 156	VII

## PRAEFECTI VRBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE

Tribonianus 3	527/565
Victor 1	528
Eustathius 1	530/531
Eudaemon 1	532
Tryphon 1	532
Patricius 3	536 March
Plato 3	twice before 539
Longinus 2	(?536) 537-541/542
Gabrielius 1	543 Dec.

Thomas 12	547 May
Ioannes 45 Coccoorobius	550
Areobindus 4	before 553
Musonius 1	556 May
Gerontius 3	560 late-562 May/June
Procopius 3	562 Nov.-563 April
Andreas 7	563 April
Zemarchus 2 (I)	before 565
Addaeus	565 Jan.
Zemarchus 2 (II)	565
Iulianus 15	565-566
Domninus 2	c. 567
Anonymus 7	565/578
Anonymus 8	571
Sebastianus 2	580
Iulianus 20	580
Aristomachus 2	after 582
Leontius 27	603
Theopemptus 7	605 or 607
Anonymus 11 (?PPO or PVC)	609
Cosmas 19	609
Priscus 6 (?PVC)	610
Rogatus 1	?610/612
Theodorus 158	612
Gennadius 8	c. 610/620
Damianus 9	610/630
Leontius 31	615/616
Carinus 1	E/M VI
Cyrionymus	VI
Heraclides	V/VI
Ioannes 143	VI
Martinianus 3 (or ?Martinus)	VI
Nicolaus 3	VI
Petrus 32	M/L VI
Sergius 10	M VI
Sergius 14	VI
Symeones 2	VI
Theodorus 93	VI
Theodotus 6	?VI
Theopemptus 3	VI
Tiberius 2	?VI

Anonymus 9	VI
Anonymus 10	VI
Asterius 5	M VI/VII
Cosmas 17	VI/VII
Demosthenes 2	VI/VII
Diomedes 3	VI/VII (?M/L VI)
Drosorius 2	VI/VII
Eupraxius	VI/VII
Genethlius 2	M VI/VII
Gregorius 10	M VI/VII
Hesychius	?VI/VII
Ioannes 206	VI/VII
Leo 16	?VI/VII
Megethius	M VI/VII
Nicephorus 1	VI/VII
Nilus 3	VI/VII
Philippus 4	M VI/VII
Taurinus 5	VI/VII
Theodorus 85	VI/E VII
Theodosius 34	VI/VII
Theognius 2	VI/VII
Eulampius 2	E/M VII
Musilius	VII
Sergius 45	E VII

## PRAEFECTI VRBIS ROMAE

Salventius	533
Honorius 2	535/536
Pamphronius	c. 555
Gregorius 5	573
Germanus 7	590
Ioannes 109	597-599

## MAGISTRI OFFICIORVM

(Tribonianus 1, <i>inter agentes</i> )	528-529)
Hermogenes 1	529 May-533 Nov.
(Basilides, acting Mag. Off.	(531-) 532 Jan.)
(Strategius ( <i>PLRE</i> II), acting <i>Mag. Off.</i> )	c. 532)
Tribonianus 1	533 Nov.-535 Jan.

FASTI

Hermogenes 1 ( <i>Mag. Off. II</i> )	535 March-April
Basilides	536 March-539 June
Petrus 6	539-565
Anastasius 14	565-566
Theodorus 34	566-before 576
Anonymus 21 ( <i>?Mag. Off. or MVM</i> )	565/578
Anonymus 12	578/579
Theodorus 39	587/588
Anonymus 13	594
Plato 4 ( <i>Magister and PPO</i> )	VI
Mauricius 7	M VI/M VII
Domnitiolus 1	603-610
Anianus	c. 635
Paulus 63	VII

MAGISTRI OFFICIORVM (honorific)

Theophilus 1	529 April-533 Dec.
Anatolius 3	533 Dec.
Theodorus 54	M VI
Stephanus 38	M VI/E VII
Theodorus 171	E/M VII

QVAESTORES SACRI PALATII

Thomas 3	528 Feb.-529 April
Tribonianus 1	529 Nov. (?Sept.)-532 Jan.
Basilides	532 Jan. (-?534/535)
Tribonianus 1 ( <i>QSP II</i> )	535 Jan.-537 Nov./Dec. (-?542 May)
Iunillus	541/542-548/549
Constantinus 4	548/549-562 (-?565/566)
Anastasius 14	?565-571/572
Traianus 3	575
Ioannes 94	582
Ioannes 98	587/588
Ioannes 105	591
Cosmas 20	c. 620
Constantinus 36	640/641
Menas 45	VII

QVAESTORES SACRI PALATII (honorific)

Dorotheus 4	533-534
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FASTI

Fl. Ioannes... Horion Hephæstus	543/545
Evagrius	L VI

COMITES SACRARVM LARGITIONVM

Elias 2	529
(Constantinus 1 inter <i>agentes</i> )	528-533)
Strategius ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	535 April-c. 538
Petrus 9 ( <i>qui et Barsymes</i> )	542 March-before 543 July
Fl. Victor 3	545
Ioannes 39	546/548
Petrus 9 ( <i>qui et Barsymes</i> ) ( <i>CSL II</i> )	547/548-550 (-before 555 June)
Magnus 2	(565-) 566-573
Ioannes 86	573
Iulianus 18	?573/574
Theodorus 34	576
Fl. Se... (? <i>CSL</i> )	M VI
Gennadius 3	VI
Athanasius 9 (or Anastasius)	605 or 607

COMITES SACRARVM LARGITIONVM (honorific)

Cratinus	(530-) 533
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COMITES REI PRIVATAE

Florus 1	531 Nov.-536 March
Marthanes 2	558 Nov.
Petrus 14	566
Eudaemon 3	576
Athanasius 8 ( <i>ex comitibus privatarum</i> )	?VI/VII

CURATORES DOMVS DIVINAE

Macedonius 2 <i>curator dominicae domus</i>	(?528-) 531 Nov.
Florus 1 <i>curator dominicae domus</i>	531 Nov.
Petrus 1 <i>curator divinae domus Augustae</i>	531 Nov.
Eudaemon 2 <i>?curator domus divinae</i>	c. 542
Anatolius 7 <i>curator domus divinae</i>	557
Faustinus 1 <i>?curator domus divinae</i>	M VI
Acacius 3 <i>imperialis curator</i>	M VI
Theodosius 10 <i>divinus curator</i>	M VI

FASTI

Thomas 20	<i>curator (?domus Placidiae)</i>	M VI
Aetherius 2	<i>curator domus Antiochi</i>	560-565 (-?566)
Georgius 7	<i>curator domus Marinae</i>	560 late-562 May
Zemarchus 2	<i>curator domus Placidiae</i>	562 May
Theodorus 25	<i>curator domus Placidiae, succeeding Zemarchus</i>	562 May
Anonymus 16	<i>curator (?domus Hormisdæ)</i>	571/572
Magnus 2	<i>curator domus Marinae</i>	573/578
Petrus 17	<i>curator (domus) Augustae</i>	576
Domentziolus 1	<i>curator domus Hormisdæ</i>	?578/579
Anonymus 17	<i>curator domus divinae (in Antioch)</i>	c. 579
Megas 2	<i>curator (domus divinae)</i>	(?c. 579-) 587/588
Magnus 2	<i>curator domus Hormisdæ</i>	c. 581
Aristomachus 2	<i>curator domus Augustae</i>	after 582
Aristobulus 1	<i>curator domus Antiochi</i>	588 summer
Theodorus 49	<i>curator (at Ravenna)</i>	598-599
Ioannes 131	<i>curator</i>	VI
Baduarius 3	? <i>curator domus Areobindi</i>	?VI
Theodorus 72	? <i>curator</i>	M/L VI
Theodorus 108	<i>curator</i>	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 114	<i>curator</i>	M VI/M VII
Zacharias 9	<i>curator</i>	M VI/M VII
Drosorius 1	<i>curator domus Placidiae</i>	VI/VII
Petronas 2	<i>curator (in Thrace)</i>	VI/VII
Lazarus 3	<i>curator (?domus Augustae)</i>	?L VI/E VII
Constantinus 33	<i>(qui et Lardys) curator domus, (either Hormisdæ or Placidiae)</i>	602
Leontius 27	<i>curator domus Antiochi</i>	before 603
Photius 6	<i>curator domus Placidiae</i>	610
Georgius 66	<i>curator</i>	VII

COMES ANGVSTIARVM PONTICI MARIS

Ioannes 7 (at Hieron)	528
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COMITES ABYDI

Constantinus 14	VI
Ioannes 129	M/L VI
Theodorus 155	610

COMITES PATRIMONII

Ioannes 70 (Italy)	559
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FASTI

Bonus 3 (?comes patrimonii; Italy)	?561
Talitanus (?comes patrimonii; Italy)	599

COMMERCIARII

Addacus (at Constantinople)	?540/550
An...	?VI/VII
Areobindus 6 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Diomedes 4 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Ioannes 178 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Iulianus 34 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Marinus 8 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Michael 3 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Moschus 1 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Petrus 35	VI
Sergius 26 (in Africa)	VI/E VII
Sergius 27	M VI/M VII
Sergius 37 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Stephanus 38 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Theodorus 107 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Theodorus 104	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 160 (at Constantinople)	626
Theodorus 117 (in Cyprus)	E/M VII
Thomas 27 (at Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Anonymus 76 (in Palestine)	M VI

PRAEPOSITI SACRI CVBICVLI

(Misael)	E VI
Narses 1	537/538-554 (-?558/559)
Calopodius 1	559
Pharasmanes	527/565
Callinicus 2	565
Narses 3	565/578
Anonymus 14	590
Manasses	M/L VI
Narses 11 (?PSC)	L VI/E VII
Smaragdus 2	before 608
Anonymus 124	c. 635
Mauricius 9	VII
Stephanus 19 ( <i>praepositus Augustae</i> )	c. 571



## SACELLARII

Narses 1	<i>sacell. et primic. sac. cub.</i>	530-531
Narses 1	<i>sacell. (II) et PSC</i>	537/538-554 (-?559)
Rusticus 4		554-556
Callinicus 2		565
Andreas 8	<i>(sacellarius Augustae)</i>	571
Narses 4		565/574
Domnellus	<i>(?sacellarius)</i>	(?598-) 599
Anonymus 15		c. 598/599
Leontius 21		VI/VII
Leontius 29		610
Constantinus 35		628/629
Anonymus 120		c. 632
Theodorus 164	<i>(qui et Trithyrius)</i>	634-636
Philagrius 3		641
Donus 2		643/644
Antiochus 6		VII
Philagrius 6		VII

## PRIMICERII SACRI CVBICVLII

Narses 1		530-531
Euphratas 2		M VI

## PRIMICERIVS AVGVSTAE

Calopodius 2		L VI
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## CASTRENSES SACRI PALATII

Theodorus 3		527/565
Synetus		612

## CASTRENSIS SACRAE MENSAE

Anastasius 7		541
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## OSTIARII (eunuchs)

Antiochus 1		M VI
Theodosius 45		VII

## PARACOEMOMENVS

Stephanus 53		602
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## CVBICVLARII

Calopodius 1		527/532-559
Theodorus 3		527/565
Narses 1		(530) 531-552
Calotychius		535
Iulianus 5		?536
Scholasticus 1		551
Narses 4		565-581
Andreas 8		571
(Firmi)nus 2		571/586
Stephanus 53		602
Philaretus 1		612-613
Marianus 5		640
Callinicus 14		641

Anastasius 25	<i>(?ex cubiculario)</i>	L VI
Euphratas 2		M VI
Ioannes 53		M VI
Ioannes 130		VI
Troilus 1		M VI

Andreas 20		M VI/M VII
Andreas 21		M VI/M VII
Ioannes 194	<i>(?cubic. or vicarius)</i>	VI/VII
Ioannes 215		VI/VII
Leontius 21		VI/VII
Michaelius 4		VI/VII
Nicetas 5		VI/VII
Philagrius 2		M VI/M VII
Theoctistus 4		M VI/M VII
Theodorus 111		M VI/M VII
Theodorus 112	<i>(?cubic. or vicarius)</i>	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 113		M VI/M VII

Adamantius		E/M VII
Andreas 26		VII
Antiochus 6		VII

Calopodius 3	VII
Georgius 65	VII
Hyacinthus	VII
Ioannes 261	E/M VII
Ioannes 275	VII
Mauricius 9	VII
Michaelius 8	VII
Nicetas 6	VII
Nicetas 11	VII
Paulus 59	VII
Philagrius 6	VII
Scholasticus 4	E VII
Stephanus 75	VII
Theodosius 45	VII
Theodotus 8	VII
Theophylactus 13	VII
Vaanes 2	VII
Vaanes 3	VII

CVBICVLARIAE

Gregoria 2	597
Paulina 2	?VI

CIVIL POSTS OF SPECTABILIS GRADE (proconsuls, etc.)

Patricius 1 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	527
Zeno 1 ( <i>praefectus</i> , in Egypt)	527/548
Paschasius ( <i>praefectus annonae</i> , at Rome)	533/537
Maximus 1 ( <i>vicarius urbis Romae</i> )	533/536
Dioscorus 2 ( <i>praefectus augustalis</i> )	535
Stephanus 7 ( <i>proconsul Palaestinae Primae</i> )	536 July
Acacius 1 ( <i>proconsul Armeniae Primae</i> )	536 March (-?538/539)
Rhodon ( <i>praefectus augustalis</i> )	538
Helias 1 ( <i>proconsul</i> , of Crete)	539
Lazarus 1 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	542
Claudianus (? <i>proconsul Dalmatiae</i> )	549
Stephanus 14 ( <i>proconsul Palaestinae Primae</i> )	555 July
(Georgius 6 <i>comes et agens vices vicarii</i> , at Rome)	559)
Marcellinus 2 ( <i>v.ill.</i> , <i>vicarius</i> , ? <i>urbis Romae</i> )	559
Zemarchus 1 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	560/561
Lucius Map... ( <i>proconsul Africae</i> )	565/578

Theodorus 33 (? <i>proconsul</i> , of Armenia)	575
Armatus 2 ( <i>vicarius Thraciae</i> )	575/576
Anatolius 8 (? <i>vicarius</i> of the PPO Orientis)	c. 579
Anonymus 4 (?PPO or <i>comes Orientis</i> )	c. 579
Anonymus 86 (? <i>vicarius</i> of the PPO Orientis)	579/580
Solomon 5 ( <i>vicarius Thraciae</i> )	?582
Asterius 3 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	587/588
Ioannes 97 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	587/588
Bacchus 3 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	588/589
Ioannes 106 (? <i>vicarius urbis Romae</i> )	593/594
Marcellinus 3 ( <i>proconsul Dalmatiae</i> )	(598-) 599
Vigilius 2 ( <i>vicarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	before 599
Ioannes 113 ( <i>vicarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	599
Dulcitus 3 ( <i>vicarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	600
Theodorus 153 (? <i>praefectus annonae Alexandriae</i> )	609
Bonusus 2 ( <i>comes Orientis</i> )	609-610
Eutychianus 5 (? <i>vicarius</i> of Pontica)	610/611
Theodorus 162 (? <i>vicarius</i> , in Palestine)	629

Damocharis ( <i>proconsul Asiae</i> )	IV/VI
Asclepius 1 ( <i>proconsul Asiae</i> )	V/VI
Licinius ( <i>praefectus augustalis</i> )	L V/E VI

Dulcitus 1 ( <i>proconsul</i> , ?of Asia or Achaea)	VI
Entolius (MVM <i>et proconsul Palaestinae</i> )	?M/L VI
Ioannes 118 ( <i>comes domesticorum et proconsul Asiae</i> )	?VI
Fronto 2 ( <i>comes</i> and <i>proconsul</i> )	?VI
Hadrianus 3 ( <i>vicarius Thraciae</i> )	VI
Ioannes 139 ( <i>notarius et vicarius Thraciae</i> )	VI
Lucius ( <i>proconsul</i> , at Constantinople)	M VI
Maximus 4 (? <i>proconsul Asiae</i> )	?M VI
Petrus 13 ( <i>proconsul</i> , ? <i>Africae</i> )	M VI
Petrus 33 ( <i>praefectus annonae</i> , at Constantinople)	VI
Theodorus 56 ( <i>proconsul</i> and poet)	M VI
Theodorus 54 ( <i>magister officiorum</i> and <i>proconsul</i> , ? <i>Asiae</i> )	M VI
Thomas 22 ( <i>vicarius</i> , at Naissus)	?VI
Tiberianus (? <i>proconsul Africae</i> )	?M/L VI
Victor 1 ( <i>proconsul Achaeae</i> , <i>praefectus augustalis</i> )	E VI
Fl... th... (? <i>comes Orientis et sacrarum largitionum</i> )	?VI
Anonymus 31 (? <i>comes Orientis</i> )	M VI
Anonymus 47 ( <i>vicarius Palaestinae Secundae</i> )	VI
Athanasius 8 ( <i>chartularius et proconsul Asiae</i> )	?VI/VII

Constantinus 28 ( <i>proconsul</i> )	M VI/M VII
Ioannes 212 ( <i>proconsul</i> )	VI/VII
Philippus 9 ( <i>proconsul</i> )	VII
Theodorus 168 ( <i>proconsul Palaestinae Primae</i> )	E VII

## PRAETORES SICILIAE

Leo 3	559
Elpidius 1	before 583
Romanus 6	before 591
Iustinus 8	590 Sept.-592 July
Libertinus	593 May-595 April
Alexander 17	600
Thomas 31 ( <i>praetor, ?Siciliae</i> )	M VI/M VII

## PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

Callinicus 1 ( <i>praeses Ciliciae Secundae</i> )	527/548
Iacobus 1 ( <i>praeses Thebaidis</i> )	528/529-533/534
Bassus 1 ( <i>?praeses Palaestinae Secundae</i> )	529
Anonymus 50 ( <i>?governor of Palestine</i> )	c. 531
Amazaspes ( <i>consularis Armeniae Magnae</i> )	531/536
Anastasius 4 ( <i>dux et praeses, of Arabia</i> )	532-533
Anonymus 38 ( <i>consularis Liguria</i> )	533/537
Apollinarius 1 ( <i>governor of the Balearic Isles</i> )	534
Phoebammon 1 ( <i>praeses Thebaidis</i> )	534/535
Agerochius ( <i>consularis Haemimonti</i> )	535
Arsilius ( <i>consularis Ciliciae Primae</i> )	535
Paulus 3 ( <i>dux et praeses, of Arabia</i> )	535
Stephanus 7 ( <i>consularis Palaestinae Primae</i> )	535/536
Acacius 1 ( <i>?consularis Armeniae Magnae</i> )	before March 536
Thomas 6 ( <i>comes Armeniae Tertiae</i> )	536
Ioannes 21 ( <i>?governor of Caria</i> )	c. 536
Nonnus 1 ( <i>consularis Cariae</i> )	(?536-) 538
Iustinianus 2 ( <i>praeses Moesiae Secundae</i> )	538
Aeneas 1 ( <i>praeses Thebaidis Inferioris</i> )	after 538/539
Thomas 10 ( <i>praeses Thebaidis Inferioris</i> )	541-542
Anonymus 52 ( <i>?governor of Osrhoene</i> )	c. 542/543
Constantinus 8 ( <i>?governor of Apulia et Calabria</i> )	559
Thomas 14 ( <i>praeses, of Arcadia</i> )	566
Anatolius 8 ( <i>praeses, of Osrhoene</i> )	c. 579

Anonymus 86 ( <i>praeses, of Osrhoene</i> )	579/580
Anonymus 55 ( <i>?governor of Moesia Inferior or Scythia</i> )	582
Ioannes 100 ( <i>governor, ?of Armenia Quarta</i> )	589
Anonymus 56 ( <i>governor of Campania</i> )	591
Sisinnius 2 ( <i>governor of Samnium</i> )	berore 592
Scholasticus 2 ( <i>governor of Campania</i> )	592
Anonymus 57 ( <i>praeses Sardiniae</i> )	595
Anastasius 17 ( <i>tribunus, of Corsica</i> )	596
Spesindeo ( <i>praeses, of Sardinia</i> )	599-600
Theodorus 161 ( <i>praeses Sardiniae</i> )	627
Anonymus 62 ( <i>governor, at Edessa</i> )	627/628
Philiades ( <i>governor of Arcadia</i> )	641
Servandus ( <i>praeses, of Scythia</i> )	V/VI
Anatolius 10 ( <i>praeses Arcadiae</i> )	VI
Archelaus 2 ( <i>?governor in Thebais Inferior</i> )	?VI
Cheiredius ( <i>?provincial governor</i> )	M VI
Cometas 1 ( <i>?governor of Thebais</i> )	E/M VI
Cyricus 2 ( <i>praeses Arcadiae</i> )	VI
Cyrillus 1 ( <i>?governor of Thebais</i> )	E/M VI
Dioscorus 8 ( <i>praeses Thebaidis</i> )	VI
Epiphanius 2 ( <i>governor of Cyprus</i> )	L VI
Euphrantas ( <i>governor of Galatia Prima</i> )	L VI
Eustathius 8 ( <i>?governor, in Egypt</i> )	VI
Florentius 5 ( <i>praeses, of Arcadia</i> )	VI
Honorius 4 ( <i>?governor, at Carrhae</i> )	L VI
Iulianus 12 ( <i>?governor of Alexandria</i> )	M VI
Menas 3 ( <i>praeses Arcadiae</i> )	M VI
Papius ( <i>?governor of Caria</i> )	M VI
Philippus 1 ( <i>?governor of Lydia</i> )	?M VI
Phoebammon 4 ( <i>?praeses Thebaidis Inferioris</i> )	M VI
Romanus 1 ( <i>?governor, in Egypt</i> )	M VI
Theodosius 15 ( <i>?governor, in Egypt</i> )	M/L VI
Theopemptus 2 ( <i>moderator</i> )	M/L VI
Anonymus 49 ( <i>governor of Palaestina Prima</i> )	E/M VI
Theodorus 133 ( <i>archon</i> )	M VI/M VII
Hadrianus 5 ( <i>archon of Lydia</i> )	VII
Ioannes 257 ( <i>archon of Galatia Prima</i> )	E VII
Ioannes 276 ( <i>archon and ergasteriarches</i> )	VII
Ioannes 294 ( <i>archon</i> )	VII

FASTI

Leo 18 (archon of Decapolis)	VII
Petrus 69 (archon)	VII
Theodorus 187 (archon)	VII
Thomas 35 (archon and <i>ergasteriarches</i> )	VII

MAGISTRI SCRINIORVM (ἀντιγραφεῖς)

Constantinus 1 ( <i>magister libellorum</i> )	528-533
Plutarchus (? <i>magister epistularum</i> )	M VI
Iulianus 15	562
Aristobulus 2 ( <i>ex praefecto et antigrafus</i> )	591
Sebastianus 3	592
Ioannes 232	605 or 607
Theophylactus 10 Simocatta	E VII
Callinicus 15	VII
Ioannes 277	VII
Theodorus 172	VII

PRIMICERII NOTARIORVM

Eutygianus 1	M VI
Georgius 47 (? <i>primicerius notariorum</i> )	602

A SECRETIS

Aemilianus 5	VI
Anastasius 21	M/L VI
Demetrius 5	566
Georgius 21	VI
Gregorius 8	M/L VI
Ioannes 125	VI
Iulianus 8	54 <sup>o</sup>
Marianus 2	VI
Sebastianus 4	VI
Theodorus 16	547/548
Thomas 5	532
Thomas 25	VI
Zeno 4	VI
Zenodorus	562
...ander	M VI
Athanasius 7	VI/VII

FASTI

Eustathius 11	M VI/M VII
Ioannes 186	VI/VII
Leon 15 ( <i>protoasecretis</i> )	?VI/VII
Leontius 22	VI/VII
Megistus 1	?L VI/E VII
Theodorus 134	M VI/M VII
Vigilius 3	?VI or later

Ioannes 265	VII
Iulianus 41	VII
Megistus 2	VII
Phocas 8	E VII
Theodorus 149	602
Theodorus 10	VII

REFERENDARII

Leo 1	?c. 527-c. 550
Macedonius 1	before 529
Theodorus 10	536-542
Petrus 10	552

Cyrus 8	M VI
Irenaeus	M VI
Leo 12	VI
Theodorus 66	VI
Hyperechius	M VI/VII
Marianus 4	M VI/M VII
Theophylactus 6	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 202	VII

NOTARII

Priscus 1 (East)	before 529
Solomon 1 (East)	before c. 529
Anthianus ( <i>tribunus et notarius, in Italy</i> )	534
Anonymus 39 ( <i>tribunus et notarius, in Italy</i> )	534
Montanus ( <i>notarius sacri vestiarii, at Ravenna</i> )	540
Thomas 10 ( <i>tribunus notariorum praetorianorum sacri palatii</i> )	541-542
Theodorus 19 (in Constantinople)	551
Tiberius 1 (East)	552/565
Smaragdus 1 (in Egypt)	557

FASTI

Ioannes 79 (East)	566
Dominicus 1 (?ecclesiastical, in Italy)	571/586
Irenianus (?ecclesiastical, in Italy)	571/586
Iustinus 7 (?ecclesiastical, in Italy)	571/586
Petrus 16 (?ecclesiastical, in Italy)	571/586
Mauricius 4 (East)	574
Cosmas 5 (in Egypt)	583
Iosephius 3 (in Egypt)	583
Faustinus 3 (?ecclesiastical, in Italy)	597
Donus 1 (ecclesiastical, in Italy)	625

Callinicus 6 (in Egypt)	M VI
Colluthus 2 (in Egypt)	M VI
Eugenius 2 (?ecclesiastical, in Italy)	M VI
Ioannes 172 (in Italy)	L VI
Iulianus 31 (in Egypt)	VI
Marcianus 9	VI
Sergius 23	VI
Stephanus 7 (?notarius or <i>agens in rebus</i> )	E/M VI
Theodoracius 1 (in Egypt)	VI
Victor 9 (in Egypt)	VI

Ioannes 203	VI/VII
Michael 5	M VI/M VII
Samuel 3 (in Egypt)	VI/VII
Symeonius 6	?L VI/E VII

Agapetus 2 ( <i>notarius</i> , ? <i>sacellae</i> )	VII
Cosmas 23 (in Egypt)	VII
Ioannes 283	VII
Ioannes 284	VII
Leontius 38	VII
Nicetas 12	VII
Philoxenus 7 (in Egypt)	VII
Anonymus 153 (? <i>notarius</i> )	E/M VII
Anonymus 154 (? <i>notarius</i> )	VII

AGENTES IN REBUS

Iulianus 8 ( <i>magistrianus</i> )	530/531
Sergius 2 ( <i>magistrianus</i> and <i>topoteretes</i> )	533
Olybrius 1 ( <i>magistrianus sacrorum officiorum</i> )	541

FASTI

Olympius 1 ( <i>agens in rebus</i> )	549/550
Eumolpius (? <i>agens in rebus</i> )	before 550
Comitas 4 ( <i>agens in rebus</i> )	550
Theodorus 17 ( <i>agens in rebus</i> )	550
Anonymus 115 ( <i>magistrianus</i> )	602

Bassus 5 ( <i>mag(istrianus)</i> , in Syria)	VI
Paulus 39 (? <i>magistrianus</i> , in Egypt)	VI
Simeonius 5 (? <i>magistrianus</i> , in Syria)	?VI
Stephanus 7 (? <i>agens in rebus</i> or <i>notarius</i> )	E/M VI

OFFICIALES and others serving under *illustres*

Ioannes 11 (? <i>scriniarius</i> of an MVM <i>praesentalis</i> )	520/527
Procopius 2 ( <i>consiliarius</i> of the MVM <i>per Orientem</i> )	c. 529-542
Anastasius 5 ( <i>cancellarius</i> of Lucania et Bruttium)	533/537
Beatus 1 ( <i>cancellarius</i> , ?of Campania)	533/537
Constantinianus 2 ( <i>officialis</i> of the PPO Italiae)	533/537
Felix 1 ( <i>consiliarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	?533-537
Gaudiosus ( <i>cancellarius</i> of Liguria)	533/537
Maximus 2 ( <i>cancellarius</i> of Lucania et Bruttium)	533/537
Vitalianus 1 ( <i>cancellarius</i> of Lucania et Bruttium)	533/537
Anonymus 66 ( <i>canonicarius Venetiarum</i> )	533/537
Anatolicus ( <i>cancellarius</i> of Samnium)	534
Anthianus ( <i>cornicularius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534
Beatus 2 ( <i>primicerius Augustalium</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534
Lucinus 1 ( <i>cancellarius</i> of Campania)	534
Vrbicus 1 ( <i>primicerius singulariorum</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534
Vrsus ( <i>primicerius deputatorum</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534
Anonymus 39 ( <i>primiscrinus</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534
Andreas 2 ( <i>primiscrinus</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Carterius ( <i>regendarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Castellus ( <i>ab actis</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Constantinianus 1 ( <i>cura epistularum</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Heliodorus ( <i>commentariensis</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Ioannes 17 ( <i>canonicarius Tusciae</i> )	534/535
Ioannes 18 ( <i>cancellarius</i> , then <i>praerogativarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535

Iustus 1 ( <i>sextus scholarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Lucinus 2 ( <i>scriniarius</i> of the <i>cura militaris</i> , of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Optatus ( <i>cornicularius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Patricius 2 ( <i>primicerius exceptorum</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535

FASTI

Pierius ( <i>primicerius singulariorum</i> of the PPO Italiae)	534-535
Ioannes 19 ( <i>scriniarius</i> of the PPO Orientis)	535
Petrus 4 ( <i>arcarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	536
Thomas 7 ( <i>arcarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	536
Iulianus 6 ( <i>praetorianus</i> (?), in Rome)	536/537
Hierac ( <i>officialis</i> of the PVR)	432 or 539
Anonymus 67 ( <i>canonicarius Venetiarum</i> )	536/537
Alexander 5 (? <i>scriniarius</i> of the PPO Orientis)	540/541
Addaeus (? <i>scriniarius</i> of the PPO Orientis)	?540/550
Asclepius 4 ( <i>scriniarius</i> of the MVM <i>per Orientem</i> )	544
Recinarius (? <i>consiliarius</i> of the MVM <i>per Africam</i> )	546-548
Marcus 2 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , East)	550
Martinus 1 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , East)	550
Paulus 15 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , East)	550
Stephanus 10 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , East)	550
Curicus (? <i>ab actis</i> of the PPO Orientis)	555
Ioannes 65 (? <i>ab actis</i> of the PPO Orientis)	555
Ioannes 74 ( <i>qui et Gylus</i> ) ( <i>commentariensis</i> , at Constantinople)	562
Stephanus 16 ( <i>scriniarius</i> , ?of the PPO Italiae)	564
Apolenaris 3 ( <i>cancellarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	574/575
Aemilianus 4 ( <i>scriniarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	575
Ioannes 104 ( <i>consiliarius</i> of the PPO Italiae)	591
Iustinus 9 ( <i>consiliarius</i> of the <i>exarchus Italiae</i> )	599
Ioannes 227 ( <i>exceptor</i> of the PPO Italiae)	c. 600
Theodosius 39 ( <i>subadiuva</i> of the <i>mag. off.</i> )	605 or 607
(Menas 36 ? <i>consiliarius</i> , of Nicetas)	609
Anonymus 118 ( <i>officialis</i> of the PVC)	610
Theophylactus 9 ( <i>subadiuva</i> of the PVC)	610/641
Ioannes 238 ( <i>consiliarius</i> of the <i>exarchus Italiae</i> )	615/616
Procopius 10 ( <i>consiliarius</i> of the <i>exarchus Italiae</i> )	616/619
Vitalianus 4 ( <i>numerarius</i> of the <i>scrinium canonum</i> , of the PPO Italiae)	before 639
Germanus 14 ( <i>exceptor</i> , ?of the PPO Italiae)	639
Germanus 15 ( <i>scriniarius</i> , of the PPO Italiae)	639
Abundantius 1 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , at Rome)	M VI
Domminus 1 ( <i>cancellarius</i> , ?of the PPO Orientis)	M VI
Faustinus 2 ( <i>numerarius</i> , ?of the PPO Italiae)	M VI
Ianuaris 2 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , at Ravenna)	M VI
Menas 15 ( <i>praefectianus</i> , in Egypt)	VI
Micinius ( <i>cancellarius</i> of the PVR)	M VI
Paulus 20 ( <i>cancellarius</i> , ?of the PPO Orientis)	M VI

FASTI

Probus 3 ( <i>primicerius nomenclatorum</i> , at Ravenna)	M/L VI
Eusebius 9 ( <i>adiutor scrinii canonum</i> , at Ravenna)	L VI
Genulus ( <i>numerarius</i> of the MVM <i>per Illyricum</i> )	?VI/VII
Drosus ( <i>commentariensis</i> , then <i>secretarius</i> , of the PVC)	E/M VII
Callinicus 8 ( <i>symponus</i> , of the PVC)	VII

IVDICES PEDANEI

Alexander 3	539
Alexander 4	539
Anatolius 4	539
Flavianus 1	539
Marcellus 3	539
Menas 2	539
Phocas ( <i>PLRE II</i> )	539-541
Plato 3	539
Stephanus 5	539
Theodorus 11	539
Victor 1	539
Victor 2	539
Florus 1 (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> )	541
Paulus 11 (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> )	541
Thomas 9 (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> )	541
Iulianus 9 (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> )	542
Athanasius 2 (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> )	556
Cheiredius (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> or <i>praeses</i> )	M VI
Asterius 2 (? <i>iudex pedaneus</i> )	576
Paulus 40	VI
Hyperechius	M VI/VII
Theophylactus 2	M VI/VII
Sergius 42	610/641

TOPOTERETAE

Abaskiron (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; in Egypt)	L VI
Alexander 19 (Galatia Prima)	E VII
Ammonianus (Upper Egypt)	594
Anatolius 8 ( <i>topoteretes</i> of the PPO Orientis)	c. 579
Christophorus 4 (Heracleopolis)	644, 646, 647
Cosmas 29	VII
Dius (Antaeopolis)	c. 566/568
Iacobus 6 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	L VI

FASTI

Ioannes 200	VI/VII
Isaac 6 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	L VI
Marcellus 9 (Egypt)	VI
Menas 8 ( <i>topoteretes limitis</i> ; Egypt)	583
Menas 12 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	L VI
Moschus 1 (Tyre)	M VI/E VII
Onophrius (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	VI/VII
Pas (Upper Thebaid)	M VI/VII
Phoebammon 18 (Upper Thebaid)	VI/VII
Sergius 2 (Arabia)	533
Theodorus 136 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	L VI/E VII
Theophilus 4 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	E VII
Thomas 24 (Antaeopolis)	VI
Zacharias 6 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Egypt)	L VI
Anonymus 47 (Palaestina Secunda)	VI
Anonymus 86 (? <i>topoteretes</i> of the PPO Orientis)	579/580
Anonymus 110 (? <i>topoteretes</i> ; Hermopolis)	VI
Anonymus 111 (Seleucia Pieria)	VI

PAGARCHS

Alexander 6 (Antaeopolis)	550
Ammonius 3 (?Hermopolis)	VI
Apion 3 (Arsinoe)	556
Apion 4 (Arsinoe)	612
Athenius (Arsinoe)	?VI
Christophorus 4 (Heracleopolis Magna)	644, 646, 647
Colluthus 3 (Antaeopolis)	567/568
Apa Cyrus (Heracleopolis Magna)	642
Dorotheus 10 (Hermopolis)	VI
(Ioannes 96 (Antaeopolis)	after 585)
Ioannes 122 (in the Fayum)	VI
Ioannes 248 (Antinoe)	640/641
Iulianus 13 (Antaeopolis)	547/548-c. 551, ?553
Iulianus 17 (Antaeopolis)	c. 570
Iulianus 25 (Oxyrhynchus)	VI
Macarius 1 (Antaeopolis)	VI
Marcianus 10 (Athribis)	609
Menas 5 (Antaeopolis)	553
Menas 5 (II, Antaeopolis)	566-567
Menas 14 (in the Fayum)	VI
Menas 43 (Arsinoe)	VII

FASTI

Nilammon (in the Fayum)	VI
Paulus 54 (Sebennytyos)	609/610
Paulus 55 (Arsinoe)	VII
Petterius (Arsinoe)	?VII
Ptolemaeus 5 (Athribis)	609
Sabinus (unknown)	VI
Serenus 5 (Antaeopolis)	after 585
Strategius 10 (Arsinoe)	600
Theodoracius 2 (Arsinoe)	639/640
Theodoracius 3 (Heracleopolis Magna)	644
Theodorus 170 (?Oxyrhynchus)	VI/VII (?E VII)
Thomas 24 (Antaeopolis)	VI
Timotheus 4 (Arsinoe)	VI
... tius (Arsinoe)	600
... nes (in the Fayum)	VI/VII
Anonymus 34 (Oxyrhynchus)	VI
Anonymus 35 (Oxyrhynchus)	VI
Anonymus 37 (Arsinoe)	?VII
Anonymus 110 (Hermopolis)	VI

MAGISTRI MILITVM PER ORIENTEM

Hypatius ( <i>PLRE</i> II)	527-529
Belisarius I	529-531
Mundus	531
Belisarius I (II)	(?532) 533-542
Buzes	540 (-?542)
Martinus 2	543-544 (?-549)
Belisarius I (III)	c. 549-551
Amantius 2	555
Valerianus 1	556
Zemarchus 3	569
Marcianus 7	572-573
Theodorus 31 ( <i>qui et</i> Tzirus)	573
Eusebius 7	(573-) 574
Iustinianus 3	574/575-577
Mauricius 4	577-582
Ioannes 101 (Mystacon)	582-583
Philippicus 3	584-587/588
Priscus 6	588 spring
Philippicus 3 (II)	588-589
Comentiolus I	589-591

## FASTI

Narses 10	591-603
Domnitiolus 2	604-605
Cottanas	609
Comentiolus 2	610
Isaacius 8	before 625/626
(Priscus 6	611-612)
(Philippicus 3 (?III)	612-614)
Theodorus 164 ( <i>qui et</i> Trithyrius)	634-636

## MAGISTRI MILITVM PER AFRICAM

(Solomon 1	534-536)
(Germanus ( <i>PLRE</i> II)	536-539)
(Solomon 1 (II)	539-544)
(Sergius 4	544-545)
(Areobindus 2	545)
Artabanes 2	546
Ioannes 36 ( <i>qui et</i> Troglita)	546-551/552
Ioannes 75 (Rogathinus) (?PPO or MVM)	563
Theoctistus 2	c. 570
Amabilis	571
Gennadius 1	c. 578-585
Theodorus 47	598
Gregoras 3	609/610
Ioannes 130 (MVM <i>Byzacenae</i> )	VI
Leontius 17 (MVM <i>Byzacenae</i> )	VI
Theoctistus 5 (?MVM <i>per Numidiam</i> )	VI/VII
Petrus 70 (MVM <i>per Numidiam</i> )	E/M VII (?636)

## MAGISTRI MILITVM PER ARMENIAM

Sittas 1	528 (-?529/530)
Dorotheus 2	530-533
Valerianus 1	541-547
Dagisthaeus 2	548-549
Bessas ( <i>PLRE</i> II)	550-554
Martinus 2	555-556
Iustinus 4	557-?
Iustinianus 3	572-573
Ioannes 88	573
Ioannes 101 (Mystacon)	579-582

## FASTI

Ioannes 101 (Mystacon) (?II)	(?589-) 590-591 (-?)
Heraclius 3	c. 595
Suren	L VI
Iustinus 14	610/611
Mezezius	628-635/637
David 6 Saharuni	635-638 or 637-640
Theodorus 167 Rshturni	638 or 640-642/643

## MAGISTRI MILITVM PER ILLYRICVM

Ascum	528
Mundus	529-530 (-?531)
Mundus (II)	532-536
Iustinus 2	(?536-) 538
(Calluc	539)
Vitalius 1	(?539-) 544
Ioannes 46	(?549-) 550 (-?553)
Bonus 4	568-569/570
Theognis 1	581-582

## MAGISTRI MILITVM PER THRACIAS

Artabanes 2	550 (-?554)
Priscus 6	588
Priscus 6 (II)	593
Petrus 55	593-594
Priscus 6 (III)	594 late -?598
Comentiolus 1	598-601
Petrus 55 (II)	601-602

## MAGISTRI MILITVM PRAESENTALES

Leontius ( <i>PLRE</i> II, pp. 673-4) (? <i>praesentalis</i> )	528
Phocas 1	528-529
Sittas 1	530-538/539
Germanus ( <i>PLRE</i> II, pp. 505-7)	536 March
Maxentianus	536 March
Artabanes 2	546-549
Suartuas	548/549-552
Constantianus 2 (? <i>praesentalis</i> )	562
Germanus 2 (? <i>praesentalis</i> )	582
Comentiolus 1	585 (?-586)
Bonus 5	626



## MAGISTRI MILITVM SPANIAE

Comentiolus 1	589
Caesarius 2	c. 615

## MAGISTRI MILITVM (on active service in the East)

Cerycus (Lazica)	527/528
Gilderich (Lazica)	527/528
Irenaeus ( <i>PLRE</i> II) (Lazica)	527/528
Thomas 2 (Lazica)	?527/535
Plato 1	528
Theodorus 4	528
Anonymus 18 (Palestine)	531/532
Ioannes 20 ( <i>qui et</i> Tzibus) (Lazica)	535-541
Martinus 2	540-543
Petrus (in <i>PLRE</i> II, p. 870)	541-544
Iustus 2	542-544
Narses 2	543
Peranius	543-544
Marcellus 5	544
Constantianus 1	?544-545
Eustathius 4	?542/548
Longinus 3	550
Martinus 2 (Lazica)	551-554
Buzes (Lazica)	554-556
Ioannes 66 ( <i>qui et</i> Dacnas) (Lazica)	556
Babas (Lazica)	556
Soterichus 1 (Lazica)	556
Marthanes 1	559-560
Anonymus 20	566
Theodorus 32 (Armenia)	574-575
Cours (Armenia)	574-582
Romanus 4 (?MVM <i>per Lazicam</i> )	575/576-589
Martinus 3	579-587
Ariulf	582
Aulus	583
Heraclius 3	586-588, 589
Germanus 13	602-604
Ioannes 231	605
Anonymus 23 (Rhodes)	622-623
Anonymus 24	622/623 or 623/624

Baanes	627
Elias 10 ( <i>qui et</i> Barsoca)	628
Anonymus 25	c. 629
Baanes	634-636
Anonymus 123 ( <i>korator</i> )	635
Anonymus 121 (at Pella)	635
Ioannes 241 ( <i>qui et</i> Cataeas)	636-638
Ptolemaeus 7	638-639
Eustathius 14	638-639
Theodorus 86 (Amida)	?VI
Anonymus 108 ( <i>korator</i> )	L VI

## MAGISTRI MILITVM (on active service in Africa)

Ioannes 16	533-?536
Theodorus 8	534-537
Ildiger	534-537
Leontius 2	539-540
Rufinus 2	539-540
Ioannes 27	539-545
Gentius	546/547
Cutzinas	547-548
Turranius	548/549
Marcianus 7	563

## MAGISTRI MILITVM (on active service in the Balkans)

Godilas 1 (Thrace)	528
Chilbudius 1 (Thrace)	530-533
Mauricius 1 (Illyricum)	(?535-) 536
Constantianus 2	549-551
Iustinus 4	?-552
Amalafridas	552
Edermas	559
Sergius 4	559
Marcellus 5	562
Baduarius 2	c. 566/567
Tiberius 1	569/570-571
Sethus	579

FASTI

Salvianus	583
Castus	587
Ioannes 101 (Mystacon)	587
Gentzon	593-594
Priscus 6	599
Iustinus 10	?VI
Georgius 45	?601/602
Guduin 1 (Thrace)	602

MAGISTRI MILITVM (on active service in Egypt)

Ioannes 246	640
Marianus 5	640
Marinus 11	640
Theodorus 166	640-641

MAGISTRI MILITVM (on active service in Italy)

Constantinus 3	535-537/538
Peranius	535-539
Bessas ( <i>PLRE</i> II)	535-546
Valerianus 1	536-?540
Martinus 2	536-540
Batzas 2	537
Paulus 5	537
Conon 1	537-548
Ioannes 46	537-549
Ildiger	537/538-540
Aratius	538-540
Narses 2	538-540
Ioannes 29	540
Cyprianus	540-545
Demetrius 3	542
Gilacius	547
Verus	547 (-?550)
Fulcaris	552
Philemuth	552-553
Dagisthaeus 2	552-?
Sindual	(?554-) 559 (-?566)
Aemilianus 3	559
Armentarius 2	559
Carellus 1	559

FASTI

Ioannes 71	559
Ioannes 72	559
Valerianus 1	559
Francio 1	c. 568-c. 588
Sisinnius 1	574
Baduarius 2	c. 576
Osso	590
Campanianus	591
Velox	591
Mauricius 2	591-592
Vitalianus 3	591-592
Castus	593-595
Apollonius	598
Maurentius 3	598-599
Aldio	599
Bahan	599
Gulfaris	599
Ansfrid	600
Zittas	600
Anatolius 12	626/638
Mauricius 8	639
Ionas	M/L VI
Georgius 19	L VI
Anonymus 26 (at Ravenna)	E VII

MAGISTRI MILITVM (on active service in Spain)

Anonymus 90	582
Comitiolus 2	L VI/E VII

MAGISTRI MILITVM

(*vacans* or honorific, combined with other titles or offices)

Baduarius 1 ?MVM <i>et dux Scythiae</i>	528
Iustinus 1 ?MVM <i>et dux Moesiae Secundae</i>	528
Constantiolus ?MVM <i>et dux Moesiae Secundae</i>	528
Ioannes 8 ?MVM <i>et dux Palaestinae</i>	529
Theodorus 5 ?MVM <i>et dux Palaestinae</i>	529
Summus ( <i>PLRE</i> II) ?MVM <i>et dux Palaestinae</i>	c. 537/538
Elias 3 ?MVM <i>et dux (in Egypt)</i>	(?537-) 539
Guntharis 2 ?MVM <i>vacans</i> and <i>dux Numidiae</i>	545

FASTI

Apion 3	MVM and pagarch of Arsinoe	556
Athanasius 3	MVM, <i>cos.</i> , <i>patricius</i> , <i>dux Thebaidis</i>	?566-568
Sergius 7	?MVM <i>et dux Mesopotamiae</i>	567-573
Ioannes 87	MVM and ? <i>dux</i> (at Dara)	573
Iulianus 19	MVM, <i>praef. Iust.</i> , <i>dux Thebaidis</i>	578
Naamanes 3	MVM and phylarch	c. 581-582/584
Narses 10	?MVM and <i>dux</i> (in Osrhoene)	587/588
Edantius	(?MVM <i>et</i> ) <i>dux Sardiniae</i>	588/589
Eupaterius 1	MVM <i>et dux Chersonis</i>	589/590
Theodorus 42	MVM <i>et dux Sardiniae</i>	591
Sebastianus 3	?MVM <i>et magister scrinii</i>	592
Zabardas	(?MVM <i>et</i> ) <i>dux Sardiniae</i>	594
Eupaterius 2	MVM <i>et dux Sardiniae</i>	598-599
Entolius	MVM <i>et proconsul Palaestinae</i>	?M/L VI
Anonymus 22	MVM, <i>cos.</i> , ? <i>dux Thebaidis</i>	VI
Dorotheus 8	MVM and ? <i>dux Thebaidis</i>	VI
Athanasius 14	<i>spatharius et</i> MVM	VII
Georgius 69	MVM <i>et discursor</i>	VII
Menas 43	MVM and pagarch of Arsinoe	VII
Nicephorus 3	MVM <i>et comes</i>	VII
Theodorus 187	MVM <i>et archon</i>	VII
Theodorus 191	MVM <i>et curator</i>	VII
Theodorus 192	MVM <i>et chartularius</i>	VII
Theophylactus 14	MVM <i>et spatharius</i>	VII
Tryphon 4	MVM <i>et proconsul</i>	VII
Anonymus 151	MVM <i>et imperialis meizoterus</i>	VII
Anonymus 152	MVM <i>et comes</i>	VII
Ioannes 249	?MVM and <i>dux Libyae Pentapoleos</i>	640/641
Donus 2	MVM <i>et sacellarius</i>	643/644
Symbatius 2	?MVM <i>et drungarius</i>	M VII

MAGISTRI MILITVM (probably honorific)

Antiochus 3	VI
Areobindus 4	553
Damianus 5	M/L VI
Gabriel 2	VI
Georgius 23 (in Africa)	VI
Georgius 24	VI
Georgius 22 (?MVM)	M/L VI
Gregoras 1	M/L VI
Ioannes 135 (in Africa)	VI

FASTI

Ioannes 136	VI
Ioannes 137	VI
Ioannes 138	VI
Ioannes 110 (in Egypt)	598
Iulianus 16 (in Egypt)	567
Marcus 8	VI
Menas 18 (?MVM, Egypt)	VI
Menas 13 (Egypt)	VI
Paulus 37	VI
Petrus 29	VI
Prasinacius (Thrace)	?VI
Procopius 4	VI
Ptolemaeus 4 (Egypt)	599
Sergius 21	M/L VI
Sergius 22	VI
Stephanus 35	VI
Stephanus 36	VI
Stephanus 37 (Africa)	VI
Stylianus	VI
Theodorus 36	579
Theodorus 83	VI
Theodosius 18 (in Egypt)	VI
Trasaric 2 (Italy)	M/L VI
Tullianus 2 (Italy)	M/L VI
Zacharias 4	M/L VI
Anonymus 19a (in Egypt)	537
Anonymus 19b (in Egypt)	553
Anonymus 131	M/L VI
Acindynus 2	VI/VII
Alexander 16	?VI/VII
Anastasius 32	VI/VII
Anastasius 33	VI/VII
Anastasius 34	VI/VII
Andronicus 3	M VI/M VII
Barbatus 2	M VI/M VII
Basilius 9	M VI/VII
Constantinus 23	M VI/M VII
Constantinus 24	M VI/M VII
Constrius (Africa)	VI/VII
Cosmas 12	M VI/M VII
Cosmas 13	M VI/M VII

Crescens (Africa)	VI/VII
Cyrellus 5	M VI/M VII
Cyrus 13	M VI/M VII
Gennadius 5	VI/VII
Georgius 34	VI/VII
Georgius 35	VI/VII
Gregorius 14 (or Georgius) (Africa)	VI/VII
Ioannes 202	VI/VII
Ioannes 183 (Egypt)	VI/VII
Ioannes 215 (Africa)	VI/VII
Irenarchus	VI/VII
Iustinus 12	M VI/M VII
Manuel 2	M VI/M VII
Mauricius 6 (Africa)	M VI/VII
Menander 2	M VI/M VII
Menas 33 (Egypt)	VI/VII
Mercurius 1	M VI/M VII
Moschus 2	VI/VII
Olympius 3	M VI/M VII
Photinus 1 (Africa)	VI/VII
Polyeuctus	M VI/VII
Pompeianus (Africa)	VI/VII
Stephanus 43 (Africa)	VI/VII
Stephanus 48 (Crete)	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 128	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 129	VI/VII
Theodorus 145 (Egypt)	VI/VII
Theodosius 31	VI/VII
Theodosius 32	M VI/M VII
Theognius 3	M VI/M VII
Theophylactus 5	M VI/M VII
Vaanes 1	M VI/M VII
Zoilus 2	M VI/M VII
Anonymus 142 (?MVM)	M VI/M VII
Abraamius 7	VII
Constantinus 44	VII
Cosmas 26	VII
Cyrellus 6 (Egypt)	618
Cyrion (?MVM)	VII
Damianus 10 (?MVM)	VII
Epiphanius 5	VII

Epiphanius 6	VII
Georgius 67	VII
Georgius 68	VII
Gregorius 24	VII
Gregorius 25	VII
Gregorius 26	VII
Hypatius 3	VII
Hypatius 4	VII
Ioannes 278	VII
Ioannes 279	VII
Ioannes 280	VII
Ioannes 281	VII
Leo 22	VII
Menas 44	VII
Papias	VII
Paschalius 3	VII
Paulus 62	VII
Philagrius 5	VII
Photinus 3	VII
Procopius 9	VII
Symbatius 2	M VII
Theodorus 188	E/M VII
Theodorus 190	E/M VII
Theodorus 186	VII
Theodorus 189	VII
Theodosiacius (Egypt)	605
Theodosius 42 (Egypt)	?E VII
Theodosius 46	VII
Theodotus 11	VII
Tribunas 3	VII
Zacharias 13	VII
Anonymus 27 (?MVM, at Arsinoe)	VII

## PHYLARCHS

Gnoupas (?Ghassānid, ?phylarch)	528
Naaman (al-Nu'mān) (?Ghassānid)	528
Tapharas	528
Caisus (Qays) (Kindite)	528-531
Abocharabus (Abū Karib) (Ghassānid)	528-543
Arethas (al-Ḥārith) (Ghassānid)	c.528-569
Ambrus ('Amr) (Kindite)	531

Iezidus (Yazīd) (Kindite)	531
Asouades (?al-Aswad)	544/555
Alamundarus (al-Mundhir) (Ghassānid)	c. 570-c. 581
Naamanes (al-Nu'mān) (Ghassānid)	c. 581-583/584
Ogyrus (?Hujr) (Kindite or Ghassānid)	586
Zogomus (Ghassānid)	586
Gōphna (Ghassānid)	?586/587
Jafnah (?Ghassānid)	590

Cf. also:

Ose ( <i>phylarchus</i> , in Egypt)	VI/VII
Abimenes Gregorius 13 (?phylarch, in Syria)	L VI/E VII
Gabala (Jabalāh ibn al-Ayham) (Ghassānid)	636

QVAESTORES EXERCITVS

Bonus 1	536-537 (?-553)
Iustinus 4	c. 561-565/566
Ioannes 91	578
Iulianus 20	580
Theodorus 84 ( <i>praefectus Insularum</i> )	VI

COMITES FOEDERATORVM

Artabanes 2	546-549
Eusebius 4	562
Theodericus 2	(?577/578-) 581

COMITES EXCVBITORVM

Priscus 1	529
Theodorus 9	535-536
Marcellus 3	541-552
Marinus 2	561 Nov.-562 Dec.
Tiberius 1	565-574
Mauricius 4	?574-?582
Philippicus 3	582/584-603
Priscus 6	?603-612 Dec.
Nicetas 7	612-613 (-?)
Valentinus 5	641
Valentinus 4	VI/VII
Stephanus 65	VII

COMITES DOMESTICORVM

Vigilantius	527/534
Fl. So...	527/548
Fl. Domnicus 3	(536-) 540
Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion 3	539
Fl. Mar. Petr. Theodor. Valent. Rust. Boraid. Germ. Iustinus 4	540
Fl. Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius 3	541
Fl. Comitas Theodorus Bassus 4	541
Marthanes 1	550
(Belisarius, ?comes protectorum)	c. 549-?551
Fl. Marianus... Theodorus Callinicus 4	c. 568-569/570
Cyrus 7	M VI
Theodosius 10	M VI
Fl. Munatius Cyricus 2	VI
Magnus 2	c. 581
Solomon 5	?582
Andreas 12 (?comes domesticorum)	589
Ioannes 118	?VI

CVRAPALATES

Iustinus 5	552-565
Baduarius 2	565 late-?
Ioannes 132	VI
Guaram I (ruler of Iberia)	588-c. 602
Petrus 55	602
Domnitiolus 2	603-610
Theodorus 163	(610-) 612
David 6 Saharuni	635-638 (or 637-640)
Varaztiroch	c. 645/646

COMITES SACRI STABVLI

Constantianus 2	536 (-?544)
Belisarius 1	544-549
Ioannes 48	?M VI
Baduarius 2	573 Oct.

DVCES (PROVINCIIARVM)

Belisarius 1 (Mesopotamia)	527-529
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Dionysius 1 (Phoenice)	528
Proclianus (Phoenice)	528
Buzes (Phoenice Libanensis)	528
Cutzes (Phoenice Libanensis)	528
Diomedes 1 (Palaestina)	528
Ioannes 6 (Euphratensis)	528
Baduarius 1 (Scythia)	528
Iustinus 1 (Moesia Secunda)	528
Anastasius 3 (Arabia)	529
Ioannes 8 (Palaestina)	529
Theodorus 5 (Palaestina)	529
Theodotus 1 ( <i>qui et</i> Magalas) (Palaestina)	late 529-530
Irenaeus ( <i>PLRE II</i> ) (Palaestina)	530
Bessas ( <i>PLRE II</i> ) (Mesopotamia)	531
Anastasius 4 (Arabia)	532-533
Valerianus 1 (Numidia)	534-536
Ioannes 36 Troglita (Byzacena or Tripolitana)	?534-537
Aristomachus 1 (Aegyptus)	535
Narses 2 (Thebais)	c. 535
Paulus 3 (Arabia)	535
Aratius (Palaestina)	535/536
Batzas 1 (Euphratensis)	536
Marcellus 2 (Numidia)	536
Ioannes 25 (Thebais)	537
Elias 3 (in Egypt)	(?537-) 539
Orion (Thebais)	538 (-?539)
Anonymus 40 (Thebais)	538/545
Theoctistus 2 (Phoenice Libanensis)	540-543
Molatzes (Phoenice Libanensis)	540
Rhecithangus (Phoenice Libanensis)	541
Ioannes 36 Troglita (Mesopotamia)	541-545/546?
Liberius ( <i>PLRE II</i> ) (Alexandria)	538/539-c. 542
Ioannes 31 Laxarion (Alexandria)	c. 542
Ildiger (Phoenice Libanensis)	543
Cyrus 3 (Pentapolis)	543-544
Sergius 4 (Tripolitana)	543-544
Hephaestus (Thebais)	543/545
Himerius 1 (Byzacena)	544
Guntharis 2 (Numidia)	545
Marcentius (Byzacena)	545-546
Hephaestus (Alexandria)	545/546 (-?551)
Anonymi 41 (two <i>duces</i> , Byzacena)	546/547

Apion 3 (Thebais)	548-550 (?)
Marcianus 6 (?Arcadia)	c. 549-550 (?)
Horion (Thebais)	550/551
Conon 2 (Thebais)	?550/558
'Wdn' (Mesopotamia)	553
Anastasius 12 (Palaestina)	554
Cyrus 8 (Thebais)	?c. 565
Iustinus 4 (Alexandria)	c. 566
Athanasius 3 (Thebais)	before 566/567
Athanasius 3 (Thebais, II)	?566-568
Sergius 7 (Mesopotamia)	?567-573
Callinicus 4 (Thebais)	c. 568-569/570
Iuventinus (Syria)	572
Theodorus 35 (Thebais)	577
Iulianus 19 (Thebais)	578
Aristomachus 2 (Thebais)	578/582
Anonymus 43 (Phoenice Libanensis)	581
Anonymus 44 (Arabia)	c. 582
Anonymus 55 (Lower Moesia or Scythia)	582
Eilifredas (Phoenice Libanensis)	587/588
Germanus 6 (Phoenice Libanensis)	588
Edantius (Sardinia)	588/589
Eupaterius 1 (Cherson)	589/590
Marinus 5 (Euphratensis)	591
Zabardas (Sardinia)	594
Eupaterius 2 (Sardinia)	598-599
Menas 10 (Alexandria)	598/600
Gudescalcus 1 (Campania)	599/600
Petrus 56 (Alexandria)	602
Guduin 2 (Campania)	603
Kisil (Tripolitana)	609
Leontius 28 (Libya)	609
Ioannes 235 (Alexandria)	609
Nicetas 7 (Alexandria)	(?610-) 617
Asphaturius (Thebais)	610/640
Sergius 43 (Palaestina)	634
Theodosius 41 (Arcadia)	640
Domentianus (Arcadia)	640-641
Ioannes 249 (Pentapolis)	640/641
Menas 40 (Augustamnica)	640/641-642
Theodorus 166 (Alexandria)	641-642
Ioannes 252 (Numidia)	641-646

FASTI

Senuthius 2 (Thebais)	641/642
Philoxenus 6 (Arcadia)	642
Constantinus 12 (Alexandria)	L VI
Dorotheus 7 (Thebais)	M VI
Gibimer 2 (Palaestina)	?M/L VI
Ioannes 59 (Thebais)	M VI
Ioannes 169 (Alexandria)	L VI
Iulianus 12 (?Alexandria)	M VI
Paulus 26 (Alexandria)	L VI
Senuthis 1 (Thebais)	VI
Victor 4 (Thebais)	M VI
Anonymus 22 (Thebais)	VI
Sergius 55 (Italy)	VI/IX
Gabrielius 3 (Thebais)	M VI/VII
Mauricius 5 (Thebais)	M VI/E VII
Iustinas (Alexandria)	E VII
Papnuthius (Arcadia)	?VII
Anonymus 48 (Alexandria)	E VII

COMITES REI MILITARIS and DVCES (field army)

Basilius 2 (?comes rei militaris, in the East)	528
Hadrianus 1 (?comes rei militaris, in the East)	529
Sunicas (dux, in the East)	530-531
Simmas (dux, in the East)	531
Abros (Amr) (dux, in the East)	531
Theodotus 2 (dux, in the East)	c. 535
Herodianus 1 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	535-540, 542-545
Innocentius 1 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	535-537, 545/546
Magnus 1 (comes rei militaris, in Italy)	535-544
Paulus 4 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	535-537
Valentinus 1 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	535-537
Vrsicinus 1 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	535-537
Aratius (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	538-540
Paulus 8 (comes, ?rei militaris, in Africa)	539/544
Isaac 1 (?dux, in Armenia)	543
Fronimuth (?comes rei militaris, in Africa)	546-548
Geisirith (?comes rei militaris, in Africa)	546-548
Gregorius 2 (?comes rei militaris, in Africa)	546/547
Putzintulus (?dux or comes rei militaris, in Africa)	546-548

FASTI

Tarasis (?comes rei militaris, in Africa)	546-548
Sinduit (?comes rei militaris, in Africa)	547-548
Marthanes 1 (?dux, in Cilicia)	late 540s
Deitatus (?comes rei militaris, in Suania)	551
Varazes 1 (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	551
Palladius 2 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	552
Chanaranges 3 (?comes rei militaris, in Italy)	554
Theodorus 21 (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	554-558
Vsigardus (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	555
Dabragezas (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	555-556
Angilas (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	556
Elminzur (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	556
Maxentius 2 (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	556
Philomathius (?comes rei militaris, in Lazica)	556
Germanus 4 (?comes rei militaris, in Thrace)	559
Damianus 3 (dux or comes rei militaris, in Thrace)	?571
Solomon 4 (?dux, at Sirmium)	581
Comentiolus 1 (?dux or comes rei militaris, in Thrace)	584
Stephanus 26 (?comes rei militaris, in the East)	585
Vitalis 4 (?dux or comes rei militaris, in the East)	586
Ansimuth (?dux, in Thrace)	587
Probus 5 (?dux, in the East)	590
Arsicinus (dux, in Italy)	591
Alexander 11 (?dux, in Thrace)	593-594
Guduin 1 (?dux, in Thrace)	595
Gregorius 18 (general, at Yarmuk)	636
Ioannes 247 (?dux, in Egypt)	640
Theodoretus 3 (ex ducibus, in Egypt)	VI
Thomas 16 (dux, in the East)	M VI
Euphemus (dux, in Egypt)	VII

TURMARCHS

Georgius 49	627/628
Theodorus 205	VII

DRVNGARII

Gabriel 4	VII
Mauritanus	VII
Petrus 68	VII
Theodotus 7	628

## DECVRIONES SACRI PALATII

Euphemius 3	M VI/VII
Iustinus 11	M VI/VII
Theodorus 20	553
Theodorus 35	577
Theodorus 57	M VI

## SILENTIARII

Adolius	542
Aeneas 2	VI
Constantinus 11	M/L VI
Diomedes 1	528
Diomedes 7	M VI
Eutygianus 3	VI
Gubazes	M VI
Ioannes 297	VII
Mannas	L VI
Paulus 21	M VI
Petrus 69	VII
Sergius 53	?VII
Theodorus 55	M VI
Theodorus 20	553
Theodorus 33	575
Theodorus 148	602
Zacharias 5	M/L VI

## SCRIBONES

Acacius 4	573
Alexander 10	VI
Andreas 10	578/582
Anthemius 3	545
Azimarchus	598
Busa	595
Comentiolus 1	583
Constantinus 18	VI
Gentio	598
Ioannes 145	VI
Ioannes 146	VI
Ioannes 147	VI

Ioannes 163	M/L VI
Iulianus 23	595-600
Marcus 6	598
Maurianus 1	VI
Mestrianus	556
Paulus 38	M/L VI
Theodorus 36	579
Theodorus 82	VI
Theophylactus 1	VI
Anonymus 101	594

Constantinus 29	M VI/M VII
Constantinus 30	M VI/M VII
Georgius 38	M VI/M VII
Georgius 39	M VI/M VII
Georgius 40	M VI/VII
Germanus 12	M VI/VII
Michaelius 7	M VI/M VII
Paulus 47	M VI/M VII
Petrus 48	M VI/M VII
Stephanus 45	M VI/VII
Stephanus 46	M VI/VII
Theodorus 123	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 125	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 126	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 152	L VI/E VII
Theodosius 35	VI/VII
Theophanes 2	VI/VII
Thomas 32	M VI/M VII
Zacharias 10	VI/VII
Anonymus 144	M VI/M VII

Bonosus 1	602
Elias 14	VII
Georgius 76	VII
Georgius 77	VII
Ioannes 295	VII
Ioannes 296	VII
Macrobius	605 or 607
Marinus 15	VII
Maurinus 2	643/644
Theodorus 203	E/M VII



FASTI

Theodotus 12	VII
Theophanes 5	VII
Thomas 36	VII

SPATHARII

Calopodius 1	?527/532
Ioannes 130 ( <i>cubic., imp. spath. et MVM Byzac.</i> )	VI
Ioannes 149 ( <i>imp. spath.</i> )	VI
Narses 1	532-?535/536
Narses 4 ( <i>cubic. et spath.</i> )	565-581
Scholasticus 1	551
Thomas 26	M/L VI
Anonymus 75 ( <i>spatharius</i> of Narses)	M VI
Anonymus 136	M/L VI
Ioannes 215 ( <i>cubic., imp. spath. et MVM</i> )	VI/VII
Sergius 35 ( <i>imp. spath.</i> )	M VI/M VII
Anthimus 2 ( <i>candidatus et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Athanasius 13	VII
Athanasius 14 ( <i>spath. et MVM</i> )	VII
Gratiosus ( <i>candidatus et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Ioannes 233 ( <i>spatharius et candidatus</i> )	605 or 607
Leontius 32 ( <i>comes opsarii et spatharius</i> )	615 or 626
Leontius 36 ( <i>candidatus et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Leontius 37 ( <i>candidatus et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Marinus 15 ( <i>scribo et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Maurianus 4 ( <i>imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Plutinus 2 ( <i>candidatus et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Sergius 54 ( <i>imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Sisinnius 5 ( <i>candidatus et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Stephanus 75 ( <i>cubic. et imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Theodosius 50 ( <i>imp. spath.</i> )	VII
Theophylactus 14 ( <i>MVM et imp. spath.</i> )	?VII
Tzittas 2 ( <i>spatharius et candidatus</i> )	605 or 607

CANDIDATI

Asbadus 1	550
Carellus 2	VI
Ephraemius	532

FASTI

Eulalius 1	532
Iulianus 21	581
Theodotus 5	M/L VI
Carinus 3	L VI/E VII
Georgius 30	VI/VII
Ioannes 187	VI/VII
Iordanes 2	M VI/M VII
Menelaus 1	M VI/M VII
Paulus 43	M VI/M VII
Paulus 51	VI/VII
Paulus 48	L VI/E VII
Petrus 39 ( <i>imperialis candidatus</i> )	M VI/M VII
Stephanus 39	VI/VII
Theodorus 97	M VI/M VII
Anthimus 2 ( <i>candid. et imp. spatharius</i> )	VII
Antonius 2 ( <i>?candidatus or diaconus</i> )	VII
Butilinus 2	E VII
Gratiosus ( <i>candid. et imp. spatharius</i> )	VII
Gregorius 21	VII
Ioannes 233 ( <i>spatharius et candidatus</i> )	605 or 607
Leo 19 ( <i>imperialis candidatus</i> )	VII
Leontius 36 ( <i>candid. et imp. spatharius</i> )	VII
Leontius 37 ( <i>candid. et imp. spatharius</i> )	VII
Plutinus 2 ( <i>candid. et imp. spatharius</i> )	VII
Sergius 43	634
Sisinnius 5 ( <i>candid. et imp. spatharius</i> )	VII
Tzittas 2 ( <i>spatharius et candidatus</i> )	605 or 607
Zoilus 3	E/M VII

EXCVBITORES

Anastasius 25 ( <i>?excubitor, in Italy</i> )	c. 600
Comitiolus 1 ( <i>Italy</i> )	L VI
Georgius 75	VII
Ioannes 195	VI/VII
Marinus 14	VII
Menas 22 ( <i>Egypt</i> )	VI
Nicon(?)	VII
Nouphas ( <i>Egypt</i> )	VII
Theodorus 76	VI/VII

## FASTI

Theodorus 184	VII
Timarcus (Italy)	598
Anonymus 95	588
Anonymus 96	588
Anonymus 102	598
Anonymus 103	598

## SCHOLARII

Alexander 7	M VI
Armatus 3 (Italy)	c. 600
Callinicus 12	M VI/M VII
Comitas 11	VI
Cosmas 8	VI
Costus (Nicomedia)	612
Elpidius 2	M/L VI
Georgius 75	VII
Gregorius 12	L VI/E VII
Ioannes 55	M VI
Ioannes 144	VI
Ioannes 213	VI/VII
Ioannes 245 (Italy)	639
Iustus 8	M VI/M VII
Leontius 23	VI/VII
Martinus 6 (Nicomedia)	E VII
Pardus 2	VII
Paulus 66	VII
Sergius 25	VI
Theodorus 124	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 138 (Nicomedia)	L VI/E VII
Theodosius 23	M/L VI
Theophylactus 7	M VI/M VII
Thiuda	VI
Zadoes	VII
Anonymus 138	VI

## PROTECTORES

Anastasius 24	M/L VI
Christophorus 3 (at Constantinople)	M VI/E VII
Curius (at Constantinople)	?528
David 1 (Ancyra)	M VI

## FASTI

Isaac 3 (Dara)	M VI
Martinus 5	VI
Menander 1	M/L VI
Theodosius 17 (Anastasiopolis)	L VI
Valerius 2	M VI/M VII
Vrbicus 1 ( <i>protector et domesticus</i> , Italy)	534
Anonymus 89 (on the eastern frontier)	581

## STRATORES

Cyrion (?MVM or <i>strator</i> )	VII
Ioannes 147	VI
Longinus 6	593
Moschus 4	VII
Mosilius	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 83 (?MVM or <i>strator</i> )	VI
Theodorus 151	607/610
Theodorus 204	VII
Anonymus 137	M/L VI

## CHARTULARII

Callinicus 8	VI
Cometas 8	M VI
Constans 1	M/L VI
Euthalius 2	M/L VI
Felix 9	592
(Firmi)nus? 2 (? <i>cubicularius</i> or <i>chartularius</i> )	571/586
Ioannes 82 (official of the <i>dux Thebaidis</i> )	568
Ioannes 126	VI
Leo 7	598
Leontius 15	VI
Maurentius 2	590-596
Mauricius 4	574
Narses 1 (see p. 000)	M VI
Nonnus 5	VI
Paulus 33	VI
Paulus 34	VI
Photius 1 (private)	E/M VI
Sergius 18	VI
Smaragdus 2 ( <i>chartularius sacri palatii</i> )	585/586
Stephanus 28	592-595

Stephanus 33	VI
Theodorus 69	M/L VI
Theodorus 75 (or ?Isidorus)	VI
Theodorus 89 (private)	VI
Thomas 13 ( <i>chartularius</i> of a <i>domus divina</i> )	547/548
Anonymus 130	VI
Alexander 15 ( <i>imperialis chartularius</i> )	VI/VII
Anastasius 29	M VI/M VII
Andronicus 2	M VI/M VII
Antiochus 4	M VI/M VII
Athanasius 8 ( <i>imperialis chartularius et proconsul Asiae</i> )	?VI/VII
Constantinus 21 ( <i>illustris et chart.</i> )	M VI/M VII
Didymus 1	M VI/M VII
Dorotheus 15	M VI/M VII
Dorotheus 18	L VI/VII
Gaianus	M VI/M VII
Georgius 43 (?private)	VI/VII
Ioannes 182 ( <i>comes et chart.</i> )	VI/VII
Ioannes 188 ( <i>chart. et discussor</i> )	VI/VII
Ioannes 189	VI/VII
Ioannes 190 ( <i>chart. et hypodectes</i> )	VI/VII
Leo 13 ( <i>imperialis chartularius</i> )	VI/VII
Leontius 21 ( <i>cubic., chart. et sacellarius</i> )	VI/VII
Leontius 24	VI/VII
Margarites	M VI/M VII
Menas 42 (?private)	VI/VII (?E VII)
Nicetas 4	VI/VII
Panaretus	M VI/M VII
Paulus 44	M VI/M VII
Petronas	M VI/M VII
Petrus 40	M VI/M VII
Petrus 41	M VI/M VII
Petrus 42 (? <i>imperialis chartularius</i> )	M VI/M VII
Petrus 43 (? <i>imperialis chartularius</i> )	M VI/M VII
Phocas 6	M VI/M VII
Procopius 6	M VI/M VII
Stephanus 40	VI/VII
Stephanus 41 ( <i>imperialis chartularius</i> )	VI/VII
Theoctistus 4 ( <i>cubic. et chart.</i> )	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 98	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 99	M VI/M VII

Theodorus 100	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 101	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 102	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 103	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 105 (? <i>imperialis chartularius</i> )	M VI/M VII
Theodorus 140 (private)	VI/VII
Theodosius 27 ( <i>chartularius et discursor</i> )	VI/VII
Theopemptus 4	M VI/M VII
Theopemptus 5	M VI/M VII
Anonymus 140	M VI/M VII
Anonymus 141	M VI/M VII
Andreas 24 ( <i>chartularius et xenodochus</i> )	VII
Antiochus 6 ( <i>cubic., imp. chart. et sacellarius</i> )	VII
Barnabas	VII
Basilius 10	VII
Cosmas 24	VII
Eleutherius ( <i>exarchus Italiae</i> )	616-619
Elias 11	VII
Gennadius 6	VII
Georgius 58 ( <i>chart. sacri logothesi</i> )	?E VII
Georgius 55 (?private)	?E VII
Georgius 60	VII
Gerontius 5 (private)	?E VII
Ioannacius (?private)	E VII
Ioannes 275 ( <i>cubic. et imp. chart.</i> )	VII
Iordanes 4	VII
Iustus 9 (private)	610
Mauricius 8	638/640-643/644
Nicetas 6 ( <i>cubic. et imp. chart.</i> )	VII
Nicetas 10	VII
Paulus 59 ( <i>cubic. et imp. chart.</i> )	VII
Petrus 61	VII
Philaretus 1 ( <i>cubic. et chartularius</i> )	612-613
Philippus 6	VII
Phoebammon 20 (?private)	E VII
Sergius 48	VII
Stauracius 3	VII
Stephanus 63 (?private)	VII
Theodorus 175	VII
Theodorus 176	VII
Theodorus 192 (MVM <i>et chartularius</i> )	VII

FASTI

Theodorus 207 ( <i>comes et chartularius</i> , ?private)	VII
Theophylactus 11	?VII
Thomas 33	643/644
Tryphon 3	VII
Vaanes 3 ( <i>cubic. et imp. chart.</i> )	VII
Victor 15 (?private)	E VII
Zacharias 11 (?private)	E VII
Anonymus 145	VII
Anonymus 146	VII

KINGS OF THE FRANKS

Theoderic I	511-533
Childebert I	511-558
Chlothar I	511-561
Theodebert I	533-547
Theodebald	547-555
Charibert I	561-567
Sigibert I	561-575
Chilperic	561-584
Guntram	561-593
Childebert II	575-595/596
Chlothar II	584-629
Theodebert II	596-612
Theoderic II	596-613
Sigibert II	613
Dagobert I	623-638
Charibert II	629-632
Sigibert III	634-656
Clovis II	640-657

PATRICII (under the Franks)

Parthenius ( <i>PLRE II</i> ) ( <i>magister officiorum et patricius</i> )	544
Placidus 1 ( <i>patricius and rector Provinciae</i> )	556 Dec.-557 April
Agricola 2 (under Chlotharius I, in Burgundy)	561
Celsus 2 (under Guntram, in Burgundy)	561-?569
Amatus (under Guntram, in Burgundy)	569
(Eunius <i>qui et</i> ) Mummolus 2 (under Guntram, in Burgundy)	569-581
Iovinus 1 ( <i>patricius and rector Provinciae</i> , under Sigibert)	572/573
Albinus 2 ( <i>rector Provinciae</i> , under Sigibert)	572/573
Dynamius 1 ( <i>rector Provinciae</i> , under Childebert II)	581

FASTI

Calumniosus ( <i>qui et Aegyla</i> ) (under Guntram, in Burgundy)	584-585
Leudegiselus (under Guntram, in Provincia Arelatensis)	585
Nicetius 3 ( <i>patricius and rector Massiliensis Provinciae</i> , under Childebert II)	587-588
(Syagrius 2, Gallo-Roman, made <i>patricius</i> by Maurice)	587)
Dynamius 1 ( <i>patricius and rector Provinciae</i> , II)	(590/591?-) 593 April (-?594/595)
Arigius ( <i>patricius</i> )	595 April-596 July
(Gundovaldus 1, ? <i>patricius</i> )	593)
Quolenus (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	599
Asclepiodotus 4 ( <i>patricius and rector Provinciae</i> )	(?599-) 601 June
Protadius ( <i>patricius and dux Vltraiuranus</i> , under Theoderic II)	604
Wulfus (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	605-607
Ricomeris (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	607
Aletheus (under Chlotharius II, ?in Burgundy)	613
Philippus 5 (under Dagobert)	629/630
Willibadus (under Dagobert and Clovis II, in Burgundy)	629-642
Aurelianus 2 ( <i>patricius</i> , at Marseilles)	?VI
Ennodius 1 (? <i>patricius and rector of Provence</i> )	?M VI
Namatius ( <i>patricius and rector Provinciae</i> )	M VI
Pantagathus 1 ( <i>rector, ?Provinciae</i> )	E/M VI
Syagrius 3 (governor, of Marseilles)	?-629/630

MAIORES DOMVS (under the Franks)

Aega (under Clovis II)	638-?641
Audegiselus (at Paris)	M VI
Baudegiselus (under Chilperic)	581
Bertoaldus 1 (under Theoderic II)	603-604
Chucus (under Chlotharius II, in Austrasia)	617
Claudius 4 (under Theoderic II)	606
Erchinoaldus (under Clovis II)	?641-657
Ermenarius (under Charibert)	627
Flaochadus (under Clovis II, in Burgundy)	642
Florentianus (under Brunichildis)	589
Grimoald 2 (in Austrasia)	641/642-?662
Gundelandus (under Chlotharius II, in Neustria)	E/M VII
Landericus (under Chilperic and Chlotharius II)	584-604
Pippin (under Dagobert and Sigibert)	624-639
Protadius (under Theoderic II)	605

FASTI

Rado (under Chlotharius II, in Austrasia)	613
Servilio (?under Sigibert)	M VI
Waddo 2 (under Rigunthis)	584
Warnacharius 1 (under Theoderic II)	599
Warnacharius 2 (under Chlotharius II, in Burgundy)	613-626

COMITES PALATII (under the Franks)

Bertharius 2 (under Clovis II)	642
Ciucilo (under Sigibert)	M VI
(Mummolus 3 ( <i>praefectus</i> (? <i>palatii</i> ), under Chilperic)	?-584)
Romulfus 1 (under Childebert II)	589
Tacilo (under Dagobert)	E/M VII
Trudulfus (under Childebert II)	587

COMITES STABVLI (under the Franks)

Cuppa (under Chilperic)	580 (-?584)
Eborinus 2 (under Theoderic II)	607
Herpo 2 (under Theoderic II)	613
Leudastes (under Charibert)	M VI
Leudegiselus (under Guntram)	584/585
Sunnegiselus (under Childebert II)	589

CVBICVLARII (under the Franks)

Bertharius 1 (under Theoderic II)	612
Charegiselus 2 (under Sigibert)	575
Chotro (under Childebert II)	582/585
Chundo (under Guntram)	590
Ebero (under Childebert II)	584
Eberulfus (under Chilperic)	584
Faraulfus (under Chilperic)	584
Radan (under Childebert II)	587/588

REFERENDARII (under the Franks)

Asclepiodotus 3 (under Guntram)	583/585
Audoenus ( <i>qui et Dodo</i> ) (under Dagobert)	635
Baudinus (under Chlotharius I)	E/M VI
Bobolenus (under Fredegundis)	585
Boso 1 (?under Sigibert)	c. 566/567

FASTI

Chadoindus (under Dagobert)	635
Charegiselus 1 (under Chlotharius I)	M VI
Charimeris (under Childebert II)	?-588
Faramodus (?)	M VI
Flavius (under Guntram)	580
Gallomagnus 2 (under Childebert II)	589
Licerius (under Guntram)	586
Marcus 4 (under Chilperic)	579-583
Otto 1 (under Childebert II)	575/590
Siggo (under Sigibert, Chilperic, Childebert II)	575
Theutharius (under Sigibert)	561/575
Vrsicinus 2 (under Vltrogottho)	M VI

NOTARII (under the Franks)

Agrestius (under Theoderic II)	E VII
Eusebius 8 (under Childebert II)	587/588

DVCES (under the Franks)

Sigivaldus 1 (the Auvergne)	c. 525/527 or ?532
Mumolenus 1 (under Theodebert)	539
Lanthacarius	548
(Butilinus, in Italy)	553-554)
(Leutharis, in Italy)	553-554)
Austrapius (Tours and Poitiers)	556
Amingus (in Italy)	?c. 561
Bodegiselus 1 (under Sigibert and ?Childebert II)	before 565-585
Magnacharius	565
Mummolenus 2 (under Sigibert)	565/566
Audovarius	567/569
Vaefarius (?under Guntram, east of the Jura)	573
Theudefredus (under Guntram, east of the Jura)	(?573-) 591
Wiolicus (under Guntram)	574
Chramnichis (in Italy)	574/575
Godegiselus 1 (under Sigibert)	575
Gundovaldus 1 (under Sigibert and Childebert II)	(?574) 575-593
Chamingus	575/581
Guntchramnus Boso (under Sigibert and Childebert II)	575-583
Godinus 1 (under Sigibert and Chilperic)	575-576
Desiderius 2 (under Chilperic, Gundovald and Guntram)	576-587
Herpo 1 (under Guntram)	577

Dracolenus (under Chilperic)	578
Beppolenus 1	579-590
Bobo 1 (under Chilperic)	580-584
Berulfus (Tours and Poitiers)	580-585
Ragnovaldus (under Guntram, in Perigord)	581
Gundulfus (under Childebert II)	(?) 581-583
Bladastes (under Chilperic and Gundovald)	581-585
Asclepius 5	before 582
Sicarius (under Guntram)	584
Gararicus (under Childebert II)	584
Ratharius (under Childebert II, at Marseilles)	585
Childericus (under Childebert II)	585
Leudegiselus (under Guntram)	585
Sigulfus 3 (under Guntram)	585
Ennodius 2 (under Childebert II; Tours and Poitiers)	585-587
Rauchingus (under Childebert II)	585-587
Nicetius 3 (under Guntram)	585-587
Boso 2 (under Guntram)	585-589
Wintrio (under Childebert II, in Champagne)	585-598
Magnovaldus 2 (under Childebert II)	587
(Godegiselus, 'quasi ducem' under Childebert II)	587
Leudefridus ( <i>dux Alamannorum</i> )	587/588
Vncilenus 1 ( <i>dux Alamannorum</i> )	587/588
Antestius	587, 589
Austrovaldus	587-589
Amalo	589
Ebracharius (under Guntram)	589-590
Audovaldus	590
Henus (Cedinus)	590
Leudefredus (under Childebert II)	590
Olfigandus (under Childebert II)	590
Olo (under Childebert II)	590
Raudingus (under Childebert II)	590
Wandalmarus 2 (under Guntram and Theoderic II, east of the Jura)	591-604
Aginus	592
Garibaldus 1 ( <i>dux Baiuvariorum</i> )	M VI-?593
Tassilo ( <i>dux Baiuvariorum</i> )	c. 593-E VII
Cautinus (under Theodebert II)	601
Genialis (in Gascony)	602
Protadius (under Theoderic II, east of the Jura)	604
Sigoaldus (under Theoderic II and Chlotharius II, in Burgundy)	613

Rocco (under Theoderic II and Chlotharius II, in Burgundy)	613
Eudela (under Chlotharius II, east of the Jura)	613
Herpo 2 (under Chlotharius II, east of the Jura)	613
Arnebert	626-629
Aighyna	626-636
Amalgarius	629-642
(Abundantius 2, in Spain)	631
(Venerandus, in Spain)	631
Barontus	632-635
Adalgiselus (in Austrasia)	632-640
Radulfus ( <i>dux Thuringiae</i> )	c. 633-639
Arinbertus (under Dagobert)	635
Chairaardus (under Dagobert)	635
Ermeno (under Dagobert)	635
Leudebertus (under Dagobert)	635
Waldericus (under Dagobert)	635
Wandalmarus 3 (under Dagobert)	635
Chramnelenus (under Dagobert and Clovis II)	635-642
Wandelbertus (under Dagobert)	c. 637
Grimoald 2 (under Sigibert II)	639
Bobo 2 (under Clovis II, in the Auvergne)	639
Leutharius 2 ( <i>dux Alamannorum</i> )	641/642
Chroдинus (?under Sigibert and Childebert II)	M VI
Frogerius (in Paris, under Childebert I)	E/M VI
Hilpingus (under Theoderic I)	E/M VI
Launebodis (at Toulouse)	M VI
Lupus 1 (under Sigibert and Childebert II)	M/L VI
Waldelenus (?east of the Jura)	L VI/E VII
Garibaldus 2 ( <i>dux Baiuvariorum</i> )	E VII
Noddo ( <i>dux</i> , in Thuringia)	E VII
Sadregiselus ( <i>dux</i> , in Aquitania)	E/M VII

COMITES (under the Franks) (mainly *comites civitatum*)

Eumerius (? <i>comes civitatis</i> )	before 533
Georgius 2 (Clermont-Ferrand)	?533/555
Britianus (?Clermont-Ferrand)	before 555
Firminus 1 (Clermont-Ferrand)	555
Salustius (Clermont-Ferrand)	555 (-?560)
Firminus 1 (Clermont-Ferrand, II)	?560-571
Gaiso (Tours)	561/567

FASTI

Armentarius 3 (Lyon)	c. 563/573
Berulfus ( <i>comes</i> , in Gaul)	565/580
Leudastes (Tours)	?-567/568
Papulus (at the court of Sigibert)	c. 567/568
Magnulfus ( <i>comes</i> , in Austrasia)	?c. 568/575
(Eunius <i>qui et</i> ) Mummolus 2 (Auxerre)	before 569
Paeonius (Auxerre)	before 569
Palladius 3 (Javols)	c. 570/572
Romanus 3 (?Javols)	c. 572/573
Leudastes (Tours, II)	576-580
Sigivaldus 3 (?Tours, under Childebert II)	576/596
Ennodius 2 (Poitiers)	577
Nantinus (Angoulême)	(c. 578/579-) 580
Eunomius (Tours)	580
Nonnichius (Limoges)	582
Anonymus 91 (Rouen)	583
Waddo 2 (Saintes)	before 584
Audo (in Paris)	?-584
Innocentius 2 (Javols)	584
Willacharius (Orléans)	584
Nicetius 2 (Dax)	584-585
Willacharius (Tours)	584 (-?590)
Terentiolus (Limoges)	before 585
Theodulfus (Angers, under Guntram)	585
Garacharius (Bordeaux)	585
Vllo (Bourges)	585
Anonymus 92 (Châteaudun)	585
Nicetius 3 (Clermont-Ferrand)	585
Guerpinus (Meaux)	585
Gundovaldus 3 (Meaux)	585
Gundegiselus Dodo (Saintes)	585
Galactorius (Bordeaux)	585/592
Eulalius 2 (Clermont-Ferrand)	585-590
Austrovaldus (?Toulouse)	587
Wado 3 (Cambrai)	c. 585/587
Syagrius 2 ( <i>comes</i> , under Guntram)	587
Gallienus (?Tours)	589
Macco (Poitiers)	589-590
Anonymus 98 (Tours)	590
Venerandus 1 (?Clermont-Ferrand)	590/593
Betto (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	607
Effanis (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	607

FASTI

Gaissefredus (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	607
Bertharius 1 (under Theoderic II)	609
Abbelinus (under Theoderic II, in Burgundy)	610
Herpinus (in Burgundy)	610
Herpo 3 (under Chlotharius II)	613
Ingebodus ( <i>grafio</i> , under Chlotharius II)	613
Syagrius 3 (Albi)	c. 618
Leutho (under Dagobert)	c. 630
Rauco (under Dagobert)	c. 630
Vulfio (under Dagobert)	c. 630
Innowales (Saintes)	639
Chainulfus ( <i>comes</i> , in Neustria)	?641
Gyso ( <i>comes</i> , in Burgundy)	642
VI	
Alpinus (Tours)	E/M VI
Becco (Clermont-Ferrand)	L VI
Dulciadus (Angoulême)	L VI
Eborinus 1 (Tours)	M VI
Gallus 1 (Chalon)	M/L VI
Maracharius (Angoulême)	M VI
Nicasius (Avallon)	M VI
Ramnulfus (Angoulême)	M VI
Anonymus 74 (Angoulême)	?L VI
Waragulfus (Angoulême)	
M VII	
Cariato 3 ( <i>comes</i> )	M VII
Ebrulfus ( <i>grafio</i> , of Clovis II)	M VII
Maurinus 1 ( <i>comes</i> )	M VII

DOMESTICI (under the Franks)

Attila	M VI
Baudinus (under Chlotharius I)	E/M VI
Charegiselus 1 (under Chlotharius I)	M VI
Conda (under several kings, Theodebert I to ?Sigibert)	M VI
Domnolus (under Guntram)	585
Ermenricus (under Clovis II)	642
Flavianus (under Childebert II)	590
Fredulfus (?under Sigibert II)	639
Gundulfus	M/L VI
Leonardus (under Chilperic)	584
Priscus 3 (under Guntram)	before 573

FASTI

Raganricus (under Dagobert) ?637  
 Vro E/M VII  
 Waldebertus (under Chlotharius II) 626

SPATHARII (under the Franks)

Cariatto I (under Guntram) L VI  
 Grippo (under Childebert II) 587/588

TRIBVNI (under the Franks)

Abbo 555/576  
 Conda (under Theoderic I) E/M VI  
 Domolenus (*tribunus fisci*) 587  
 Medardus (at Tours) 584  
 Walcharius (Cambrai) L VI/E VII  
 Anonymus 99 (at Poitiers) 590

VICARII (under the Franks)

Animodus (at Tours) 590  
 Iniuriosus (at Tours) before 584 (?580)

OTHER OFFICIALS (under the Franks)

Claudius 3 (*cancellarius*, under Childebert II) before 591  
 Gogo (tutor of Childebert II) 575-581  
 Wandelinus (tutor of Childebert II) 581-585  
 Wandalmarus I (*camerarius*, under Guntram) 585  
 Orientius (*consiliarius*) M VI

Parthenius (*PLRE II*) (*magister officiorum et patricius*) 544

BRETON RULERS (COMITES BRITANNORVM)

Chonomor M VI  
 Chanao ?-560  
 Bodicus 560/577  
 Macliavus 560-577  
 Theodericus I 577  
 Warochus 577-590  
 Iudicael 635

FASTI

KINGS OF THE VISIGOTHS

Amalaricus 511-531  
 Theudis 531-548 June  
 Theudegiselus 548 June-549 late  
 Agila 549 Dec.-555 March  
 Athanagildus (551-) 555 March-568 April/July  
 Interregnum of five months in 568  
 Liuva I 567 Aug./Nov.-571 Dec./572 March  
 Leovigild 568 Aug./Nov.-586 April 13/May 8  
 Reccared I 586 April 13/May 8-601 Dec. 1/26  
 Liuva II 601 Dec. 1/26-603 June 12/July 7  
 Witteric 603 June 12/July 7-610 early  
 Gundemar 610 April-612 Feb./March  
 Sisebut 612 Feb./March-621 Feb.  
 Reccared II 621 Feb.  
 Suinthila 621 early-631 March  
 Sisenand 631 March 26-636 March 12  
 Chintila 636 spring-640 Dec.  
 Tulga 640 Dec.-642

KINGS OF THE OSTROGOTHS

Athalaricus 526-534  
 Theodahad 534-536  
 Vitigis 536-540  
 Ildibad 540-541  
 Erarich 541  
 Totila (*qui et Baduila*) 541-552  
 Theia 552

KINGS OF THE LOMBARDS

Claffo E VI  
 Tato (*PLRE II*) E VI  
 Vaces 539  
 Waltari 540/541-547/548  
 Audoin 548/549-552/561  
 Alboin 552/561-572  
 Cleph 572-574  
 Interregnum lasting ten years 574-584  
 Authari 584 March/April-590 Sept. 5



## FASTI

Agilulfus ( <i>qui et Ago</i> )	590/591-616
Adaloald	616-626
Arioald	626-636
Rothari	636-652
Rodoald	652
Charibert	652-661
Godepert	661-662
Grimoald	662-671

## LOMBARD DVGES

Amiternum	
Alahis	L VI
Vmbolus	L VI
Asti	
Gundoaldus	c. 589-612
de Beleos	
Cleph	572
Beneventum	
Zotto	571-591
Arichis	591-641
Aio	641-642
Radoald	642-647
Grimoald 3	647-662
Bergomum	
Wallari	574
Gaidulfus	591-?596
Brixia	
Alichis	574
Rothari	E/M VII
Friuli	
Gisulfus 1	569-before 581
Grasulfus 1	575/581-590
Gisulfus 2	590-c. 610
Cacco	c. 610-?
Taso 1	c. 610-?

## FASTI

Grasulfus 2	E/M VII
Insula S. Iuliani	
Mimulfus	590-591
Perusia	
Maurisio	592-593
Spoletium	
Faroaldus	?c. 571-before 591
Ariulfus	before 591-601
T(h)eudelapius	601-M VII
Tarvisium	
Vlfari	c. 591/592
Ticinum	
Zaban	574
Tridentum	
Eoin	574-595
Gaidoaldus	c. 595?-602/603
Turin	
Agilulfus	c. 589-590
Arioaldus	?-626
Tuscany	
Taso 2	c. 626-630
Verona	
Zangrulfus	c. 596

## OTHER LOMBARD DVGES

Amo	574
Authari	L VI
Autharius	?584
Droctulfus 1	M/L VI
Grimarit	c. 571/574
Nuccio	574
Rhodan	574

FASTI

Sundrarius	c. 615/616
Taloardus	574
Wiffo	599

ARAB CHIEFS

Alamundarus ( <i>PLRE</i> II) (king of the Lakhmids)	505-554
Taizanes (?Lakhmid)	c. 530
Naaman (al-Nu'mān) (Lakhmid)	531
Chabus (Ka'b)	536
Hezidus (?Yazīd)	536
Ambrus ('Amr) (Lakhmid)	(554-) 561-570
Caboses (al-Nu'mān III Abū Qābūs) (Lakhmid)	570
Naamanes (al-Nu'mān) (Lakhmid)	580-c. 602

ARAB COMMANDERS AFTER THE HEGIRA

Khālid ibn al-Walīd	629-642
Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq (caliph)	632-634
Abulkulab	632/634
'Amr ibn al-Āṣ	632/634-c. 663
Khālid ibn Sa'īd	634-?635
Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāh	634-639
Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān	634-639
'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (caliph)	634-644
Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ	637-?
Iad ('Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm)	637-641
Mu'ādh ibn Jabal	639
Abū Badr	639/640
'Alqamah ibn 'Ulāthah	639/644
Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān (caliph 661-680)	c. 634-680
Abū Sufyān	E/M VII
Sa'īd ibn Zayd	M VII

KINGS OF PERSIA

Cavades I	488-531
Chosroes I Anoushirvan	531-579
Hormisdas IV	579-590
Bahram Chobin (usurper)	590-591
Chosroes II Parwez	590-628
Cavades II ( <i>qui et Siroes</i> )	628

FASTI

Ardashir III	628-630
Shahrbaraz	630
Boran	630/631
Azarmidukht	630/632
Hormisdas V	630/632
Mihr-Chosroes	631
Chosroes III	631-632
Isdigerdes III	632-651

PERSIAN COMMANDERS

Baresmanas	530
Perozes	530
Pityaxes	530
Mermeroes	530-555
Aspebedes	531
Azarethes	531-544
Chanaranges I	531
Aniabedes	541
Nabedes	541-550
Mirrhanes	548
Phabrizus	548-556
Chorianes	549
Nachoragan	555-556
Mihran Mihrewandak	571
Bahram Gusnasp	573
Golon Mihran	c. 573-580
Adarmaanes	573-581
Bahram Chobin	573-590
Tamchosroes	575-581
Mebodes 2	578-589
Vinganes	?578
Cardarigan I	582-586
Zabertas	586
Aphraates	586-589
Marouzas	588
Pherochanes	590
Zamerdes	590
Bindoes	590-591
Bistam	590-591
Miradouris	590-591
Solchanes	590-591

## FASTI

Sarames 1	590/591
Mebodes 3	591
Rhosas ( <i>qui et</i> Hormisdas)	591
Dzuan Veh	c. 603/604
Datoyean	c. 604/605
Zongoes	605
Senitam Chosroes	c. 605-606
Ashtat Yeztayar	607/608
Cardarigan 2	607/608
Bahram	611
Perittius (?)	E VII
Shahin	E VII
Shahrbaraz	E VII
Granikan Satar	624
Shahraplakan	624-627
Cardarigan 2	626-630
Rhazates	627
Gurdanaspes	628
Gusdanaspes ( <i>qui et</i> Rhazei)	628

## PERSIAN ENVOYS, etc.

Adergoudounbades (governor)	498-541
Zaberganes 1 (envoy)	c. 540/541
Bleschames (officer)	541-542
Abandanes (envoy)	542
Cavades (fugitive)	M VI
Isdigousnas Zich (envoy)	M VI
Braducius (interpreter)	548
Surena (envoy)	561
Surena (governor)	571
Sebochthes (envoy)	572
Iacobus 5 (envoy)	573/574
Mebodes 2 (envoy)	M/L VI
Nadoes (envoy)	576
Sapoes (envoy)	577/578
Pherogdathes (envoy)	578/579
Anonymus 84 ('magister officiorum')	579
Anonymus 85 ('a secretis')	579
Andigan (envoy)	581
Iovius (governor)	586
Maruthas (governor)	586

## FASTI

Mebodes 2 (governor)	586
Sarames 1 (governor)	589
Dolabza (envoy and governor)	590-591
Bryzaciuss (officer)	591
Phaiak ( <i>qui et</i> Rhasnan)	628
Chosdaes ('a secretis')	628
Rustam (governor)	637

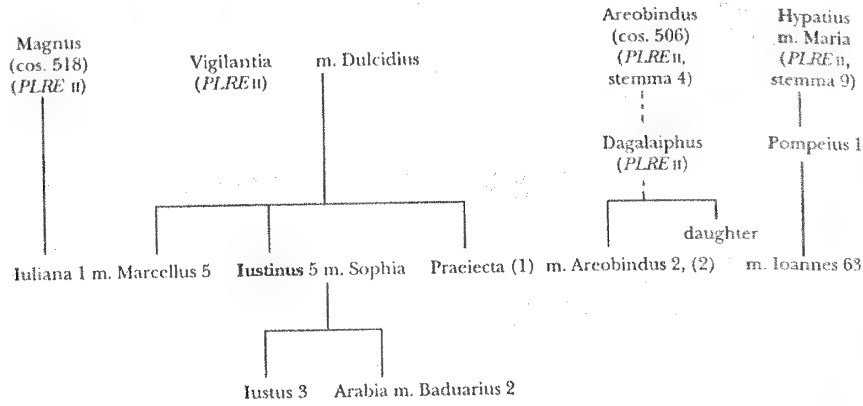
## IBERIAN RULERS AND NOBLES

Dach'i	522/523-534/535
Bakur II (Bacurius)	534/535-547/548
P'arsman V (Pharasmanes)	547/548-561/562
P'arsman VI (Pharasmanes)	561/562-?
Bakur III (Bacurius)	c. 579/581
Guaram I (Gurgenes)	588-c. 602
Stephanus I	c. 607-627
Barsamouses (= Vahram-Aršuša V)	627
Adarnase I	627-637/642
Stephanus II	637/642-645

Samanazus (Iberian noble)	535
Leo (father of Guaram I)	M VI
Mihrdat (Mithridates)	M VI
Demetrius (noble, <i>hon. cos.</i> )	?E VII

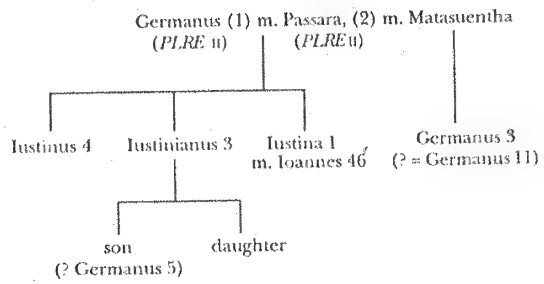
1 Family of the emperor Justin II

(see also *PLRE* II, stemma 10)

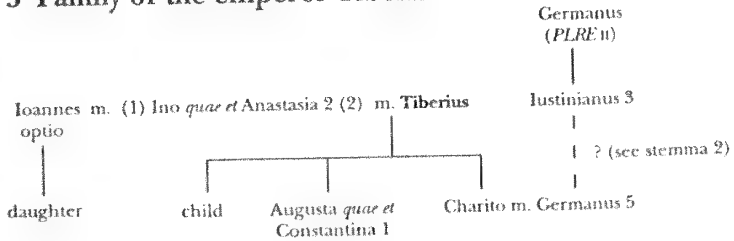


2 Family of Germanus

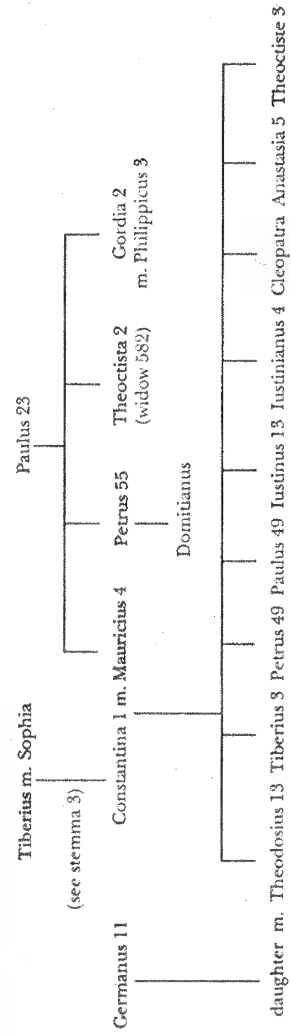
(see also *PLRE* II, stemma 10)



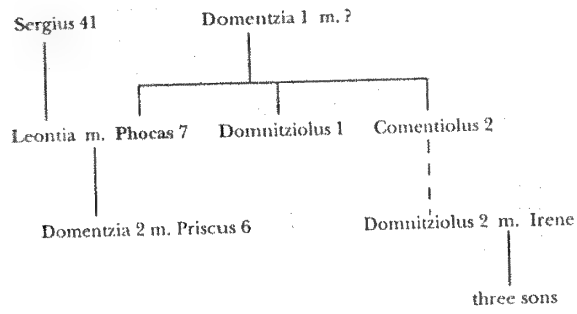
3 Family of the emperor Tiberius



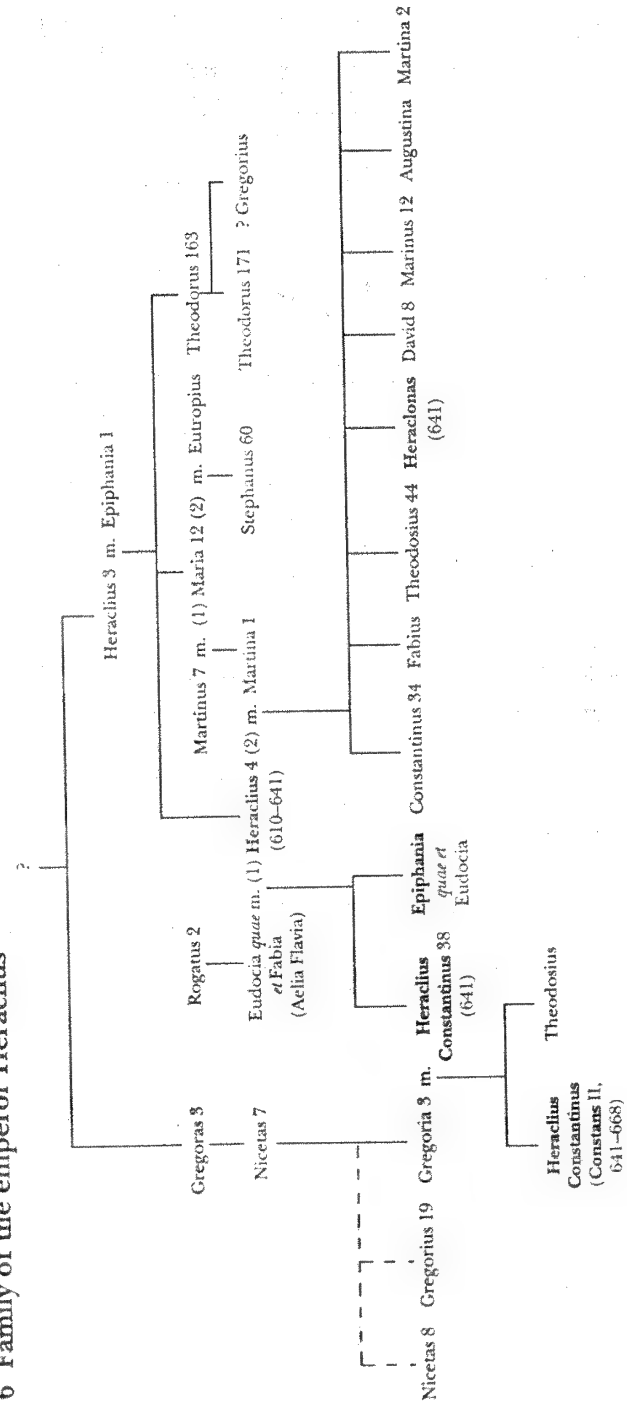
4 Family of the emperor Maurice



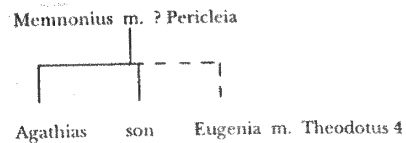
## 5 Family of the emperor Phocas



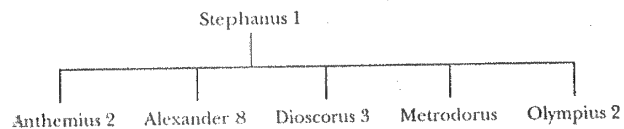
## 6 Family of the emperor Heraclius



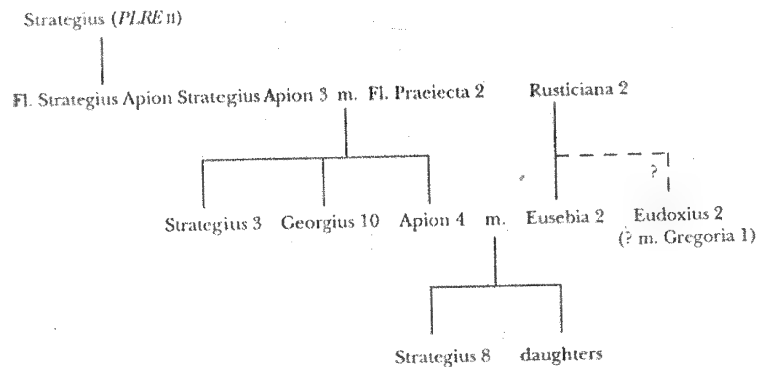
## 7 Family of Agathias



## 8 Family of Alexander of Tralles

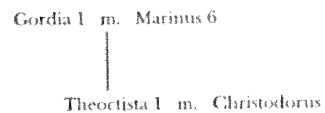


## 9 Family of the Apions

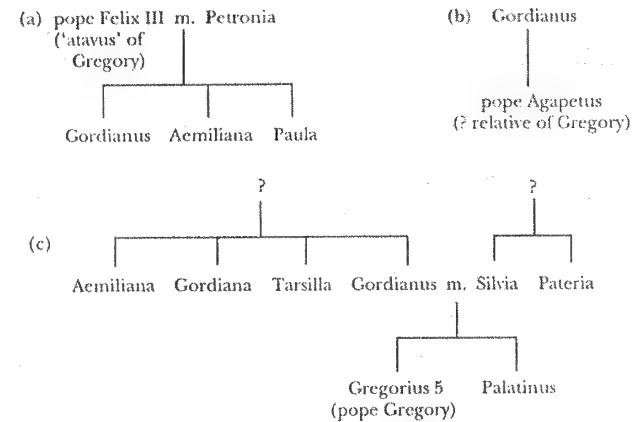
(cf. *PLRE* II, stemma 27)

Cf. also Apion 2 and Strategius 5, 7 and 10

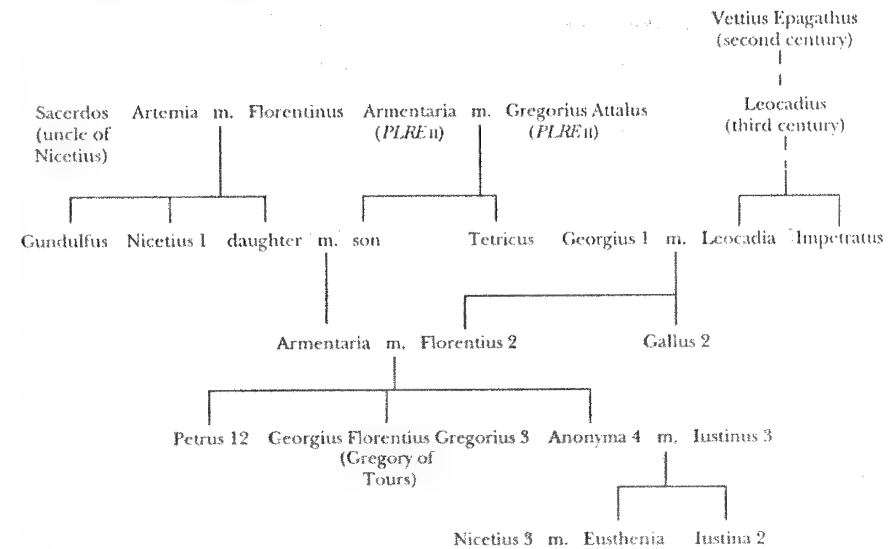
## 10 Family of Gordia I



## 11 Family of pope Gregory the Great

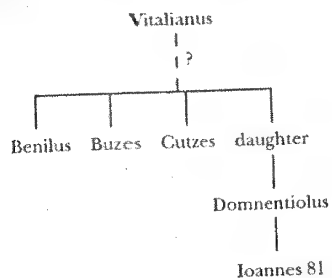


## 12 Family of Gregory of Tours



Gregorius Attalus also had two nephews, Attalus and Euphronius 1

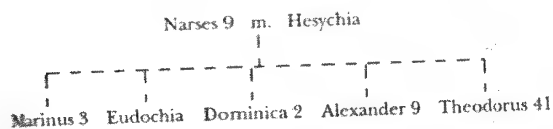
13 Family of Ioannes 81



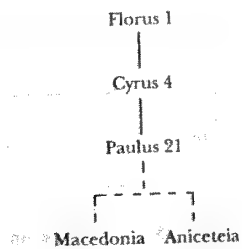
Cf. also Ioannes 46 (and stemmia 2) and Bonus 2

14 Family of Narses 9

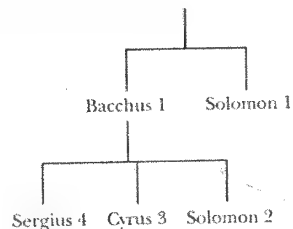
(all these relationships are conjectural)



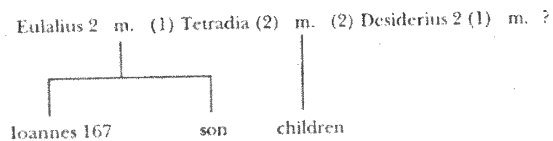
15 Family of Paul the Silentiary



16 Family of Solomon 1



17 Family of Tetradia

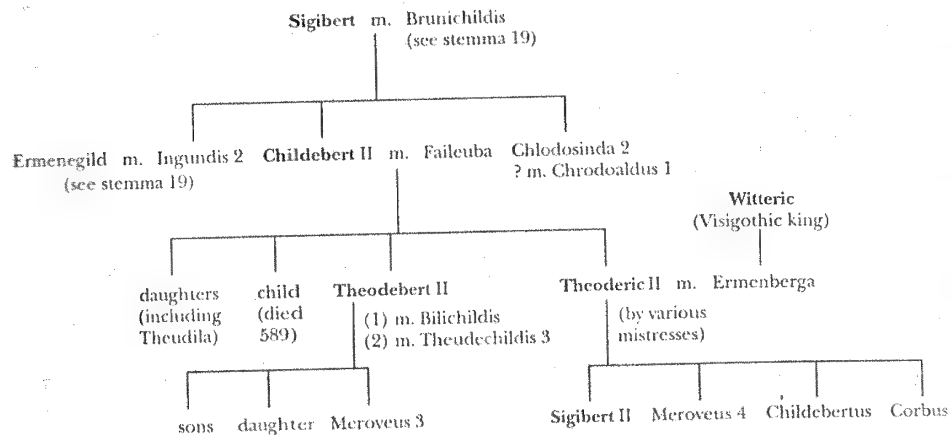




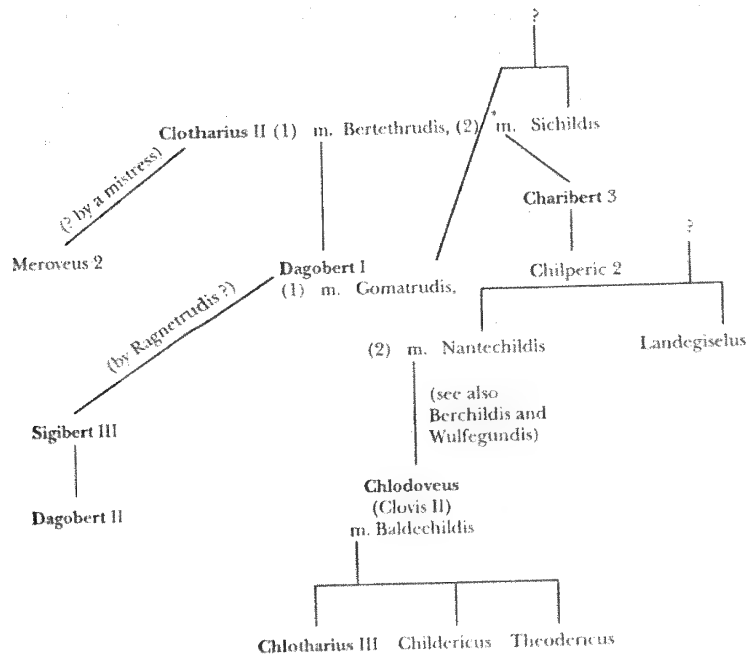


18 Stemmata of the Frankish kings (continued)

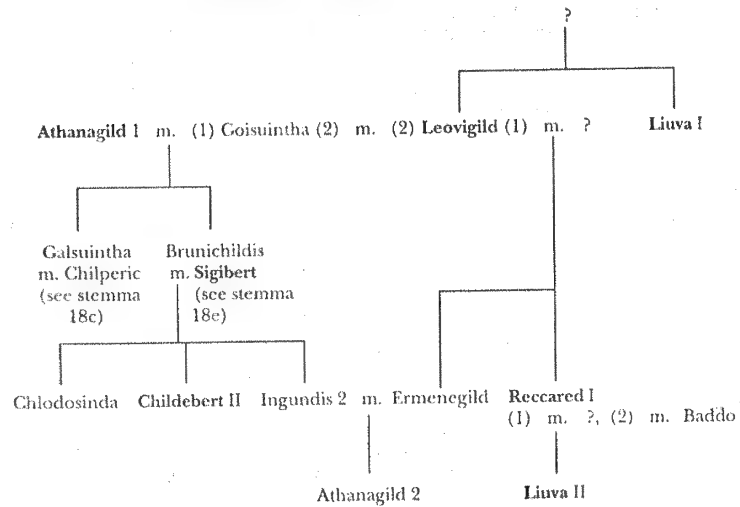
(e) Family of Sigibert



(f) Family of Chlotharius II

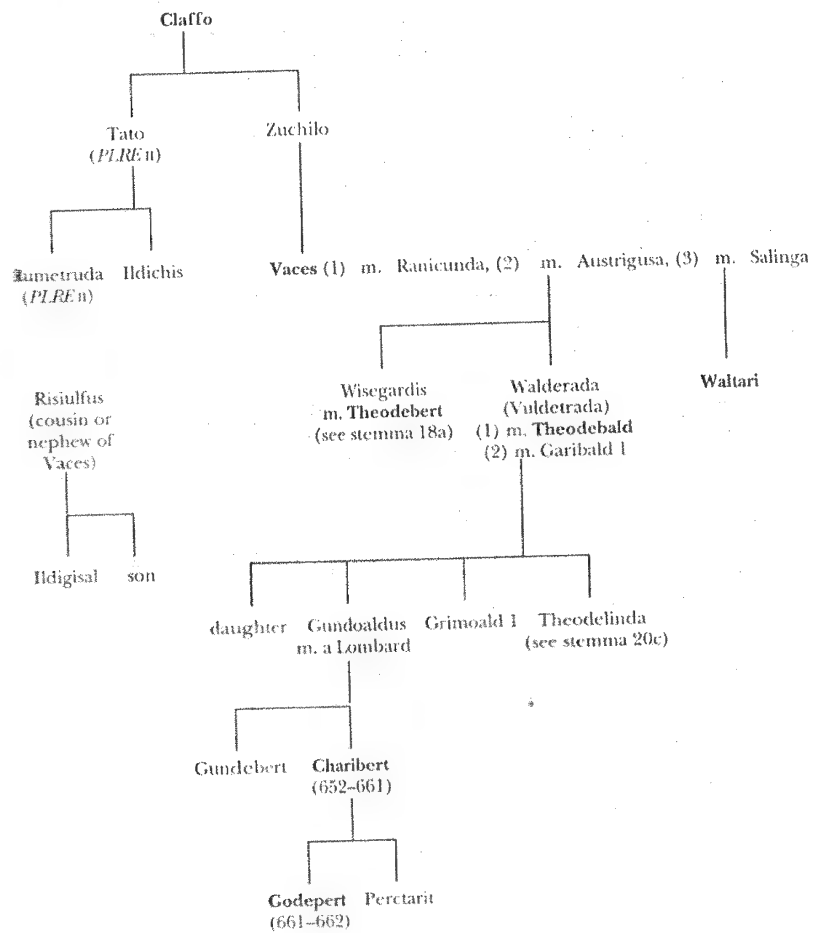


19 Stemma of the Visigothic kings



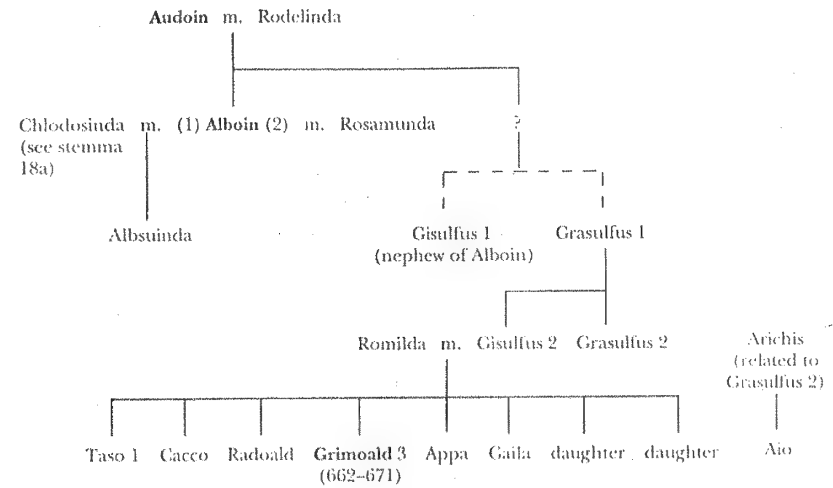
20 Stemmata of the Lombard kings

(a) Family of Vaces

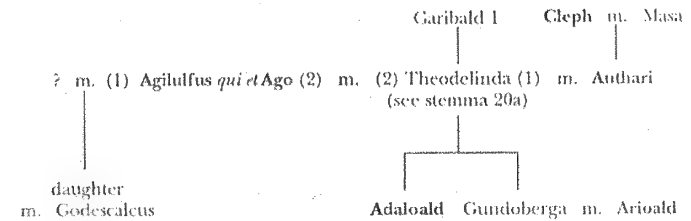


20 Stemmata of the Lombard kings (continued)

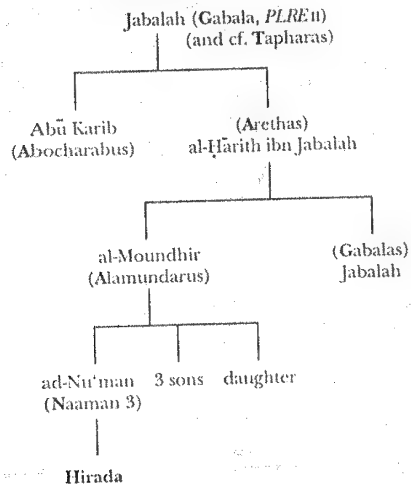
(b) Family of Alboin



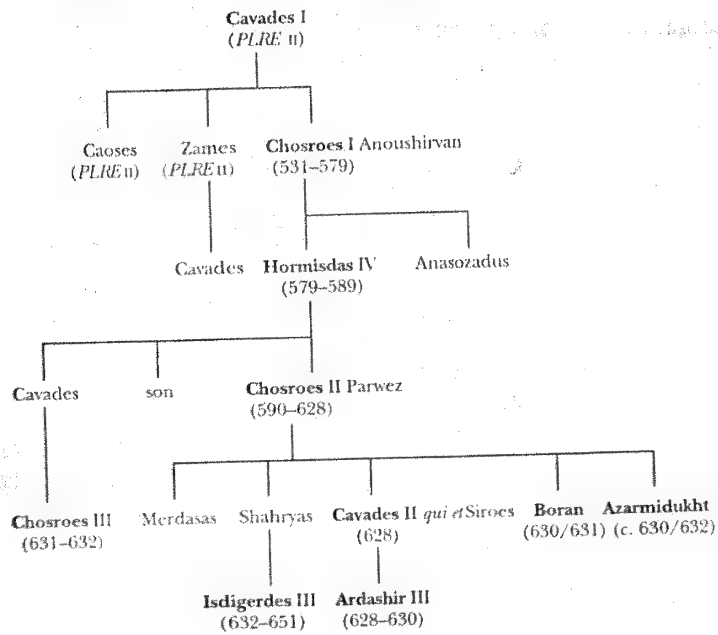
(c) Family of Agilulf and Theodelinda



21 Stemma of the Ghassānids

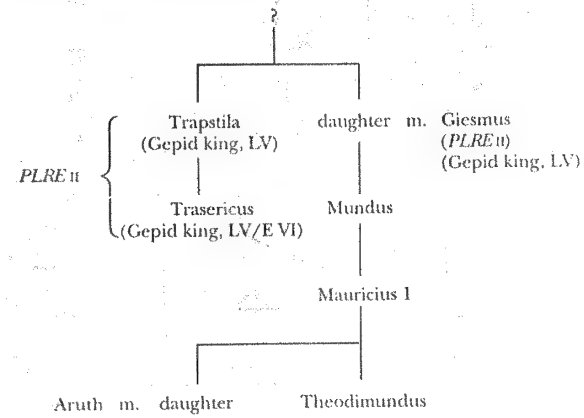


22 Stemma of the Persian kings

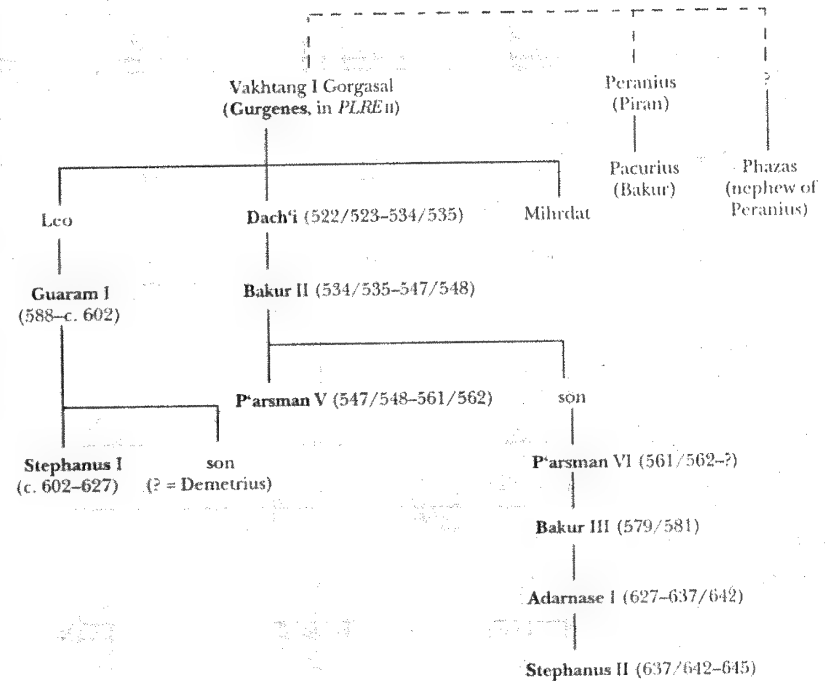


Note also Hormisdas V (grandson of Chosroes II) (630/632), Mihr-Chosroes (631), and see Arzoy, Bore, Euphemia I, Maria 6 and Shirin.

23 Family of Mundus



24 Stemma of the Iberian kings



MONOGRAMS

1  ΑΒΡΑΜΙΣ	2  ΑΒΡΑΜΙΣ	3  ΑΒΡΑΜΙΣ	4  ΑΓΑΛΛΙΑΝΙΣ
5  ΖΑΔΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΚΣΒΙΚΣΛΑΡΙΣ	6  ΖΑΔΡΙΑΝΙΣ	7  ΖΑΔΡΙΑΝΙΣ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΣ	8  ΑΘΑΝΑΙΣ
9  ΑΘΑΝΑΙΣ	10  ΖΑΘΑΝΑΙΣ ΕΠΑΘΑΡΙΣ	11  ΑΚΙΝΔΥΝΙΣ	12  ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΣ
13  ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΣ	14  ΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΣ	15  ΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΣ	16  ΖΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΣ
17  ΖΑΝΑΚΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΣ	18  ΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ	19  ΑΝΔΡΕΑ	20  ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΙΣ
21  ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΙΣ	22  ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΙΣ	23  ΑΝΔΡΩΝΙΣ	24  ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ

MONOGRAMS

25  ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ	26  ΖΑΝΤΩΝΙΣ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΣ	27  ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	28  ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ
29  ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	30  ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	31  ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ	32  ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ
33  ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ	33A  ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ	34  ΖΑΡΚΑΡΙΣ	35  ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΙ
36  ΑΘΗΚΡΗΤΙ	37  ΑΚΤΕΡΙΣ	38  ΒΑΑΝΙΣ	39  ΖΒΑΛΕΡΙΣ
40  ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑ	41  ΒΕΤΙΑΡΙΣ	42  ΒΕΤΙΤΟΡΟΙ	43  ΒΟΝΟΒ
44  ΒΟΝΟΒ	45  ΒΩΤΖΙΣ	46  ΓΕΝΕΘΑΙΣ	47  ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΣ




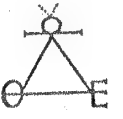
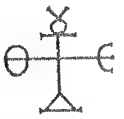



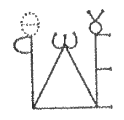
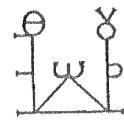


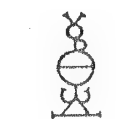

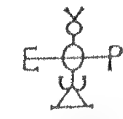

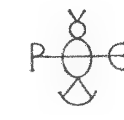
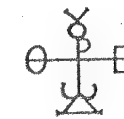
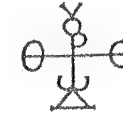
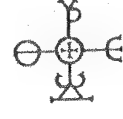
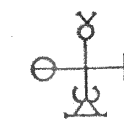
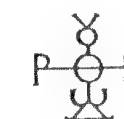
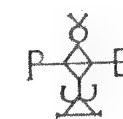
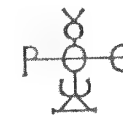
MONOGRAMS

48  ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΣ	49  ΓΕΡΜΑΝΟΥ	50  ?ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ	51  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ
52  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ	53  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ	54  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ	55  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ
56  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ	57  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ	58  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ	59  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ
60  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ	61  ΓΕΩΡΓΙΣ ΚΑΝΔΙΔΑΤΣ	62  ?ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ or ΓΕΡΓΙΩ, ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	63  ΓΡΗΓΟΡΑ
64  ΖΡΕΖΟΡΑ	65  ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ	66  ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΣ	67  ΔΑΜΙΑΝΣ
68  ΔΑΝΙΗΛ	69  ?ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	70  ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΣ	71  ΔΙΔΥΜΣ

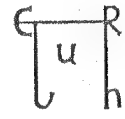


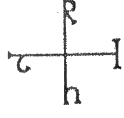
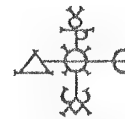
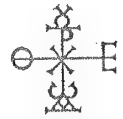

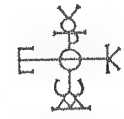

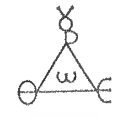


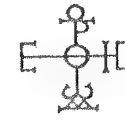
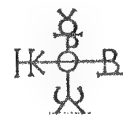
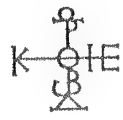
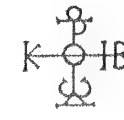
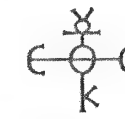

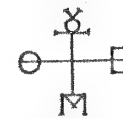
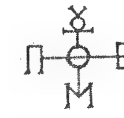
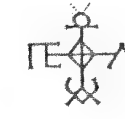
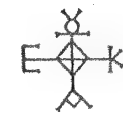
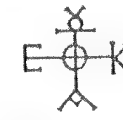
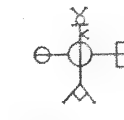
MONOGRAMS

72  ΔΟΜΕΣΤΙΚΣ	73  ΕΛΠΙΔΙΣ	74  ΕΖΑΡΧΣ	75  ΕΩΑΡΧΣ
76  ?ΕΠΑΡΧΙΚΣ	77  ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ	78  ΕΠΑΡΧΣ	79  ΕΠΑΡΧΣ
80  ?ΕΠΑΡΧ[ΟΥ] ΡΩΜΗΣ	81  ?ΕΠΑΡΧΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ	82  ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ	83  ΕΠΙΦΑΝΣ
84  ΕΥΘΑΛΙΣ	85  ΕΥΝΑΠΙΟΥ	86  ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ	87  ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΟΥ
88  ΕΥΦΗΜΙΣ	89  ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ	90  ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ	91  ?ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΕΠΑΡΧΣ
92  ΖΥΓΟΣΤΑΤΣ	93  ΖΩΗΛΣ	94  ΖΩΙΛΩ ΚΑΝΔΙΔΑΤΩ	95  ΗΛΙΑ

MONOGRAMS

95A  ΗΛΙΑ ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΣ	96  ΘΕΟΓΝΙΣ	97  ΘΕΟΔΟΙΣ	98  ΘΕΟΔΟΤΣ
99  ΘΕΟΔΟΤΣ	100  ΘΕΟΔΟΤΣ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	101  ΘΕΟΔΣΛΣ	101A  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΣ
102  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	103  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	104  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ	105  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ
106  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	107  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ	108  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	109  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ
110  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	111  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	112  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	113  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΝ
114  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	115  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	116  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	117  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ

MONOGRAMS

118  THEODORU	119  THEODORU	120  THEODORI	121  THEODORI
122  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΣ	123  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΣ	124  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	125  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ ΨΥΧΑΡΧΟΡΟΣ
126  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ	127  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΣ	128  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ	129  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ
130  ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΗ	131  ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ	132  ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ	133  ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩ
134  ΘΕΟΚΤΙΣΤΣ	135  ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΣ	136  ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΣ	137  ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΣ
138  ΘΕΟΦΙΛΩ ΨΥΧΑΡΧΟΡΟΣ	139  ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΣ	140  ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΣ	141  ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΣ

MONOGRAMS

142  ΘEOXAPIET̄Σ	143  ΘΩMA	144  ΘΩMA	145  ΘΩMA
146  ?(I)LL(VSTRIVS)	147  IΛΛOYETPIOV	148  IΛΛETPIΣ	149  IΛΛETPIΣ
150  IΛΛOYETPIOV	151  IΛΛETPIΣ	152  IΛΛCTPIΣ	153  IOVAIANOV
154  IΣΛIANΣ	155  IOYCTINOV	156  IOYETOV	157  IΩANNΣ
158  IΩANNOV	159  IΩANNΣ	160  IΩANNΣ	161  IΩANNΣ
162  IΩANNΣ	163  IΩANNΣ	164  IΩANNΣ	165  IΩANNΣ

MONOGRAMS

166  IΩANNΣ	167  IΩANNΣ	168  IOhANNIS	169  IΩXANNOV
170  IΩANNΣ ΕΠΑΡΧ̄Σ or ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧ̄ΩΝ	171  IΩANNOV NOTARIOV	172  IΩANNΣ NOTAPIΣ	173  IΩANNΣ VITAT̄Σ
174  IΩANNΣ VΠAT̄Σ or ΑΠΟ VΠAT̄ΩΝ	175  ?IΩANNΣ	176  IΩANNΣ EKPIBONOΣ	177  ?IΩANNOV EXOΛAPION
178  ?KANΔIDAT̄Σ or ΔΙΑKON̄Σ	179  KANΔIDAT̄Σ	180  ?KA(N)ΔIDAT̄Σ	180A  KANΔIDAT̄Σ
181  KAPINOV	182  ?KOLYMPADIS	183  KOMITOC	184  KOMITOC
185  KOMITOC	186  KOMITA	187  KOMITAC	188  ?KOMMEPKIAPIOV

MONOGRAMS

189  ΚΟΙΜΑ 5 (=ΚΑΙ)	190  ΚΟΙΜΑ	191  ΚΟΙΜΑ	192  ?ΚΣΒΙΚΣΛΑΡΙΣ or ΒΙΚΑΡΙΣ
193  ΚΣΒΙΚΣΛΑΡΙΣ	194  ΚΣΒΙΚΣΛΑΡΙΣ	195  ?ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΥ ΚΟΥ ΒΙΚΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ	196  ΚΥΡΟΥ
197  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ	198  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ	199  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ	200  ?ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ
201  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ	202  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ	203  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ ?ΣΚΡΙΝΙΑΡΙΣ	204  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ
205  ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΣ ΥΠΑΤΣ	206  ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ	207  ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ	208  ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ
209  ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ	210  ΛΕΟΝΤΙΣ	211  ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ	212  ?ΛΣΠΩ

MONOGRAMS

213  ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΣ	214  ?ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΣ	215  ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ	216  ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ
217  ΜΑΡΙΑΝΙ	218  ?ΜΑΡΚΣ	219  ΜΑΥΡΙΑΝΙ	220  ΜΑΥΡΙΚΙΟΥ
221  ΜΑΥΡΟΥ or ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ	222  ΜΕΓΑΛΣ	223  ΜΕΓΕΘΙΣ	223A  ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΣ
223B  ΜΕΝΕΛΑΣ	223C  ΜΕΝΕΛΑΣ	224  ΜΕΡΚΣΡΙΣ	225  ΜΗΝΑ
226  ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΣ	227  ΜΟΝΕΡΑΤΟΡΣ (see Theopemptus 2)	228  ΜΟΞΣ	229  ΜΟΞΣ
230  ?ΝΑΖΑΡ	231  ΝΑΡΚΣ	232  ?ΝΙΚΕΤΑΕ or ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙ	233  ΝΙΚΗΤΑ ΧΑΡΤΣΛΑΡΙΩ



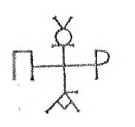
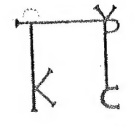
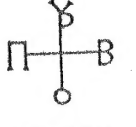

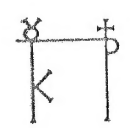
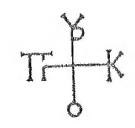
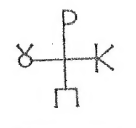
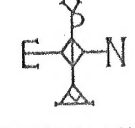

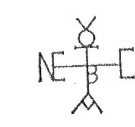
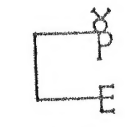
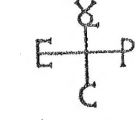
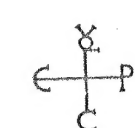
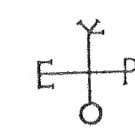
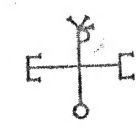
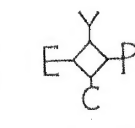
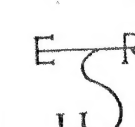

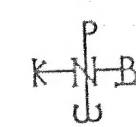
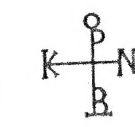
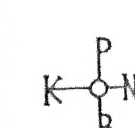
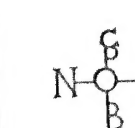
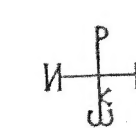
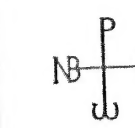
MONOGRAMS

234  ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΩ	235  ?ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ	236  ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ	237  ΝΙΚΟΛΑΩ
238  ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ	239  NONNOV	240  ΝΟΤΑΡΙΩ	241  ΟΒΑΛΗΡΙΑΝΗΕ
242  ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΩ	243  ΠΑΝΑΡΕΤΩ	244  ΠΑΠΙΑ	245  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩΝ
246  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ	247  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩΝ	248  ?ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ	249  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩΝ
250  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩΝ	251  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ	252  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ	253  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ
254  ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ ?ΚΑΙ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΩ	255  ΠΑΥΛΩ	256  ΠΑΥΛΟΝ	257  ΠΑΥΛΟΝ

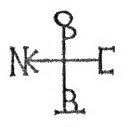
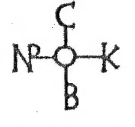

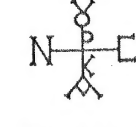
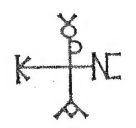
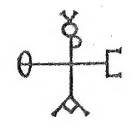
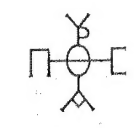
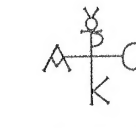
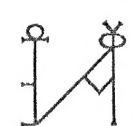
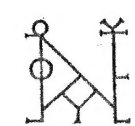
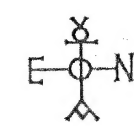

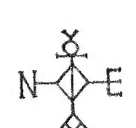

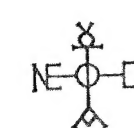
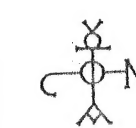
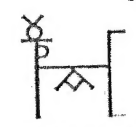
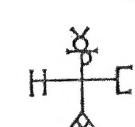
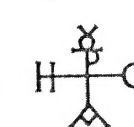

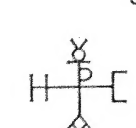
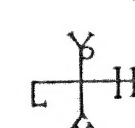


MONOGRAMS

258  ΠΑΥΛΑΩ	259  ΠΑΥΛΩ	260  ΠΑΥΛΩ	261  ΠΑΥΛΩ
262  ΠΑΥΛΩ ΧΑΡΤΗΛΑΡΙΩ	263  ?ΠΑΥΛΑΩ ΑΠΟ ΒΠΑΤΩΝ (or ΙΩΑΝΝΟΝ ΒΠΑΤΩΝ)	264  ΠΑΥΛΩ <ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΚ	265  ΠΕΤΡΟΝΑ
266  ΠΕΤΡΟΝ	267  ΠΕΤΡΟΝ	268  ΠΕΤΡΩ	269  ΠΕΤΡΟΝ
270  ?ΠΕΤΡΟΝ	271  ΠΕΤΡΟΝ	272  ΠΕΤΡΟΝ	273  ΠΕΤΡΥ
273A  ΠΕΤΡΩ	274  ΠΕΤΡΩ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	275  ΠΕΤΡΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	276  ΠΕΤΡΩ ΕΠΑΡΧΩ
277  ΠΕΤΡΩ ΧΑΡΤΗΛΑΡΙΩ	278  ΠΕΤΡΩ ΕΠΑΡΧΩ	279  ΠΕΤ(Ρ)Ω ΠΑΤ(Ρ)ΙΚΙΩ	280  ?ΠΕΤΡΩ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΩ

MONOGRAMS

281  ΠΡΑΙΠΟΣΙΤΩ	282  ΠΡΙΣΚΟΝ	283  ΠΡΟΒΟΝ	284  ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΩ
285  ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΩ	286  ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΩ	287  ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΩ	288  ΡΕΦΕΡΕΝΔΑΡΙΩΝ
289  ΡΕΦΕΡΕΝΔΑΡΙΩ	290  ΛΕΒΑΣΤΙΑΝΩ	291  ΣΕΡΓΙΩ	292  ΣΕΡΓΙΩ
293  ΣΕΡΓΙΩ	294  ΣΕΡΓΙΩΝ	295  ΣΕΡΓΙΩΝ	296  ΣΕΡΓΙΩΝ
297  ΣΕΡΣΙΟΥ	298  ΣΕΡΣΙΟΥ	299  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ	300  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ
301  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ	302  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ	303  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ	304  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ

MONOGRAMS

305  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ	306  ΚΡΙΒΩΝΟΣ	307  ΚΡΙΝΙΑΡΙΩΝ	308  ΚΡΙΝΙΑΡΙΩ
309  ΚΡΙΝΙΑΡΙΩ	310  ΕΠΑΘΑΡΙΩ	311  ΕΠΑΘΑΡΙΩ	312  ΣΤΑΥΡΑΚΙΩ
313  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ	314  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ	315  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩ	316  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩ
317  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩ	318  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩ	319  ΕΤΕΦΑΝΩ	320  ΣΤ(Ε)ΦΑΝΩ
321  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΙΩ (cf. Strategius 11)	322  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ	323  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ	324  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ
325  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ	326  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩΝ	327  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ	328  ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΩ

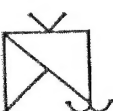

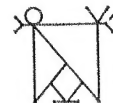
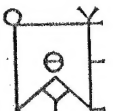
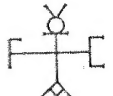

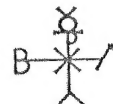
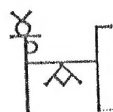



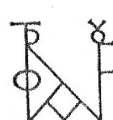
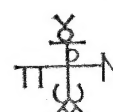
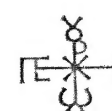


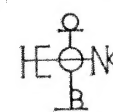
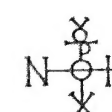
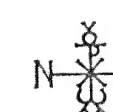


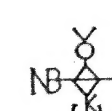

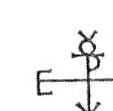
MONOGRAMS

329  CΤΡΑΤΟΡΟC	330  ΕΧΟΛΑΡΙC	331  ΕΧΟΛΑΡΙC	332  ΤΑΒΔΛΑΡΙC
333  ΤΖΙΤΤΑ	334  ΤΖΙΤΤΑ	335  ΤΡΙΒΟΝΝΑ	336  ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟC
337  ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥ	338  ΥΠΑΡΧC	339  ΥΠΑΡΧΩ	340  ΥΠΑΤΟΥ
341  ΥΠΑΤΟΥ	342  ΥΠΑΤC	343  ΥΠΑΤΟΥ	344  ΥΠΑΤC
345  ΥΠΑΤC	346  ΦΙΛΑΓΡΙC	347  ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΚΟΥ	348  ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΚC
349  ΦΙΛΙΠΠC	350  ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ	351  ?ΦΙΛΙΠΠC ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤC	352  ΦΩΚΑ ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC

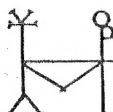
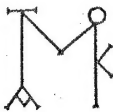


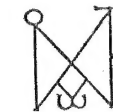


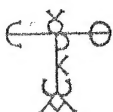

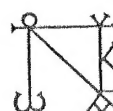
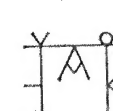
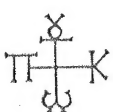
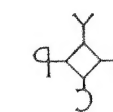

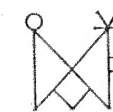
MONOGRAMS

353  ΦΩΤΙC	354  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	355  ΧΑΡΤΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ	356  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC
357  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	358  ΧΑΡΤΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ	359  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	360  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC
361  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	362  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	363  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	364  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC
365  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	366  ΧΑΡΤΟΥΛΑΡΙΟΥ	367  ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC	368  ?ΒΑCΙΛΙΚC ΧΑΡΤΔΛΑΡΙC
369  ?ΧΡΗCΤΟΦΩΡΩ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧΩΝ	370  ?ΥΠΑΤΙΚΟΥ or ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ	371  ?ILLUS(TR)IU	372  unknown (see Eupraxius)
373  ... ΕΠΑΡΧC (?ΕΥCΤΑΘΙC)	374  unknown (see Georgius 27)	375  ?ΠΡΩΒC	376  ?ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙC ΚΑΙ ΜΑΓΙCΤΡC

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377  ?VITATΩ	378  ?NIKΩNOE EZKONBITΩ	379  ?ΠΑΛΑΤΙΝΟV or ΠΑVΛΙΝΟV	380  ?ΠΕΤΡΟV ΕΠΑΘΑΡΙΟV
381  ?ΑVΓΕΤΑΛΙΩ	382  ?ΒΑ<ΙΛΙΚΩ ΚΑΝΔΙΔΑΤΩ	383  ?ΒΑ<ΙΛΙΚΩ ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΩ	384  ?ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ (cf. Strategius 11)
385  ?ΤΑVΡΙΝΟV	386  ?VΠΑΡΧΟV S (= KAI) ΕΧΟΛΑΡΙΟV	387  unknown (see Theodorus 173)	388  unknown (see Anonymus 153)
389  unknown (Anonymus 154)	390  a name and ΕΠΑΡΧΩ (Anonymus 156)	391  unknown (Anonymus 149)	392  ?ΘΕΟΔΩΓΩ (Anonymus 150)
393  ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ with an unknown name (Anonymus 152)	394  (Anonymus 145) ...?ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΩ	395  ?ΩΑΝΝΗ ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΩ (Anonymus 146)	396  ?ΝΙΚΩ ΚΟΜΙΤΩC (Anonymus 147)
397  ?ΚΡΑΤΙCΩ or ΚΑCΤΡΙΚΩ (Anonymus 143)	398  ?ΘΕΩΔΩΡΩ ΕΚΡΙΒΩΝΟE (Anonymus 144)	399  (Anonymus 140)	400  ...?ΧΑΡΤΩΛΑΡΙΩ (Anonymus 141)

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401  ...ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΟV (Anonymus 142)	402  ?ΚΟΜΙΤΑ (Anonymus 135)	403  ?ΖΗΝΩΝΙΑΝΩ (Anonymus 136)	404  ?ΙCΙΩ (Anonymus 137)
405  ?ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟV (Anonymus 138)	406  (Anonymus 130)	407  ?ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΩ (Anonymus 131)	408  (Anonymus 132)
409  M(A)R(I)A)ΠΙ (Anonymus 133)	410  ?ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟV (Anonymus 134)	411  (Anonymus 139)	412  (cf. Paulus 57)
413  (Anonymus 10)	414  ?ΩΑΝΝΙΚΩ (Zacos: ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΩ)	415  ?ΜΑΡΤΙΝΙΑΝΟV or ΜΑΡΤΙΝΟV	

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